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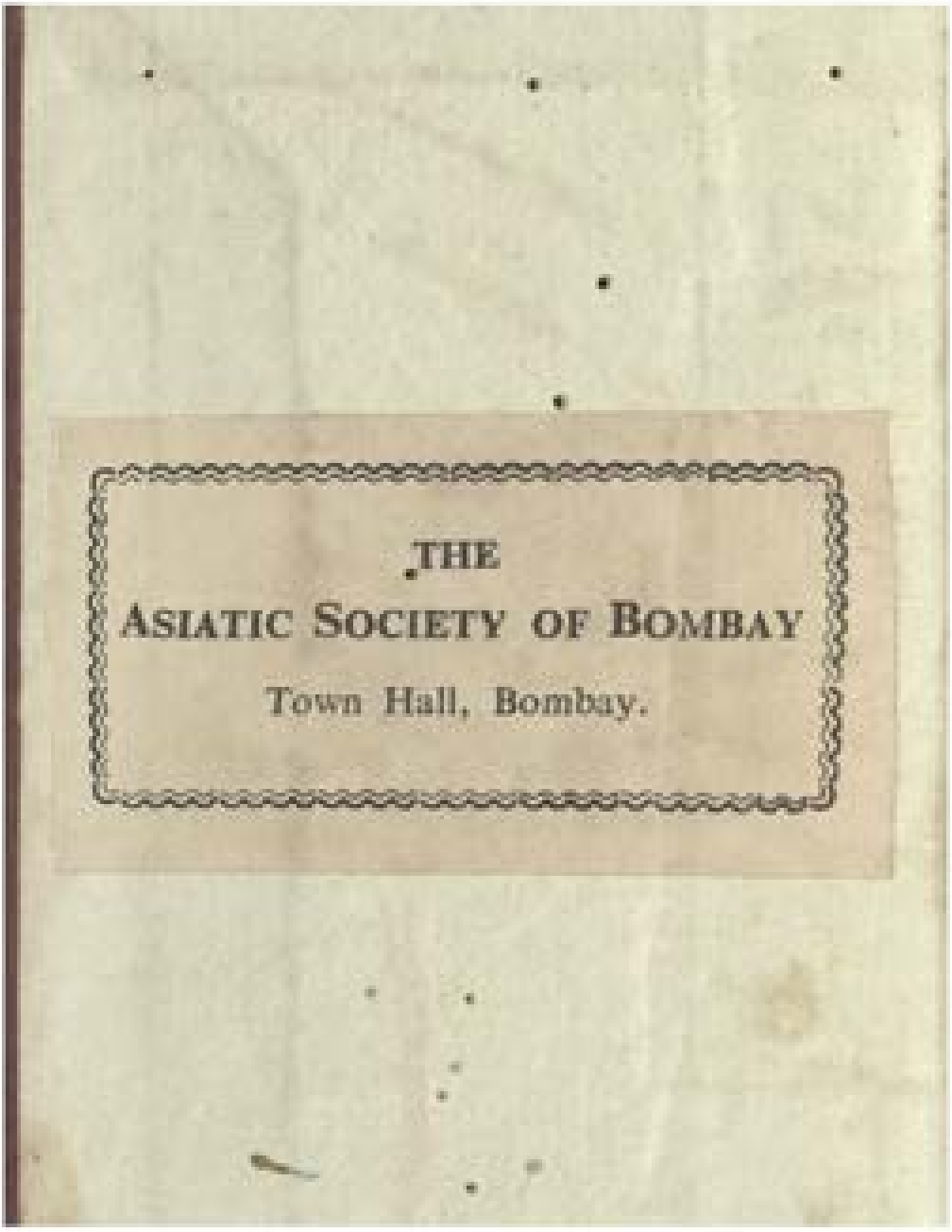

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Map of
Hampstead.

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

OGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

OF THE

RIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE SEVENTH.

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MAP of INDIA ..... *to face the Title*

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

INDIA.

A region of Asia, lying between lat. 6° and 36° N., and long. 60° 40′ and 92° E. Bounded, N., by the Himalaya Mountains; E., by the Burrampooter and the Bay of Bengal; S., by the Indian Ocean; and W., by the Indian Ocean, the Indus, and the Soliman Mountains.]

UNDER the classical appellation of India, the ancients appear to have comprised the whole of that vast region of Asia stretching east of Persia and Bactria, as far as the country of the *Sinæ*; its northern boundary being the Scythian desert, and its southern limit, the ocean. The name is generally supposed to have been derived from the river Indus, which waters its western extremity, and which signifies the Blue or Black River. The extensive application of the word renders it, however, more probable, that it was employed to denote the country of the *Indi*, or Asiatic Ethiops; answering to the Persian Hindoo-stan, or the country of the Hindoos.* By the Brahmins, the

* The Greeks gave the appellation of Indians both to the southern nations of Africa and to the Hindoos, using the words Indian and Ethiop as convertible terms. Herodotus describes the eastern Ethiops, or Indians, as differing from those of Africa by their long hair, as opposed to the woolly head of the Caffre. Virgil speaks of the Abyssinian Ethiops under the same notion. (Georg. iv. 293. Æn. vii. 794.) See Vincent's Periplus, Prel. Dis. 19, 11. Sir W.

country is denominated *Madhyama*, or *Madhya-b'humi*, the central land,* and *Punyab'humi*, the land of virtue; appellations vague and unmeaning: it is also called *Bharat-khand*, the kingdom of Bharat, who is fabled to have been its first monarch. Taken in its most extended application, as denoting the countries inhabited by the Hindoos, it comprises a considerable territory west of the Indus; and part of Affghanistan, as well as Tatta and Sinde, must be included within its limits.† By the Mohammedan writers, the term Hindostan is restricted to the eleven provinces lying to the north of the Nerbuddah river, which belonged to the empire of the Mogul sovereigns of Dehli. This is now usually distinguished as Hindostan Proper.‡

Jones's Works, 4to, i. 114. Bryant's Anal., iv. 272, *et seq.* No such words, Mr. Wilkins says, as Hindoo or Hindostan, are to be found in the Sanscrit dictionary. The name, however, which seems to have originated with the Persians, is as ancient as the earliest profane history extant.

* The appellation, Middle land, is said to have been given to the country from its occupying the centre of the back of the tortoise that supports the world. The Chinese, however, in like manner, call their country *Chung-ew*, the central kingdom, and *Tchew-kue*, the centre of the world. This geographical place of honour has been claimed by many semi-barbarous nations.

† "Whether Sind, westward of the Indus, belongs properly to Persia or to India, is, perhaps, as doubtful a circumstance as the appropriation of Egypt to Asia or to Africa. Strabo and Arrian, after Eratosthenes, declare India limited by the Indus westward; yet, in this direction, our modern Sind extends considerably beyond the river, while it is generally assigned to Hindostan by the Eastern writers."—Orme's Fr. Trans, vol. i. p. 148. The Orientals distinguish, perhaps arbitrarily, between Sind and Hind: they apply the latter word to India, (as *Bahr al Hind*, the Indian Sea,) the former to the Persian title of the Indus. D'Herbelot says, that the Persians call the Abyssinians *Kak Hindou*, black Indians. Can Sinde be a contraction of the two words?

‡ "Strictly speaking, the name ought to be applied only to that part which lies to the north of the parallels of 21° or 22°. The

Some modern geographers consider the limits of Hindostan as co-extensive with those of the Hindoo religion. "This delineation," Mr. Hamilton remarks, "has the advantage of being singularly well defined on three sides by strong natural barriers. According to this arrangement, Hindostan is separated, on the north, from the table-land of Tibet, by the lofty chain of the Himalaya mountains, which commences at the Indus about the 35th degree of N. latitude, and passing Cashmere in the same parallel, extends thence in a south-easterly direction to an unascertained distance beyond the limits of Bootan. To the south, Hindostan is every where bounded by the ocean, and on the west, by the course of the river Indus. To the east, its limits are more difficult to define; but the most distinct are the range of hills and forests that skirt the Bengal districts of Chittagong and Tiperah, and stretch north to the Brahmaputra, near to where that immense river, after having long flowed almost due west, makes a sudden sweep to the south. In this north-eastern corner, the Hindoo religion is irregularly diffused, as it extends, far beyond the limits assigned, into Assam and Cassay, while that of Boddha prevails in Bootan, and protrudes into the Brahminical regions on the banks of the Teesta."*

The extent to which the Hindoo or Brahminical

Nerbuddah river is, indeed, the reputed southern boundary of Hindoostan, as far as it goes; and the southern frontiers of Bengal and Bahar compose the remainder of it. The countries on the south of this line, according to the Indian geographers, go under the general name of Deccan, and comprise nearly one half of the tract generally known by the name of the Mogul empire. But, as the term Hindoostan has been applied in a larger sense to this whole region, it may be necessary to distinguish the northern part of it by the name of Hindoostan *Proper*."—RENNELL'S *Memoir*, p. xlix.

* Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. i. p. xcviii.

faith has prevailed, can hardly be admitted, however, as fixing the geographical boundary of the country, which must be determined either by its natural or by its political limits.' The latter, after undergoing perpetual changes, have, by the conquests of the British, been extended eastward into the Buddhic states; and neither the course of the Indus nor that of the Ganges has at any time served to circumscribe the faith or the power of India, or to protect her frontier from invasion. Rivers may serve as lines of demarcation between territorial subdivisions or petty principalities, but they are ill adapted to constitute the permanent barriers of empire. Under the appellation of Ultra-Gangetic India, some writers have improperly comprised the whole groupe of countries lying between the Bay of Bengal and the Chinese Sea. This is the Lesser India of Marco Polo, which he distinguishes by that term from the Greater India, extending from Cape Comorin to Sind. Besides these two Indies, he mentions a third, which he calls the Middle or Second India, comprehending Abyssinia and the Arabian coast as far as the Persian Gulf.* According to

* Meriton's Marco Polo, p. 717, and note 1454. "The Middle Second (or Greater) India," according to the Venetian Traveller, "extends from Maabar" (the Coromandel coast) "to Kesmacoran" (Sic.-Mekran), "and comprehends thirteen large kingdoms." He professedly notices only the provinces and cities that lie upon the sea-coast. Among these are enumerated, the province of *Maabar* (so called from a word signifying a passage or ferry, in allusion to Rama's bridge); the kingdom of *Murphili* or *Mutfili* (Masulipatam, the *Maesolia* of Ptolemy, anciently Telingana); the province of *Lar*, *Lare*, or *Lor* (conjectured to be the central Carnatic or district of Arcot); the kingdom of *Komori* (Cochin); the province of *Kamar* (Canara); the kingdom of *Dely* (Dilla, now Canara); the kingdom of *Melobar* (which he places N. of this, in the Concan); the kingdom of *Guzurat*; that of *Kiami* (or *Tana*; the true reading and meaning are doubtful); the kingdom of *Kam-*

another threefold division of the Indies, the first India extended from Persia to the Indus; the second, from the Indus to the Ganges; while the third comprehended the Ultra-Gangetic countries.* Under the familiar phrase, the East Indies, adopted from the Portuguese, the islands of the Indian archipelago are generally included; and it is singular, that the name of the West Indies, which has led to this distinction, should now designate only a groupe of islands, colonized by Whites, and peopled with Africans. The mistake of Columbus, who at first supposed that he had reached India by a transatlantic course, has been perpetuated, strangely enough, in the misnomer by which the aboriginal population of the Americas, the copper-coloured race, are denominated Indians; that is, Ethiops or blacks. It would be useless, however, to attempt to correct a nomenclature so long established. The word India has fortunately retained a specific meaning, notwithstanding the difficulty of determining its proper geographical extent; and though Hindostan may be deemed, in some respects, the preferable appellation, (as corresponding to Hindoo and Hindostanee, the terms applied to the natives and their vernacular dialect,) the more classical and more convenient name of India seems likely to prevail; more especially as British India is the only convenient designation of our vast and ever-growing territory in those regions. The more popular word has, therefore, been adopted as the title to the present volumes, in

Sea (in the peninsula of Gujerat); the kingdom of Sonmath (Somnaut, west Point Dia); and lastly, that of Kamaron, supposed by Major Rennell to be Kej-Mekran; Cutch is possibly intended.

* Marsden's Marco Polo, note 1484. "In the early part of the fifteenth century, we find the definition of India made to comprehend nearly the same portion of the globe as that on which we so vaguely bestow the appellation of the East Indies."

which it will be used as generally synonymous and convertible with Hindostan, but admitting of a somewhat wider latitude.

We are not yet in possession of exact data for determining the superficial extent of this vast region, even were its northern and eastern boundaries better defined.* Mr. Hamilton estimates its extreme length, from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin, at about 1900 miles, and its extreme breadth, from E. to W., at about 1500; but, on account of the irregularity of its figure, the total superficial area cannot, he thinks, be estimated at more than 1,280,000 English square miles. This statement, which has been adopted by M. Malte Brun, assigns 553,000 square miles to the British territory, 550,000 to the territories of British allies and tributaries, and 177,000 to the independent states, as they stood in the year 1820. Within this area is included a population which has been supposed to amount to at least 134 million souls. M. de Humboldt, however, allowing only 109,200 square marine leagues to Hindostan, estimates the total population at only 101 millions, being 925 by the square league. The population of the British empire in India, including that of the allied and tributary powers, which Mr. Hamilton estimates at 123 millions, is rated by M. de Humboldt at only 90 millions; a difference of 43 millions, or nearly a third. It is reasonable to suppose that a mean estimate may approximate to the truth. At present, we can do no better than give the items of these widely discordant calculations, which

* "The extent of Hindostan Proper is about equal to France, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, and the Low Countries collectively; and the Deccan and Peninsula are about equal to the British Islands, Spain, and Turkey in Europe."—Rennell's Memoir, p. xix.

may at least shew the manner in which the population is distributed.

BRITISH INDIA.		
Bengal Presidency.	Square Miles.	Population.
Bengal, Bahar, and Benares	162,000	20,000,000*
Additions in Hindostan, since A.D. 1793	142,000	14,000,000
Gurwal, Kumaon, and the tract between the Satulaje and the Jumna	15,000	300,000
	308,000	37,300,000
Madras Presidency †	134,000	13,000,000
Bombay Presidency	11,000	2,300,000
Territories in the Deccan acquired since 1818	60,000	8,000,000
	513,000	60,600,000
BRITISH ALLIES AND TRIBUTARIES.		
The Nizam	96,000	10,000,000
The Nagpore Rajah	70,000	3,000,000
The King of Oude	20,000	3,000,000
The Guicowar	28,000	2,000,000
Kotah, Boondee, and Bopaul	14,000	1,200,000
The Mysore Rajah	27,000	3,000,000
The Satarah Rajah (or Peishwa)	14,000	1,200,000
Travancore and Cochin	8,000	1,000,000
Other Rajahs and petty Chiefs	303,000	15,000,000
	560,000	40,000,000

* In 1812-3, the returns made to the Governor-general, with regard to the state of the Bengal Presidency, gave the following results:

	Population.
Calcutta division	2,253,000
Dacca division	5,297,799
Moorshedabad	5,905,340
Patna	about 7,000,000
Benares	7,654,335
	28,070,474

† In the territories of the Mysore Rajah, in 1804, there were 422,017 families, including 2,171,254 souls. Of these families, 7,500 were Mohammedans; 85,329 Brahmins; 72,037 Lingaits; and 7901 Jains.

INDEPENDENT STATES.

	Square Miles.	Population.
The Nepaul Rajah	52,000	1,000,000
The Lahore Rajah	50,000	3,000,000
The Ameers of Sinde	24,000	1,000,000
The Dominions of Sindia	40,000	4,000,000
The King of Cauhul	10,000	1,000,000
	177,000	11,000,000
British India	555,000	62,000,000
Allies and Tributaries	530,000	40,000,000
Independent	177,000	11,000,000
Grand Total	1,260,000	124,000,000*

According to Humboldt †

	Squ. Marine Leagues	Population.	Sq. Statute Leagues.
The three Presidencies, with Provinces newly acquired	49,800	85,500,000	1130
Countries under the protection of the Company	40,900	12,500,000	428
Independent India	19,800	83,000,000	1473
	109,100	101,000,000	925

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

† Humboldt, Pers. Narr., vol. vi. pp. 327, 8. In these estimates, the population of Ceylon and the Isles is not included. Mr. Walsh gives the following as the nearest approximation to the fact that he could arrive at.

Under the direct government of Great Britain	60,000,000
Under the direct influence of the British Government	40,000,000
Under Independent Chiefs	20,000,000
In the Islands of the Indian seas	20,000,000
	140,000,000
The population of Orissa is supposed to be about	4,500,000
Hyderabad	2,500,000
Khandeish	2,000,000
Nanndere	800,000
Berar	2,000,000
	11,800,000

In these provinces, the Mohammedans are as 1 to 10; except in Khandeish, where they are as 1 to 6. In the district of Chittagong,

The following table will exhibit the geographical divisions according to what has appeared to us the most convenient and distinct, if not an unexceptionable arrangement.

I. NORTHERN INDIA.

Ancient Divisions.	*Modern.*	*In possession of*
Saraswati	1. Cashmeer	Shah of Caubul.
	2. Upper Lahore	
Khasya	3. Doab of the Sutlej and Jumna	Bengal Presidency.
	4. Gurwal(or Serinagur)	
	5. Kumaon	
	6. Nepaul	Nepaul Rajah.
	7. Bootan	Deb Rajah.

II. INDIA PROPER.

i. *Sindetic.*

Saraswati	1. Punjnah, or Lower Lahore	Seik Rajah.
	2. Moultan	Shah of Caubul.
	3. Sinde	
Gujarashtra	4. Cutch	Bombay Presidency.
	5. Gujerat	Bombay Presidency. The Gaikwar. Sindia.

ii. *Central.*

Saraswati & Gujarashtra	6. Malwah	Sindia, Holkar, Nabob of Bhopaul, Pour Rajah, &c. See vol. iv. p. 237.
	7. Rajpootana	Bengal Presid. Rajpoots.

iii. *Gangetic.*

Canyacubja	8. Delhi	Bengal Presid. Seik Rajah.
	9. Agra	Bengal Presid. Sindia, &c
	10. Oude	King of Oude.
	11. Allahabad	Beng. Pres. Bundela chiefs.
Tirhootiya Magadha Gauda	12. Bahar	Bengal Presidency.
	13. Bengal	

containing 2927 square miles, the population is estimated at 1,200,000, in which there are 3 Mohammedans to 5 Hindoos. Assam, which may now be regarded as a British possession, contained, in 1801, a population of about 300,000 souls, scattered over 60,000 square miles.

III. THE DECCAN OR SOUTHERN INDIA.

Orissa	1. Orissa	
	(1) Orissa Proper	Bengal Presid. Nagpoor Rajah.
	(2) Kuttak	
Circars	2. Northern Circars	
	(1) Ganjam	
	(2) Vizagapatam	Madras Presidency.
	(3) Rajamundry	
	(4) Masulipatam	
	(5) Guntoor	
Maharashtra	3. Gondwana	Nagpoor Raj. Beng. Pres.
	4. Berar	Nagpoor Rajah. Nizam.
	5. Baglan	
	6. Nundeer	The Nizam.
	7. Hyderabad	
	8. Kandish	Bombay Presid. Holkar.
	9. Aurungabad	Bombay Presid. Nizam.
	10. Bidapoor (or Vijayapoor)	Bombay Presid. Satarah and Kolapoor Rajahs.

IV. THE PENINSULA, OR INDIA S. OF THE KRISHNA.

Karnata	1. Balaghaut (or Karnata)	Madras Presidency.
	2. Mysore	Mysore Rajah, and ditto.
	3. Coimbatoor	
	4. Salem (including Baramahal)	Madras Presidency.
Dravida	5. Canara	
	6. Malabar	
	7. Cochin	Cochin Rajah.
	8. Travancore	Travancore Rajah.
Telingana	9. The Carnatic	
	(1) Northern, or Andra	
	(2) Central, or Arcot	Madras Presidency.
	(3) Southern, or Tanjore (including Dindigul and Tinnevelly)	

The principal geological features of this extensive region are, the stupendous Himalayan range, the snowy mountains which divide India from Tibet; the vast Gangetic plain; the great sandy desert of the Indus; the Soliman range which bounds the basin of the Indus on the west; the elevated table-land above the Ghauts; the Vindhyan mountains, which enclose the valley of the Nerbuddah; and the various groupes which bear the name of the eastern, western, and

southern Ghauts; the latter, the Malayala range, terminating at Cape Comorin. The composition and character of these different systems of mountains and rivers, will be more particularly described in our topographical view of the respective grand divisions of the country.

With the exception of Cape Comorin at its southern extremity, and Dia Head, the southern point of Gujerat, India has no great promontories; and the only bendings of the coast which merit the name of gulfs, are the bay of Cutch and that of Cambay, which give a peninsular form to the province of Gujerat. The western coast of the Deccan, although indented by numerous creeks, roadsteads, and mouths of rivers, has, on the whole, one uniform direction. From Cape Comorin to the coast of Bengal, there is not a single natural harbour, and the roads are encumbered with sand-banks. Merchant vessels are obliged to ride at a distance of a mile and a half from shore, and ships of war at two miles. So gradual is the declivity of the bottom, that the depth, at twenty miles from land, does not exceed fifty fathoms. There are few sea-coasts, of such extent, so destitute of islands. Exclusive of emerged sand-banks and mere rocks, Ceylon may be said to be the only one. The Laccadives (*Lakcha-dwipa*, or hundred-thousand isles) and Maldives (*Malaya-dwipa*, Mala islands) run in a chain, about 75 miles off the Malabar-coast, from lat. 12° to the line: they are, for the most part, unproductive and of little value, and many of them are barren rocks.

THE INDUS

"The glory of Hindoostan," it has been remarked, consists in its noble rivers; and in this respect, the

country presents a remarkable contrast to Persia, the neighbouring kingdom on the west; but the Indo-Chinese countries (or what has been improperly called the Ultra-Gangetic peninsula) are still more highly favoured. The Indus, the first river, beginning from the west, is one of the largest in the world. It is supposed to have its source in the northern declivity of the Cailas branch of the Himalaya mountains, about lat. 31° 30′ N., and long. 80° 30′ E., within a few miles of the sources of the Sutlej. After flowing for 400 miles in a N.N.W. direction, it bends towards the S.W., and at Drass, in Little Tibet (in lat. 35° 55′, long. 76° 48′), receives a large branch called the Lahdauk river. It then pursues its solitary course for above 200 miles, through a rugged and mountainous country, to Mullay, where it receives the Abassen; after which, penetrating the highest range of the Hindoo Coosh mountains, it passes for fifty miles through the lower parallel ranges, to Torbaila, where it enters the valley of Chuch, spreading and forming innumerable islands. About forty miles lower down, near the fort of Attok, in lat. 33° 15′, it receives the Caubul river from the west;* and soon after rushes

* "I give that name," (the Caubul river,) says Mr. Elphinstone, "in conformity to former usage, to a river formed by different streams uniting to the east of Caubul. Two of the most considerable come from Hindoo Coosh, through Ghorebund and Punjsheer, and derive their names from those districts. They join to the N.E. of Caubul, and pursue a south-easterly course till they reach Bameekaub. A stream little inferior to these just mentioned, comes from the west of Ghuznee, and is joined, to the E. of Caubul, by a rivulet which rises in the Paropamisan mountains, in the hill called Coher Baba. This rivulet alone passes through Caubul, and may be said to have given its name to the whole river. All the streams I have mentioned, unite at Bameekaub, and form the river of Caubul, which flows rapidly to the East, increased by all the brooks from the hills on each side. It receives the river of

through a narrow opening into the midst of the branches of the Soliman chain of mountains. Its stream is here exceedingly turbulent. Even when the water is lowest, the conflux of these rivers is attended by waves and eddies, with a sound like the sea. But when they are swelled by the melting of the snows, a tremendous whirlpool is created, the noise of which is heard at a great distance. Heavy boats are frequently swallowed up or dashed to pieces against the rocks, which superstition has invested with legendary terrors.

At the town of Attok, (where properly it may be said to enter India,) the Indus, after having been widely spread over a plain, is contracted to the breadth of about 300 yards, becoming proportionally deep and rapid. When its floods are highest, it rises to the top of a bastion about 37 feet in height. It becomes still narrower where it enters the hills; and at Neelab, fifteen miles below Attok, it is said to be not more than a stone's throw across, but extremely rapid. From Neelab, it winds among bare hills to Karalough (incorrectly written Calalag), in lat. 33° 7′ 30″, passing through the Salt range in a deep, clear, and tranquil stream, and thence pursuing a southerly course towards the ocean without any further interruption or confinement from hills. It enters the rich valley of the *Eus-Ahels* in four great channels, which repeatedly

Kashkaur" (Kashgar river) "at Kaurabs, near Jellalabad," (where it is sometimes called the Kama,) "and thence runs east, breaks through the inner branches of Hindoo Coosh, and forms numerous rapids and whirlpools. After entering the plain of Peshawer, the Cashel river loses a good deal of its violence, but is still rapid. It breaks into different branches, which join again after they have received a river formed by two streams which come from the valleys of Punjcora and Swaut; and having now collected all its waters, it enters the Indus a little above Attok. The Cashel river is very inferior to the Indus, being fordable in many places in the dry weather."—Elphinstone's Caubul, vol. i. pp. 103–5.

meet and again separate, but are seldom found united in one stream. At Kaheeree Ghaut, in lat. 31° 28', the main channel, when at the lowest (in January), is only about 1000 yards in breadth and twelve feet in depth; but several large branches run parallel to it. The bed of the river here is sand, with a small quantity of mud. The flat country and the islands, which are overflowed in the hot season, are an exceedingly rich black alluvial soil, well cultivated in many places, and in others overgrown with high jungle.

Below Attok, the Indus receives no stream deserving the name of a river, from the west, till it is joined, at Kaggulwalla, by the Kourum, from the Soliman mountains. The only considerable tributary south of this, is the Gomul, the waters of which, being exhausted by irrigation in the northern part of Damaun, never reach the Indus except when swelled by rains. Two smaller streams, the Choudwa and the Wukwa, then also pay their tribute to this majestic river.

On the eastern side, the Indus is joined, at Mittundakote, by the five rivers of the Punjaub, united in one immense stream called the Punjnood. For seventy miles above this junction, the two streams run nearly parallel; and at Ooch, which is fifty miles up, the distance between them is not more than ten miles. In July and August, the whole of the intermediate country is under water; and the villages, with few exceptions, are only temporary erections. The whole of the country to Hydrabad, the capital of Sinde, is of a similar description. On the left bank are some considerable towns and numerous villages, with canals of irrigation leading to them from the river. In this part of its course, the Indus frequently eats away its banks, and gradually shifts its course. Although it divides into several channels as it approaches the sea,

it does not form a delta, like the Nile or the Irrawaddy; the lateral streams being absorbed by the sand before they can reach the ocean. An easterly branch called the *Fullalée*, rejoins the main stream, forming the island of Hyderabad. Below this point, the breadth of the Indus is generally about a mile, varying in depth from two to five fathoms, and it at length reaches the sea by one mouth. The tides are not perceptible higher up than sixty or sixty-five miles; but, from the sea to Lahore, a distance of 760 geographical miles, the Indus (as well as its tributary, the Ravee) is navigable for vessels of 200 tons.* Near its mouth, the land does not possess the fertility of the Gangetic delta, consisting only of tracts of underwood or jungle, arid sands, putrid salt swamps, or shallow muddy lakes.†

The Indus is called in Sanscrit, the *Sindhu* or *Sindhus*, and by the Persians, the *Aub Sinde*. From Attok to Mooltan, it bears the name of the Attok (limit); and further down, that of Shoor; but it is generally known to Asiatics by the name of the Sinde.‡ Four rivers in India were formerly subject

* In the time of Aurungzebe, an extensive trade was carried on by this route: the passage from Lahore occupied only 15 days. "Had Feroze's canal been completed," remarks Mr. Rennell, "there would have been a continued inland navigation from Tartia to Bengal and Assam."

† Elphinstone's Caubul, 8vo. vol. I. pp. 174—180; vol. II. pp. 469—472. Malte Brun, vol. III. pp. 13—16. Hamilton's Gazetteer.

‡ The name Sinde was not unknown to the Romans: "*Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.*"—Pliny, b. vi. Another name by which it was formerly known, is the *Nilab* (Neelaub), or Blue River, which is, perhaps, only an Arabic translation of the Persian or Sanscrit word. The name Nilab appears to have been given also to the Caubul river; for a native author says, that Jelalabad and Dukkah are situated on the Nilab. The Caubul river has, in like manner, been sometimes called the Attok; and the ancients appear to have regarded that branch as the true Indus. Pliny

cuch to a peculiar interdict, religiously observed by the natives. It was forbidden even to touch the waters of the Caramnassa, which divides Behar from Benares; to bathe in the Caratoya, a river in Bengal: to swim in the Gundak; and to cross the Attok. The latter prohibition is evaded, however, by crossing the Indus above its confluence with the Caubul; and the Brahmins of Affghanistan cross it daily without any scruple. Notwithstanding its magnitude and importance, as well as ancient celebrity, the Indus has never obtained such reputation for sanctity in India, as many inferior streams.

The five tributary rivers which give name to the Punjaub, are equal to the largest rivers in Europe. The first, beginning from the west, and the second in size, is the Jelum, Behut, or Vidusta, the ancient *Hydaspes*. It takes its rise in the south-eastern corner of the valley of Cashmere, where it is called the Vidusta. It passes through two lakes east and west of the capital. Twelve miles below, it is joined by the Little Sind, and further on, by several small rivulets as it runs among the hills. After flowing nearly west, it receives, near Moozufferad, the Kishungunga stream from the northward, and forms a great curve to the south, through a mountainous district, of which little is known. At length, after a course of about 450 miles, it joins the Chunaub, in which it loses its name, at Tremmoo Ghaut, 89 miles above Moultan.*

says: "In hujus Gangis ostio quod vocatur Pucquamissa, advenæ solis ortus efficiunt." It is, however, clear, Major Rennell remarks, that the people of Hindostan consider the north-eastern branch as the true Sinde.—Rennell, pp. 94—6.

* The greatest breadth of the doab between the Jelum and the Indus, is from Attok to Jellalpore Ghaut on the Jelum, a distance of 114 miles. The northern part of this doab, above the parallel

The Chunaub, or *Acesines*, the second river of the five, and the largest in size, rises in the Alpine district of Kishtewar in the Himalaya mountains, near the south-eastern corner of Cashmere. Due N. from the city of Lahore, this river is 300 yards wide in the dry season, and nearly a mile and a half when swelled by the rains. Like the Jelum, it is not fordable, but a small part only of its channel requires to be swum over. Its junction with that river is attended with great noise; a circumstance noticed by the historians both of Alexander and of Timour. Its banks are low and well-wooded.*

Fifty miles below this junction, and about 40 miles above the city of Moultan, the Chunaub receives the waters of the Ravee (*Iravati*) or *Hydraotes*. This is the smallest of the five rivers, but its length is considerable. It issues from the mountainous district of Upper Lahore,† and flowing S.W., enters the plains near Shahpoor (or Rajepoor); whence the great canal of Shah Nehr (now filled up) accompanied it to Lahore, a distance of 90 miles. The intent of this canal was, by keeping the water at a higher level, to supply that city in the dry season, when, like most of the Indian rivers, the Ravee is from 20 to 30 feet below its banks. The city of Lahore stands

of 32°, is hilly; and to the southward is a desert, with the exception of a few miles inward from the banks of the rivers.—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 678.

* The space between the Chunaub and the Behut, according to Major Rennell, is nowhere more than 30 geo. miles within the limits of the Punjaub. Lieut. Macaulay, however, makes the horizontal distance from Jellalpoor Ghaut to Vizeerabad Ghaut, 44 miles. The country is remarkably low, the soil rich, chiefly pasture.—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 678.

† Mr. Rennell says: "Its sources are in the mountains near Nagcoote, a famous place of Hindoo worship." They do not appear to have been explored.

on the southern bank. Three other canals, for the purpose of watering the country on the S. and E. of Lahore, were drawn from the same place. This river is fordable in the dry season, being then only 4 feet deep, and its channel is very narrow; but it has a very muddy bottom, and is full of quicksands. Its banks are low and well wooded. There are few boats on this river, whereas they are numerous on the Jelum and Chunaub.*

The Chunaub, after receiving the Ravee, still retains its name, till, nearly 100 miles below Moultan, it is joined by the united waters of the Beyah and the Sutlej, under the name of the Gharrah, Kerah, or Gavra. The Beyah (Vipasa or Beypasha), the ancient *Hyphasis*, rises in the mountains of Keeloo in the *pergunnah* of Sultanpoor. For the first 200 miles, its course is due south; it then bends to the westward, and after a course of about 350 miles, joins the Sutlej about midway between its source and the Indus, not far from Ferozepoor. It appears, however, that it formerly fell into the Sutlej much below the place where they now meet, there being still a small canal, called the old bed of the Beyah.†

* "The space between the Ravee and the Chunaub, at their entrance into the plains, is about 54 geo. miles; and they gradually approach each other during a course of 170 miles. The junction is effected nearly midway between Toolumba and Moultan."—RENNELL. Lieut. Macartney says: "The distance from Vizeerabad Ghaut (on the Chunaub) to Meanee Ghaut on the Ravee, is 33 miles. The land is rich and flat, but higher land than the last, and the soil not so very rich."—ELPHINSTONE, vol. ii. p. 68.

† Hamilton's Gazetteer. Rennell, p. 165. Lieut. Macartney gives a very different account of the river. "The Beyas and the Sutlej," he says, "are nearly the same size, but the Beyas is rather the largest. Their course too is nearly the same from the snowy ridge: 150 miles to their junction, and 300 more to their junction with the Chunaub." This river measured, at Bhirwal

The Sutlej (Sutuleje, Shetooder, or Satadru), the *Zaradrus* or *Hasudrus* of the ancients, has its source in the Himalaya mountains, whence it flows, first almost due west, and then in a southerly direction, bounding the province of Lahore on the east. At Bellaspoor, where it enters Hindostan Proper, it is 100 yards broad when at the lowest. After its junction with the Beyah or Beyas, it loses its name, first in that of the confluent river, and afterwards, the united streams are called Ghara or Ghavrah; although, according to some accounts, the river again divides and resumes its former names.* M. Malte Brun con-

Ghaut, 740 yards. Its right bank is very high, and its current very rapid. It is fordable in the dry season, but its channel then contains many sand-beds, islands, and quicksands.

* See Hamilton's Gazetteer. Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 433. Authorities are more especially at variance with regard to this fifth river, which appears under so many names. Ptolemy names the last river of the Panjaub, the *Zaradrus*; Pliny, the *Hesidrus*. Arrian says: "These rivers discharge their waters into the Indus; the *Hydaspes* (Rauvee) among the *Cadrobali*, which, receiving the *Hyphasis* (Beyah) among the *Adrobi*, the *Saranges* among the *Mosi*, and the *Nesdrus* among the *Attacani*, falls into the *Acesines* (Chunaub). The *Hydaspes* (Jelum), receiving the river *Sinarus* among the *Arigi*, falls also into the river *Acesines*, in the country of the *Oxydracæ*. *Talapus*, a great river, falls into the same; insomuch that the *Acesines*, vastly increased with all these, and still retaining its name, loses that and its waters at once, by falling into the Indus among the *Malli*."—Rooke's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 102. Mr. Rennell seems to think that the Saranges may be intended for the Zaradrus: but we are inclined to think that the Sutlej must be referred to under the name of the *Talapus*. "Before it is joined by the Beyah," Mr. Rennell says, "it is a very considerable river, and is navigable more than 100 miles. About 24 miles below the confluence, a separation again takes place, and four different streams are formed, the northmost and most considerable of which recovers the name of Beyah, and is a deep and rapid river. The others are named Hensi, (Sinarus?) Dund, and Nuomey: and near Moultan they unite again, and bear the name of the Setlege, until both the substance and name are lost in the Indus, about 50 miles below the mouth of the Chunaub. It is owing to the sepa-

siders the Sutlej as the largest river within the Himalaya range, between the Indus and the Brahmapootra. From its origin to its junction with the Beyah, it runs about 600 miles; and the united streams flow for more than 300 miles, before they contribute to form the Punjnud. The union of all the five rivers into one, before they reach the Indus, was a point in geography maintained by Ptolemy; but, owing to the obscurity of modern accounts, promoted by the splittings of the Indus, and the frequent approximation of streams running in parallel courses, the accuracy of his information had been called in question. Recent and minute inquiries, however, are now supposed to have re-established this disputed point, and with it, the credit of the ancient geographer.*

THE GANGES.

The Ganges, although not the largest, is the most highly venerated, as well as the most useful of all the Indian rivers. Its sources are found within the recesses of the Himalaya mountains, where so many mighty rivers have their origin. Among those which claim attention from their magnitude, are, the Sutlej, the Pabur, the Jumna, the Bilhong, the Girree, the Tonse, the Caligunga, the Bhagirutee, and the Alaknunda. It is the latter three which, by their union, form the mighty Ganga. The Pabur and Tonse unite, and, with the Girree, fall into the Jumna. The Alaknunda (or Alacananda) has its rise in a snowy mountain close to the celebrated Hindoo temple of Baddrinauth, in the province of

union that takes place after the first confluence of the Begah and Sutlege, I apprehend, that so many names are given to the latter by modern as well as ancient authors."—Rennell, p. 159.

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 18.

Serinagur. A very short distance to the north of that place, the breadth of its stream does not exceed 18 or 20 feet; it is shallow and moderately rapid. Further up, the stream is concealed under the accumulated masses of snow; and beyond this point, no traveller has ventured, or been able to penetrate. It flows in a direction nearly S.W. to Rooderprig, where it forms a junction with the Caligunga. The latter, rising at Kedarnauth, another celebrated temple in the Kedar snowy mountains, runs nearly S.S.W. to Rooderprig. From this point, the Alaknunda holds a more westerly course to Deoprig, where it is joined by the Bhagiruttee.

The course of the Bhagiruttee, the reputed Ganges, has been traced by Mr. Fraser to the place called Gungotree or Gangoutri, one of the holiest shrines of Hindoo worship within these mountains. Here, however, the stream is already "large and rapid," although "not greater, perhaps," Mr. Fraser thinks, "than may be accounted for by the large mass of snow that supplies it." It appears to be formed by a collection of the numerous torrents that run from the melted snow, uniting in a deep ravine formed by their violence. The actual source is concealed by the sharp peaks which close upon the inaccessible glen or ravine through which the river rushes down, so that its fountains have never been seen. Admitting, indeed, that the *Roodree Himala* contains the most elevated source of the Ganges, it may not be the most distant. A gun-shot below Gungotree, the Kedar-Ganga, a rapid and considerable stream, joins the Bhagiruttee; and lower down, the J'hanneria, a river of a size fully equal, joins it from the north-east. This river is said to have its origin in a very lofty mountain, called *Bee-ber-nor-stan*, fifteen days' jour-

ney north-eastward in the Chinese territory; and, notwithstanding the preference given by superstition to Gungotree and the Bhagirattee, the real origin of the Ganges remains to be sought for in a more remote and less consecrated region.*

The Bhagirattee flows at first for several miles, nearly from E. to W.; then to S.W., and afterwards to S.S.E. At Deoprág, where it is joined by the Alaknunda, it takes the name of the Ganga or Ganges. It enters the plains of Hindostan at Hurdwar,† in the province of Delhi, in lat. 29° 57′, long. 78° 2′. Its course is nearly straight to its conflux with the Jumna at Allahabad, in lat. 25° 27′, long. 81° 50′; and its bed is from a mile to a mile and a quarter in width. Below this junction it becomes more winding, and flows in a deeper and broader channel. After receiving the Goggrah, the Sona, and the Gunduk, besides many smaller streams, it attains its utmost breadth; and, where no islands intervene, is, in some places, three miles wide. It afterwards narrows to half a mile. When at the lowest, the principal channel varies from 400 yards to a mile and a quarter in width, but is generally about three fourths of a mile across. It is fordable in some parts above its conflux with the Jumna, but the best navigation is never interrupted; and at 500 miles from the sea to its mouth, the channel is thirty feet deep, when the river is lowest.

About 200 miles from the sea (300 by the windings

* See Fraser's Himala mountains, pp. 464—74. This Writer questions whether the moonshee sent to explore Gungotree by Messrs. Webb and Raper in 1808, really reached the spot. The Jhanwee is, perhaps, the Jahnvi Ganga. The Dauli or Sali, which joins the Alaknunda at Vishnuprayaga, has also a more remote source.

† Properly Hari-dwara, the Gate of Hari or Vishnoo. It is also called Ganga-dwara.

of the rivers composing the Ganges delta ... the westernmost branches, the Cossimbazar and ... Hoogly rivers, unite and form what is called ... Hoogly, the only branch that is constantly navigated by ships, forming the port of Calcutta. The Cossimbazar river is almost dry from October to May, and the Jellinghy is, in some years, scarcely navigable during the driest months; so that the only subordinate branch that is at all times navigable by boats, is the Choobnah river, which separates at Moddoy-ma and reunites in the Hooreeaghta river. The principal branch of the Ganges is joined by the mighty Brahmapootra below Luckipore, where these rivers have formed a gulf interspersed with mud islands. ... delta, which has nearly 200 miles of coast, consists ... labyrinth of rivers and creeks, all of which are ... except those which communicate immediately with the principal arm of the Ganges. This strong part of country bears the name of the Sunderbunds.* The navigation through these intricate passages or natural canals, is effected chiefly by means of the tides, and vessels move from 200 miles through the thick forests that covers the numberless islands formed by the different channels. There are so various in point of which, that a vessel has at one time her masts entangled among the trees, and, at another time, sails on a broad river skirted with woods. There are two distinct passages; the southern or Sunderbund passage.

* From Sundree-ban, a wood of Sunderg-trees. Some derive it from Sunder, beautiful, and ban, forest; while others again contend, that the proper name is Shunderbund, the root being comprehended in the ancient sanskrit of Shunderdeep. In this the Sunderbunds, together with Couch Bahar and Bangamattie, all nearly waste, combined, according to Major Rennell, 37,760 square miles. The Sunderbunds are equal in extent to the principality of Wales.—RENNELL, p. 28. HAMILTON'S Geo.

Hallaghat passage. The former is the ... but leads through the widest and deepest ... creeks, and opens into the Hooghly or Calcutta ... river. The latter opens into a lake on the eastern ... side of the city. The whole forest of the Sunderbunds is considered to be wild beasts, except that here and there may be seen a solitary fisher. During the dry ... months the boundaries are visited by the salt-makers and wood-cutters, who exercise their trade at the extreme ... part of their leases; for tigers of the most ... that not only appear on the margin, but frequently swim off to the boats that lie at anchor in the ... The waters also swarm with alligators.

... most rapid motion of the Ganges is between ... miles an hour in the dry months. In the ... on, and while the waters are draining off the ... inundated lands, the current runs from five to ... miles, and in particular situations, even eight miles ... hour. The descent of the river, taking its winding ... into calculation, is estimated by Mr. Rennell at ... three inches per mile. Owing to the ... of the soil composing its banks, the Ganges has, ... the lapse of years, considerably shifted its course, ... leaving the coast of the delta, there are no fewer ... eight islands, each of which appears to have

... the existence of this sea-cat has always been considered as of ... importance, as it prevents a great number of ... from ... the soft alluvial soil of Bengal. Nets are unable to keep out ... and the only means by which they can be destroyed is by the ... which is sometimes used in the ... of ... Bengal are so numerous, and ... with such facility, that the whole ... of ... are ... ...

exhaust to extend in length, collectively, upwards of 1000 miles. By the end of July, the rate of increase has reached its maximum. In the first eight or ten days of August, it declines to four inches increase per day. During the second week in that month, the inundation in Bengal is nearly at a stand; and after the 15th, although great quantities of rain continue to fall throughout September, the waters begin to run off at the rate of from three to four inches, which gradually lessens, during November, to one inch; and from November to the end of April, the mean daily decrease is only half an inch.

During the swelled state of the river, the tide, except very near the sea, totally loses its effect; but a strong wind blowing up the river for any continuance, will raise the waters two feet above their ordinary level, and the consequences are sometimes very disastrous.* The Ganges rises in a more considerable degree in the lower part of its course, than the northern rivers which communicate with it; the Burrampooter only excepted. Thus, during the dry season, the waters of the Teesta (which for about 150 miles has a course nearly parallel) flow into the Ganges by two distinct channels, while, by a third, it discharges part of its waters into the Burrampooter. But during the inundation, the Ganges runs into the Teesta, whose only outlet is into the Megna. From about the place where the tide

* In ordinary seasons, the growth of the rice keeps pace with the rise of the waters, but it is destroyed by a too sudden rise. The harvest is often swept by floods, as in some parts of South America.—See Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 177, note. In 1763, in consequence of a strong gale blowing with a high spring tide, at a season when the flood was within a foot and a half of its highest pitch, the waters rose six feet at Calcutpore, and the inhabitants of a considerable district were, with their houses and cattle, totally swept away.—Rennell, p. 156.

commences, to the sea, the height of the inundation gradually diminishes, till, at the point of confluence, it disappears.* Similar circumstances take place in the Burrampooter, the Meinam, and other rivers;† of which, Major Rennell suggests, the obvious explanation may be found in the known laws of fluids. The quantity of water discharged into the ocean by the Ganges, is computed by Mr. Rennell to be greater than that of any other river in the world; the mean quantity throughout the year being nearly 100,000 cubic feet in a second. The quantity of sand and soil held in suspension by its waters, is so great, that, in the year 1794, one of the mouths of the Bhagirutee, at Sadigunge, full five miles in length, was, in the course of a week, filled up very nearly to a level with the contiguous country, although it must have contained about 900,000,000 solid feet. In the neighbourhood of Colgong, where the depth of the river is, in many places, upwards of 70 feet, *new* islands have risen to more than 20 feet above the level of the stream.‡

The proper name of the Ganges, in the language of Hindostan, is said to be *Padda*, which has been given to it as flowing *ex pede Vishnou*, from Vishnou's foot.§ But, in the Hindoo mythology, Ganga is a goddess, the daughter of Mount Himavut; and she is the object of worship with all castes. An annual festival is held in commemoration of her descent to the earth; offerings are then made to the river, and clay images of Ganga are set up in the temples, which are after-

* At Luckipoor, there is a difference of about six feet in the height of the river at different seasons; at Dacca, 14 feet; at Cossa (240 miles from the sea by the river), 31 feet.

† See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 7.

‡ Rennell, pp. 353—55. Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 11.

§ Or, as some of the *pooranas* declare, *ex vishnu pada*.

wards thrown into the Ganges. The waters are held to have an expiatory efficacy; and in so great reverence is this river held by the Hindoos, that in the British courts of justice throughout Bengal, witnesses are made to swear upon water from the Ganges, in the same manner as Christians are sworn upon the Gospels, and Mohammedans upon the Koran.* It is only that part of the river which lies in a line from Gangootri to Sagor Island, that is deemed particularly sacred, and that is called the Ganga or Bhagirattee. The great branch that runs eastward to join the Burrumpooter, is not esteemed equally sacred; and it is to this that the name Padda, Patma, or Padmawati, is generally restricted. The most sacred places are the *prayags* or junctions: of these, that of the Ganges and the Jumna, at Allahabad, termed simply *Prayag*, is deemed the principal. Hurdwar, where the river first escapes from the mountains, and Sagor Island, at the mouth of the Hooghly, are also sacred places.

From Hurdwar to the sea, the Ganges forms a navigable stream 1350 miles in length, receiving, in its course, eleven rivers, some of which are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames,† be-

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 273. Many respectable Hindoos object, however, to this ordeal.

† The principal of these are: 1. The Jumna, which, after a course of 780 miles, joins it on its right bank at Allahabad. 2. The Sone or Sona, which rises in Gundwana, and falls into the Ganges a little above Patna. 3. It next receives, on its left, the Ramgunga from Kemaoon. 4. The Gumty (Gomati, winding), rising in the same hills, crosses the province of Oude from N.W. to S.E., passing Lucknow, and falls into the Ganges below Benares. 5. The Goggrah (Ghaghara), one of its longest tributaries, separates Kemaoon from the Goorkha territory; at Swarga-dwara, joins the Sarayu or Surjoo: and flowing through Oude, joins the Ganges in Behar, under the name of Devar river. 6. The Gunduk (called, in its higher parts, Salgramli), rises in the Himalaya, and after a course

sides other streams of inferior note. In a military view, Major Rennell remarks, this river opens a communication between the different posts, which supersedes the necessity of forming magazines; thus answering the purpose of a military way through the country, better than the roads of the Romans, and far surpassing the boasted inland navigation of North America, "where the carrying-places not merely obstruct the progress of an army, but enable the enemy to determine the place and mode of attack." So admirably are the natural canals formed by these rivers distributed over the flat country, that there is hardly any part of Bengal above twenty-five miles from a navigable river, even in the dry season. The wood, salt, and provisions of ten millions of people are thus easily conveyed by water. Add to this, the transport of the commercial imports and exports, to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* sterling *per annum*, the interchange of manufactures and products throughout the country, the fisheries and travelling; and some idea may be formed of the extent and importance of this inland navigation, which gives constant employment to not far short of 300,000 boatmen, the most laborious and hardy race in India.*

of 450 miles, joins the Ganges opposite to Patna. 7. The Coas (or Coal) rises in Nepaul, near Catmandoo, and flowing S.S.E., after a winding course of about 400 miles, joins the Ganges in the district of Purneah in Bengal. 8. The Teesta (Tista, standing still), called in Nepaul the Va Sanpoo, enters Bengal in the district of Rungpoor, and joins the Ganges after a course of about 400 miles. Besides these may be mentioned, 9. The Chumbul, or Sumbul, which has its source in Malwah, and flowing N.E., separates the British possessions in Hindostan Proper from those of Sindia on the south: after a course of 440 miles, it unites with the Jumna, 20 miles below Etawah in Agra.

* Major Rennell, forty years ago, estimated them at 30,000. "According to the Ayeen Akbaree," Mr. Tennant remarks, "the

THE BRAHMAPOOTRA.

The Brahmapootra (commonly called and written Burrampooter), though larger than the Ganges, affords less assistance to commerce: during a great part of its course, it travels eastward through rugged and solitary defiles, seldom approaching the habitations of men. It is also among the least sacred of the rivers of India: although it has been deified, and at a place three days' journey from Dacca, multitudes annually assemble to propitiate it by sacrifice, on the day that it usually begins to rise.* Its sources have never yet been explored, but are believed to be situated on the northern declivity of Himalaya, near Lake Manasawara in Tibet; not far from those of the Indus, the Sutlej, and perhaps the Ganges.† It takes, however,

contribution to government must have exceeded this number, since it declares that 400 boats were furnished by Bengal alone, and ten dollars to each boat is no extravagant allowance.... Yet, the trade carried on in this mighty stream, though it passes through the finest country, perhaps, in the world, appears trifling when compared to that of China. The Embassy found 100,000 mariners on a single branch of the river Pei-ho."—Thornton's *Indian Recreations*, vol. i. p. 31. Mr. Hamilton, however, thinks that some mistake must have occurred in the Major's calculation, "as they are certainly much nearer ten times that number."—Vol. i. p. 36.

* Ward, vol. i. p. 179.

† D'Anville, for want of better information than was in his time accessible, supposed the Sanpoo or Tsan-poo to be the same as the Ava river, which is now believed to be the *Nu-kiang* of Yunnan. (Rennell, p. 196.) Recent accounts, however, render it not improbable that the sources of the two rivers are not very widely distant; and they are supposed to communicate by intermediate streams. The Ayeen Akbaree states, that the Burrampooter comes from Khatai; but the Assamese, Major Rennell says, affirmed that their river came from the N.W., through the Bootan mountains. The course of the Irrawaddy is known as high as Bamoo, in lat. 24°, long. 96° 30', only twenty miles from the Chinese frontier. To the north of this is the mountainous district of Bong, reaching to Assam on the N., Yun-nan on the E., and Cassy on the W.

an opposite course, flowing eastward through Tibet, where it is known under the name of *Sanpoo* (the River). It passes near Lassa, the residence of the Grand Lama, and to the north of Teshoo Lomboo, the seat of the Teshoo Lama; receiving various rivers from the south, and probably from the north also. After a long easterly course, it deviates to the S.E., approaching within 220 miles of Yunnan, the westernmost province of China, and seeming to be making its way to the Gulf of Siam. Its course is now unknown to Europeans, but it is supposed to make a vast circuit round the mountains, before, suddenly curving to the south, it descends by a series of cataracts into Assam, where it receives a copious augmentation from the numerous tributaries which flow from the mountains on either side.* Here, it first assumes the name of Burrampooter. In this part of its course, which is nearly due W., it separates into two branches, the southern taking the name of Koleng: but these meet again, after inclosing an island five days' journey in length, and one in breadth. About Goalpara, the frontier town of Bengal, in lat. 26° 8′, long. 90° 32′, the expanse of the river is very grand; but its water is impure and even offensive, owing to the quantity of vegetable matter and other wreck with which it is charged. After entering Bengal, it makes a circuit round the western point of the Garrow moun-

and separating, apparently, the heads of the Birmese rivers from the streams which flow into the Assamese valley. Here is supposed to be the source of the Khyo-dwen, one of the heads of the Irrawaddy, unless it be a branch from the Brahmapooter.—See Mod. Trav., Birmah, pp. 200, 244, 249, 285. The Nú-kiang will, perhaps, after all, be found to be the Thalueyn or San-kuyn: and the identity of the Brahmapootra and the Tsan-poo must still be regarded as problematical.

* See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 248.

tains, and then runs southward through the Dacca district, where, in about lat. 24° 10′, it is joined by the Megna from Sylhet. This comparatively small river now gives its name to the united stream, which is regularly from four to five miles in width. Eighteen miles S.E. of Dacca, it is joined by the Issamutty, bringing the collected waters of the Dullasery, the Booriganga, the Luckia, and many smaller rivers: the aggregate forms an expanse of water resembling an inland sea. The course of the Megna is now S.S.E., until, at Luckipoor, it meets the Puddа or eastern branch of the Ganges, and they conjointly roll their muddy waters into the Bay of Bengal. Many islands are formed from the sediment deposited by this vast body of water. Among these are Dukkinshabazpoor, (30 miles in length and 12 in breadth,) Hattia, Sundeep, and Bamony.* The sand and mud-banks extend 30 miles beyond these islands, and rise in many places within a few feet of the surface; so that future generations will probably see them converted into habitable islands. In the channels between the islands and banks, the sudden influx of the tide, called the bore, attains the perpendicular height of 12 feet; but, after the tide is past the islands, no vestige of a bore is seen.

The whole course of the Brahmapootra is supposed to be 1650 miles in length. During its course of 400 miles through Bengal, it bears a close resemblance to the Ganges, except in the magnificent breadth which it attains during the last 60 miles before their junction. In Assam, the inundation commences from the northern rivers, which at length fill the Brahmapootra; and in May, the waters are usually at their height. In Bengal, the same general description

* See note at page 25.

applies to it as to the Ganges. So recently as the year 1765, the Brahmapootra was unknown in Europe as a capital river of India; its junction with the Ganges was not ascertained when D'Anville wrote; and it appears quite uncertain, under what name it was known, if at all, to the nations of ancient Europe.*

The chief rivers of the Deccan are, the Nerbuddah and the Tuptee, flowing west; the Mahanada, the Godavery, and the Krishna, flowing east. The Nerbuddah is one of the largest rivers which have their rise in the interior of India. Its source is very near that of the Soane, in the table-land of Amerkoontuk, in the province of Gundwana, in lat. 22° 53', long. 82° 15'. While the Soane flows down the eastern declivity, and proceeds in a northerly direction, afterwards bending eastward, to join the Ganges in Bahar, the Nerbuddah takes an opposite course, flowing nearly due west, and with fewer curvatures than most of the Indian rivers. After passing along part of Gundwana, Khandeish, Malwah, and Gujerat, it falls into the Gulf of Cambay, about 25 miles below Baroach (or Barigosha), after a course of about 750 miles. It receives no river of magnitude, and in the dry season is very shallow. The Tuptee (*Taputi*), or Surat river, has its source also in Gundwana, near the village of Batool, and, flowing west, reaches the sea about 20 miles below Surat. Its course is very winding, through a fertile country producing much of the cotton exported from Surat and Bombay; and its length is supposed to be about 460 miles. The mouths of both these rivers are obstructed by bars and shoals. To the south of the Tuptee, the course of all the rivers is to the east, in consequence of the superior elevation of the Western Ghauts. A few rivulets flow into the

* Rennell, pp. 353—9. Hamilton's Gazetteer. Malte Brun, b. 40

western sea, but they descend so abruptly from the mountains, that they have not time to collect into streams of magnitude.

The Mahanada, Mahanuddy, or Kuttak, rising in the mountains of Bundelcund, traverses, with many windings, the province of Berar and the district of Kuttak in Orissa, frequently changing its name, and dividing into several branches; and it at length forms a delta covered with jungle, and intersected by the various channels by which it falls into the Bay of Bengal. Its whole course is estimated at 550 miles. The Godavery (*Gaitavari*) has its source in the Western Ghauts, about 70 miles N.E. of Bombay. After traversing the province of Aurungabad in the Nizam territory, and the Tilligana country, from W. to E., it bends to the S.E., and receives the Bhalgenga, about 90 miles from the sea; having previously been joined by the Wurda, the Silair, and some smaller streams. At Rajamundry,* it separates into two great branches, which again subdivide, falling by many mouths into the Bay, and forming tide-harbours for vessels of moderate burthen. Including the windings, its course may be estimated at 850 miles in length, extending nearly across from sea to sea. This river is held very sacred by the Hindoos of the Deccan, by whom it is called Gunga Godavery, or simply Gunga; and its source, like that of the Bhagirutee, is fabled to be a cow's mouth.

The Krishna (sometimes written Kistna), which, according to the Mohammedan geographers, bounds the Deccan on the south, (separating it from the Peninsula,) has also its source in the Western Ghauts at not more than 50 miles from the western coast. Its

* Below Rajamundry, it forms, by this division, the fertile island of Nagur, which comprehends about 500 square miles.

direction is to the S.W., till it reaches Merriah in Bejapoor, where it meets the Warnah, composed of several streams from the Ghauts. From this point, it bends more to the eastward, receiving, in its progress through Beeder, Hydorabad, and the Northern Circars, the waters of the Malpurba, the Gupurba, the Beemah, and the Toombudra. It forms the northern boundary of the Guntoor Circar, separating it from Condapilly, which, with Ellore, occupies the whole space between this river and the Godavery. After a course of nearly 650 miles, it forms a delta near Masulipatam. This river is also an object of worship, its name, which signifies black, or dark blue, being that of Vishnoo under his ninth incarnation. Like the Ganges, it has its periodical floods; and in the fertility which it creates, it ranks among the most useful of the Indian rivers.

To the south of the Krishna, the principal rivers are, the Pennar, the Palar, and the Cavery. The first of these is believed to have its source not far from Nundydroog in Mysore. It flows northward till it approaches Gooty, in the Balaghaut; then bends round to S.E., passing by Gandicotta and Cuddapah: and finally, turning eastward, reaches the sea at Gungapatnam in the Carnatic, 108 miles north of Madras. The Palar also springs from the hills of Nundydroog, but takes a southerly direction, and, after flowing 220 miles through Mysore and the Carnatic, falls into the sea at Sadras. The Cavery rises among the Coorg hills in the Western Ghauts, near the Malabar coast, and passes through Mysore, Coimbetoor, and the Carnatic below the Ghauts. The city of Seringapatam stands on an island formed by this river, which is even there large and rapid. Opposite to Trichinopoly, it again divides, and forms the island of Sering-

ham. The northern branch, under the name of the Coleroon, after a course of 80 miles, falls into the sea at Devicotta near Negapatam; it formerly bounded, on the south, the possessions of the Nabob of Arcot. The Cavery is prevented, by an immense mound, from falling into the bed of the Coleroon, which is 20 feet lower at the point where they approximate; and by the skill and industry of the Hindoos in ancient times, it has been made to flow through a variety of channels, dispensing fertility throughout the province of Tanjore. It at length reaches the sea near the capital, forming a wider delta than any other river in the Peninsula. The whole course of the Cavery is about 360 miles. This river is regarded by the Hindoos as one of their most beneficent deities. The arrival of the waters of the interior, when, swelled by the rains, the river fills the canals, is celebrated with festivity like that which is occasioned at Cairo by the rise of the Nile; and the anniversary of the marriage of the river-goddess to the god Renganaden, is observed by the worshippers of Vishnoo.

There are but few lakes in India. The Chilka lake, which separates the Northern Circars from the Cuttak district, towards the sea, is one of the principal; and this has evidently been formed by the sea breaking over the flat, sandy shore;—if, indeed, it be not rather the remains of a bay which has been converted into a lake by the accumulation of the sands, like those on the Egyptian coast. It is about 35 miles long and 8 broad; bounded, towards the east and south, by a narrow strip of land, and on the north-west, by the mountains which extend from the Mahanndy to the Godavery, and inclose the Northern Circars towards the interior. It receives one branch of the former river, and communicates with the sea by a

very narrow and deep outlet. The water is salt, and very shallow. The lake contains several inhabited islands. The lake of Pullicat, on the coast of the Carnatic, has evidently a similar origin. It extends 33 miles from N. to S., and is 11 miles across in the broadest part, inclosing several large islands. The Coloir lake, in the low tract of alluvial formation between the Krishna and the Godavery, is of a different description, being a mere reservoir of the waters deposited by those rivers during the inundation, and which are retained by the sinking of the ground into a vast hollow, 47 miles from E. to W. by 14 in breadth. In North Canara, there is an extensive lake, called the lake of Onore, which reaches nearly to the Ghauts. In the dry season, it is almost salt, not having, apparently, any outlet; but during the rainy season, the waters which it receives from the mountains, render the whole fresh. It abounds with fish, which, when salted, form a considerable article of inland commerce. In Hindostan Proper, there are still fewer lakes. There are two close under the walls of Ajmeer, the more northern of which is six miles in circumference, and very deep.

The nature of the country in the South of India, does not admit of that extensive inland navigation, either by the rivers or by artificial channels, that is carried on in the plains of Hindostan. In the Carnatic, there is a canal, near Fort St. David, connecting the Panaur with the Tripapolore river, which approach within 1800 yards of each other. But the only considerable work of the kind, is the canal made in 1803, from the Black Town of Madras to the river Ennore, 10,560 yards in length, and 12 feet deep, by which charcoal and fire-wood are brought to Madras from the high land behind Pullicat. The canal drawn

from the Jumna to Delhi, a distance of more than 100 miles, the work of the Mohammedan sovereigns, was, in 1810, repaired and cleansed by the Bengal Government. That which was to have communicated with the Sutlej, either was never completed, or has become choked up. There seems no reason, however, to doubt the practicability of thus connecting the waters of the Ganges and the Indus, when the political circumstances of the interjacent territory shall favour the project.

CLIMATE, SOIL, &c.

"Only two seasons," M. Malte-Brun remarks, "are known in India; the dry and the rainy, produced by the south-west and north-west monsoons." The climate of India, however, and the alternation of the seasons, are subject to considerable local variations. It is in Southern and Peninsular India only that they are governed by the monsoons, which do not extend far beyond the tropics.* On the Malabar coast, the south-west monsoon commences about the middle of April, and continues till August or September, when it gradually loses its violence, and is succeeded by light, variable winds. Towards the latter end of October, the north-east monsoon begins on this coast; and, what is singular, like the opposite monsoon, it blows first on the southern part, and is not felt in the northern for about a fortnight after. This monsoon lasts till April. On the Coromandel coast, the south-

* They are said to extend decidedly to Tatta, in lat. 24° 46', but do not reach Gwadel, in lat. 25° 31'. South-west and west winds prevail here and all along the coast of Mekran, from April to October; but they often veer round to N. and N.W., and are seldom attended with squalls and rain.

west monsoon begins in the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, but is not regular or strong till June; land and sea breezes being not uncommon in March, April, and May. Even during the following three months, when this monsoon is very steady, a land breeze often blows from shore for 24 or 48 hours. In September, this monsoon declines, and the north-eastern commences about the middle of October; from which time till the beginning of December, navigation is rendered extremely dangerous. The long prevalence of the south-west monsoon forces a great body of water into the Gulf of Bengal, and occasions a tremendous surf on the Coromandel coast. The north-east winds continue this surf, by impelling the waves on shore. As soon, however, as this monsoon begins to abate, and the south-west current which prevails in the bay can operate, the surf on this coast is by no means high or dangerous; and during December, January, and February, the weather is settled and calm.

On both coasts, the setting in of the monsoons is generally accompanied with violent hurricanes; but storms and sudden rains are more frequent and violent on the Malabar coast, where the labours of the husbandman are liable to be defeated by two opposite causes,—devastating floods, and, what is still more to be dreaded, protracted drought. The Coromandel coast, on the other hand, experiences more violent heat and longer drought. The Carnatic and the north-western extremity of the Northern Circars, are deemed the hottest countries in all India.* As far as respects the rainy season, the climate of that part of

* Cochin and Sindy cannot be much less hot than any part of this coast.

India to which the monsoons extend, is, upon the whole, very regular. When the south-west monsoon prevails, the Malabar coast is deluged with rain, in consequence of the clouds which are brought by this wind being intercepted by the lofty ridge of the Western Ghauts. Owing to the same circumstance, it is then the dry season on the Coromandel coast; but, as the Western Ghauts extend no higher than the latitude of Surat, to the north of that parallel, the south-west monsoon, as far as it blows, carries the rain, without interruption over the whole country. Thus, while the Carnatic has only about two months' rain, in the Circars the rains last for eight months. The lower part of the province of Colmbetoor partake: of the rainy monsoon of the Malabar coast: this is, probably, occasioned by the break in the Ghauts near Paniany, which permits the south-west winds to blow through. The rainy season on the Coromandel coast commences with the north-east monsoon, about the middle of October, when the dry season begins on the western coast. The rains on this coast are not, however, so violent as those of Malabar. This seems to be accounted for by the circumstance, that the Eastern Ghauts are less elevated, as well as further from the sea, than the Western; they consequently intercept a smaller portion of the clouds, and break them less completely.*

The Circars have some peculiar varieties attaching to their climate. To the north of the Godavery, a westerly wind, with moderate showers, begins about the middle of June. About the middle or end of August, the rain becomes more violent and regular;

* A similar diversification of the rainy season takes place in the Arabian peninsula, which is, in like manner, intersected by mountains.—See Mon. Trav., Arabia, p. 10.

and it continues so till the beginning of November, when the wind shifts to N.E., and stormy weather occurs. The atmosphere continues of a moderate temperature, with little rain, till the middle of March, and then the hot season commences. South of the Godavery, the climate of the Circars is somewhat different. During January and February, the wind blows along the shore strong from the south; and as the sea-breezes set in regularly every day, the temperature is moderate. In March, the west wind, blowing over a loose, parched soil, and along the sandy and almost dry bed of the Krishna, produces a most oppressive degree of heat; the thermometer being sometimes raised, near the mouth of that river, to 110° within doors, and seldom falling below 105°. In the low country of the Arcot district, during the hot season, the thermometer rises to 100° under a tent, and to 120° in the sun. At Madras, taking the average of the whole year, the heat is less than at Calcutta, the mean height being 80°: in January, when the temperature is lowest, the thermometer is about 75°, and it seldom rises above 91° in July. The hottest months on the Malabar coast are April and May. At Cochin, the maximum height in April is 105°. At Bombay, the thermometer ranges, during the year, from 64° to 90°; at Surat, from 59° to 96°. At Calcutta, during the month of April, it rises as high as 110°, and rarely falls below 72°.

During the first part of the rainy monsoon on the coast of Malabar (in May and June), a considerable quantity of rain falls in the table-land of Mysore; but it is uncertain whether this is attributable to the monsoon, or is merely the periodical tropical rain. In the north-western extremity of the Rajah of Mysore's territories, on the summit of the Western

Ghauts, there are usually nine rainy months in the year. During six of these, we are told, it is impossible to go abroad, the rain is so violent and incessant; and "it is customary to make the same preparatory arrangements for provision, water excepted, as are adopted in a ship proceeding on a voyage." The elevation of this part of India is so great, that the climate is a month later than it is on the coast. In the mountainous parts of Coimbetoor, there are two rainy seasons; the first in April, the second lasting from July to October. The north-western parts of Hindostan Proper appear to have the driest climate. During the months of July, August, and the early part of September, which is the rainy season in most other parts of India, the atmosphere is generally clouded, but no rain falls, except very near the sea. Indeed, in Sinde and Tatta more especially, very few showers fall throughout the year. Owing to this circumstance, together with the proximity of the sandy deserts to the eastward, the heats are extremely violent, the thermometer, in June and July, ranging from 99° to 108°. When the hot winds prevail, it is found necessary to close the windows, ventilation being obtained by means of the wind-chimneys, which are there very general.* The great desert extending S.E. of the Indus, and to the N. of Gujerat, exhibits all the horrors of the Arabian deserts. The valleys of Cashmere and Serinagur, on the contrary, and those of Gurwal and Nepaul, encircled with Alpine heights, experience in succession "the rigours of a real

* These are attached to all "the houses of the great" in the towns on the Persian Gulf. See Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 302. At Aleppo, it is, in like manner, usual to shut up the doors and windows during the prevalence of the hot winds. See Syria, vol. i. p. 232.

winter, the delights of a lengthened spring, and the genial heat of a healthy summer." *

In that part of Bengal which lies near the head of the Bay, northerly winds prevail during October, November, and December, and southerly ones from March to the end of May. The seasons are generally divided into cold, wet, and dry; but the natives reckon six seasons in their year. The spring and dry season occupy four months of the year; February, March, April, and May. The periodical rains commence pretty generally all over the flat country in the beginning of June. During the first two months of the rainy season, there is scarcely an interval of two dry days; and four or five inches of rain have fallen in a single day.† In August and September, the rains begins to intermit, and the intervals gradually become longer and more frequent, while the weather grows very sultry. At Calcutta, the heat is sometimes so intense, that pigeons have been known to drop down dead at noon, while flying over the market-place. In the middle districts of this province, there occasionally occur thunder-storms during the hot season, which cool the atmosphere; and in the eastern districts, the same effect is produced by occasional showers. As the cold season approaches, fogs and dews are common, which are sometimes very dense. In the higher parts of Bengal, the weather is some-

* Malte Brun remarks, that it was in the Punjaub and the most elevated districts, that the ancients collected their examples of Indian longevity.

† In the lower parts of Bengal, the average fall of rain in the year is between 70 and 80 inches. During the S.W. monsoon at Bombay, the quantity that falls, exceeds 100 inches; sometimes amounting to 115. At Madras, upwards of 30 inches have been known to fall in one month; but the annual quantity does not average higher than 70 or 80 inches.

thus very cold. Between the parallels of 28° and 29°, in the province of Delhi, the summer heats are likewise intense; but, in winter, when the wind blows from the northern mountains, the thermometer falls below 30°, and water freezes in the tents. Even in the Benares district of Allahabad, the cold in winter is so severe as to render fires necessary. And at Calcutta, in December, with a N.E. wind, the thermometer falls to 52°. In the highlands of the Deccan also, the winters are cold. At Hyderabad, and in the provinces to the north of it, the thermometer, during three months, is often as low as 45°, sometimes down to 35°.*

The soil of India exhibits fewer varieties than might be expected in so vast a tract of country. In the whole of the Gangetic plain, the prevalent soil is a rich black mould of alluvial origin. No other soil appears below Dacca and Berhah, between the Tipperah hills on the east, and Burdwan on the west; nor is there any substance so coarse as gravel, either in the Delta or nearer the sea than Oudanulla, which is 400 miles distant by the course of the river. At that place, a rocky point projects from the base of the neighbouring hills into the river. In other parts of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, there is a considerable extent of clayey soil; and that this was the original soil where the black mould is now found, is proved by the appearance of the beds of the rivers, which are of clay. The soil of the Punjaub resembles

* The above details relating to the climate and seasons of India, are taken chiefly from the article *India*, in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, edited by Dr. Brewster. The writer has drawn his information from materials to which M. Malte Brun seems not to have had access, since, on these points, his account of Hindostan is singularly defective.

that which prevails in Bengal, and is equally fertile. In Malwah also, it is a deep, black, rich mould. The whole of the plains of Chitteldroog in the Mysore, extending ten miles from N. to S., and four from E. to W., consist of black mould to a great depth. Towards Gujerat and Sinde, the soil becomes more sandy. Gundwana and Orissa contain the largest proportion of poor, unproductive soil. On the table-land of the Deccan and the southern provinces, the soil is of various qualities; but, in general, it is a fertile loam on rock. Near the coast, it is sandy and poor. In the province of Malabar, the soil at the foot of the low hills which intervene between the sea and the Ghauts, is a red clay or brick earth. On the Coromandel coast, the sandy soil continues nearly to the foot of the Eastern Ghauts. The summits of this chain are of granite, and present a frightful barrenness. The Western Ghauts are described as containing much limestone and basaltic rocks. Rocks of trap formation, sandstone, and quartz are found in Malwah.* The substratum of the soil in Hindostan Proper is, in many places, calcareous: in other parts, it is clay or rock. With the exception of the few uncultivated parts which have been referred to, and the marshy tracts near the mouths and banks of the great rivers, India every where presents beautiful meadows, rich pastures, fields loaded with biennial harvests, and valleys adorned with every useful and every beautiful product of vegetation. In the dry season, indeed, nature seems to languish; but one night's rain will transform an arid plain into a verdant

* See some valuable Geological Notes on the strata between Malwa and Guzerat, by Captain John Stewart, in Transactions of the Lit. Society of Bombay, vol. iii. art. 16.

meadow; and in this country, the kingdom of Flora is exhibited in all its glory.

VEGETABLE AND MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.

THE natural history of India can be only glanced at in this rapid outline. To its rare vegetable treasures, not less than to its mineral riches, this country has owed the distinction of being, in all ages, the fountain of mercantile wealth, and the focus of commercial enterprise. The Indian nard, or spikenard, is supposed to be the species of valerian known by the Hindoos under the name of *jatemansi*.* The *malabathrum*,† purchased at a high price by the Romans, and mentioned as an aromatic unguent by Horace, is supposed to be the betel-leaf (*piper betel*), which, together with the areca-nut and quick-lime (*chunam*), forms the masticatory of which the Birmans are so passionately fond. It flourishes particularly in the Tiperah district, on the banks of the Megna, where the coming crop is regularly bought up by the Birman merchants. The areca-palm is cultivated over nearly the whole of India for its nuts. It grows spontaneously on the hills in the Concan and North Canara.

* In Persian, *Sumbul*; in Arabic, *sunbul*; in Bootanee, *jeenga*. It is indigenous in Bootan and Nepaul. The odour resembles that of the violet. See Asiat. Res. iv. 368, 431, 793; Vincent's Periplus, App. 97; Phil. Trans. 1790, lxx. 284; and Calmet's Dict. by Taylor, vol. iv. 122—128.

† Malobathrum is supposed to be derived from *Mala*, Malabar, and *patra*, the Sanscrit for leaf. An extract or composition from the leaf, or rather from the nut, was probably the article so designated. Horace and Pliny both describe it as an unguent:—

——— "nitidus
Malobathro Syrio capillus."

Od. ii. 7; and Plin. lib. xii. 26. It was probably brought from India by Syrian merchants. It was also used to perfume wines.—VINCENT'S Periplus, ii. 93.

In Malabar, there is a red species, which is used in dyeing. Besides the areca or cabbage-palm, there is a great variety of the palm-kind in India. The cocoa-nut-tree is found in all parts, but especially on the sandy coasts of the Peninsula. This invaluable tree supplies the natives at once with food, lamp-oil, cor-cables (made from the fibrous covering of the nut), thatch for their huts, a cloak in the rainy season, a fermented juice called *jaghery*, and the spirit known under the names of arrack and toddy. Rafters, water-pipes, fuel, and a substitute for paper, are afforded by the leaves and wood of the other varieties of palm. The largest species is the greater fan-palm, which abounds in the Payenghaut: two or three of its leaves are said to be sufficient to thatch a cottage. The most beautiful species is the sago-palm, which is less common.

The *acacia catechu* (*cate-ehw*, juice-tree, called in Bahar, *cover*) abounds in most of the mountainous districts, rising to the height of about 12 feet. The extract (called *cutt* by the natives, *cutch* by the English) is obtained from the inner wood, and is exported both from Bengal and Bombay. The *acacia Arabica*, the Babul-tree of the Hindoos, grows in great abundance all over the Deccan, and is very common in the wastes of Gujerat, where its gum (which closely resembles in its qualities gum-arabic) is used by the poorer sort as food.* It bears a handsome and very sweet-scented flower, consisting of a bright yellow ball. The bark is used for tanning, and the wood is considered to make the best wheels and axle-trees of any in India. This tree also makes an excel-

* The gum-arabic obtained from the acacia vera, is highly nutritive, and is eaten by the Arabs. See Mod. Trav. *Arabia*, pp. 171—3.

lent hedge-fence. The sandal-tree is another valuable production of India. The *pterocarpus santalinus*, which furnishes the red sanders-wood, flourishes in the Mysore, above the Western Ghauts. The sandal, which is merely the heart of the wood, is exported chiefly from the Malabar coast, in large billets of a blackish red outside, but a bright red within. This species has no smell, and little or no taste, but yields a colouring matter resembling that of the Brazil wood.* The yellow sanders-wood (*santalum album*) appears to be the heart of a different species, and is much more highly prized in India. It has a pleasant smell, and is an aromatic bitter. With the powder of this wood, the paste is prepared, with which the Hindoos, Persians, Arabians, Chinese, and Turks anoint themselves. It is likewise burned in their houses, and gives a fragrant and wholesome smell. It yields, on distillation, a fragrant essential oil, which thickens into the consistence of a balsam. In many of its qualities, it appears to resemble the aloes-wood, if it be not the aloes-tree of the ancients.† The *pterocarpus draco* is the tree which supplies the resin commonly called dragon's blood: this tree rises to the height of 30 feet.‡ The plant which produces the gum-ammo-

* The brazil-wood is, in like manner, the heart of the tree, which is a knotty mass. See Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. i. p. 68.

† Some have supposed the Ἄλοη of the Periplus to be the sandal-wood; and it is some confirmation of this opinion, that the Hebrew ahalim (Num. xxiv. 6; Psal. xlv. 9; Prov. vii. 17; Cant. iv. 14), rendered lign-aloes in our version, and by the LXX and Jerome sometimes translated aloe, is by the Rabbins translated sandal. This was also the opinion of an Arabian Jew consulted by Kitchr. See Calmet's Dict. Aloe; Gesenius's Heb. Lex. Ahalim; Rumf's Nat. Hist. of the Bible.

‡ This is said to be a papilionaceous plant of the decandria order and diadelphia class; whereas the sandalus is classed with the octandria monogynia.

nine (*dalichos pruriens*) grows in Bengal, where it is called *cadjuri*. Gum-lac is said to be a production of the *mimosa cinerea*; and the *bdellium* (*bdolach*, βδολχος, βδελλα) of the ancients is believed to have been an odoriferous resin, or transparent gum obtained from some species of mimosa.* The *heracleum gummiferum* is a native of India. Little has hitherto been done towards classifying the endless varieties of myrrh or resin-bearing trees, among which rank several varieties of the Indian fig, and shrubs of both the acacia and jujube species. The *coccus lacca*, or gum-lac insect, is said to be found on four or five different trees. Gamboge also is a vegetable resin produced by an Indian tree (*gutta*); and a red gum is obtained from the *pterocalina maringa*.

The *swietenia febrifuga*, which supplies an astringent and tonic bark, used by the natives in intermittent fevers, grows among the mountains of the Rajahmundry Circar. Zedoary (*curcuma*,) the root of which is medicinal, grows in sandy open places in Malabar, where it is called *acua* by the Brahmins. The ginger-plant (*ali*) grows in most parts of the Malabar coast where the sea cannot penetrate. The

* The bdolach of Gen. ii. 12, was certainly some white precious stone; (Bochart and Geddes suppose it the pearl, which is not likely;) and the colour of bdellium (Numb. xi. 7) was like hoarfrost, Exod. xvii. 14, 31. By the Rabbies, it is rendered crystal. It was, perhaps, diamond, which the hoar-frost in the sun would most resemble. The βδελλα of the Periplus is described by Salmasius as a pellucid exudation of a waxy substance, and there are said to be three sorts, Arabic, Persian, and Bactrian. It was imported, according to the Periplus, from Barouch in Guzerat, and from Sindy.—VINCENT'S *Periplus*, App. p. 6. This was, perhaps, the true *ammonia*, *ammi* signifying wax. If not the *ushuk* or gum-ammoniac plant, it was probably of a similar kind. See the description of the *ushuk* in Mod. Univ. *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 143; and of the Chinese wax-trees, *ib.* p. 308.

tamarindus Indica produces tamarinds of a darker colour and drier than those of the West Indies, with pods twice as long. The *alpinia cardamomum*, or cardamom-plant, grows on the declivities of the Ghauts above Cochin and Calicut. The *laurus cassia* bears what is called Malabar cinnamon, which, in some respects, but in an inferior degree, answers the official and domestic purposes of the real cinnamon, the produce of Ceylon.* The *laurus camphora*, or camphor-cinnamon, (called, in Ceylon, *caipora curundu*,) from the root of which camphor is obtained, appears to be a variety of the *laurus cinnamomum* (*penni curundu*, honey cinnamon).† These are no longer found on the Indian continent, if they were ever indigenous there. The *piper longum* is a native both of Bengal and Malabar, and the *piper nigrum* has recently been found to flourish in the Northern Circars. The

* In the Periplus, ten different sorts of κασσία are mentioned; and it is remarked by the learned Editor as a curious coincidence, that Professor Thunberg reckons ten sorts of cinnamon in Ceylon, four of nearly equal value. He considers it as certain, that the κασία of the Periplus was what we now call cinnamon. In Exod. xxx. 23, 4, the κιννάμωμον hollow (sweet-scented pipe), is distinguished from κασσία, rendered cassia by our translators, which was apparently a bark. The former seems to correspond to the *canna aromatica* and *canna fistula* of the Greeks and Latins, as the latter is supposed to be their *xylo-casia* and *casia lignea*. The Roman cinnamon, Dr. Vincent thinks, was the tender shoot of the same plant. See Periplus, vol. i. pp. 18—22, of App. The subject is involved in some perplexity. Galen states, that casia and cinnamon are so much alike that it is not easy to distinguish them. This would seem to hold good of the *laurus casia* and *laurus cinnamomum*, but could not be true of the substances above referred to. Could the κιννάμωμον or *amomum* be camphor,—the resin or wax of the *laurus camphora*?

† Knox's Ceylon, p. 16. In the term *caipora*, we seem to have the Heb. *copher* and the Greek κυπρος, which some writers have supposed to be the henna (*lawsonia inermis*). The Sanscrit for cinnamon is said to be *sevenna* or *sarasi*.

Arabians call the Malabar coast, *belled-el-felfel*, the pepper-country. The *papaver orientale*, from which opium is obtained, thrives in almost all the provinces; but the best comes from Bengal and Bahar. The Indian sesamum furnishes an oil known to antiquity as an article of commerce. Indigo grows spontaneously in Gujerat, and is cultivated on a large scale in Bengal, Bahar, Oude, and Agra. A species of *nerium*, yielding a valuable blue dye, has been discovered in the Circars. This country has been celebrated for its cotton from the remotest times. The sugar-cane is cultivated also to a great extent, as it has been from time immemorial, throughout India.* Julap, sarso-

* Sugar has been cultivated in India, from time immemorial. The name of Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, a city highly celebrated in Indian history, is supposed to be derived from *gur*, which, in both the ancient and the modern languages, signifies raw sugar. That the cane was an article of commerce in very early times, appears from the references to this production by the Jewish prophets. (See Isa. xliii. 24; Jer. vi. 20.) In the Periplus, sugar is described as Μέλι καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι, honey from canes, called *sacchari*. Pliny says: "Arabia produces canes, but the best is in India: it is a honey collected from reeds, a sort of white gum, brittle between the teeth; the largest pieces do not exceed the size of a hazel-nut, and it is used only in medicine."—*Lib. xii. c. 8.* Saccar or sarcar, we are told, is the Sanscrit term for manufactured sugar. Dr. Vincent, on the authority of a paper in the Asiatic Researches, gives, as the Sanscrit word, *Shakh-car*, and supposes that from the two middle syllables the Arabic *shakar* or *sukkar* was formed. It is agreed, that sugar and cane come from the Arabic; the Saracens and Arabians having propagated the cane in their conquests. From Egypt, it was carried into Sicily, which, in the twelfth century, supplied many parts of Europe with that commodity; and from Sicily, it appears to have travelled westward, to Spain, the Canaries, Hispaniola, and Brazil. The noun שֵׁכָר *shekar*, occurs nineteen times in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is uniformly translated strong drink, in distinction from wine. Some sort of mead or fermented liquor may be intended; but it is very possible that a saccharine spirit was obtained from the syrup of the cane, still exported under the

parilla, ginger, saffron, anise, various dyes, tobacco, flax, hemp, and many other plants well known to commerce, are the production of the Indian soil.

India produces those species of grain which are most common to Europe,—wheat, barley, maize, and millet; but rice is the chief food of the frugal natives, and grows in most of the provinces. There are reckoned no fewer than twenty-seven varieties.* The *holcus spicatus*, called *bajeheera*, is a common food, especially among the Mahrattas. Several other species of *holcus* are cultivated; in particular, *holcus dhaurra* (*andropogon sorghum* or *holcus sorghum*), called by the natives *tchor*. Instead of our potato, the Indians have the *katchil* root, the igname (*dioscorea alata*), and the *moogphully* (*arachis hypogæa*). Besides our leguminous species, they have the *mung* (*phaseolus mungo*); the *murhua* (*eleusine coracana*), the grain of which resembles mustard-seed, and is used for cakes; the *kessur*, a very productive grain; the *tour* (*cytisus cajan*); and the *tell*, a shrub yielding a

name of *jaghery*,) to which that name was given, and that the verb *dudur* was made from the noun. The Greek σύκον and Latin *sicera*, have obviously a similar etymology; and possibly, σῦκον, a fig, may, in like manner, be derived from its saccharine quality.

* The ground under the wet cultivation, called *mungul* land, brings forth crops almost all the year round; and even on the *punjut* land, or that which is not under wet cultivation, there are two harvests,—*khureef* in September and October, and *rubbee* in March and April. Wheat is not much cultivated south of Allahabad, nor is there much demand for it. The finest is obtained from Gujerat. The crop of *ragy* in Mysore and the southern provinces, is the most important of any raised in the dry field, and supplies the lower classes with their common food. Maize is little grown, except in the western provinces. Flax is cultivated only for its oil, and the common hemp for the sake of the intoxicating spirit obtained from it, called *bang*. For further details relating to the agriculture of India, we may refer our readers to Rees's Cyc. vol. xii. pp. 79—93.

favourite kind of pea. The red lotus, the most beautiful of the nymphæas, is common on the banks of the southern rivers, and its roots are used for food in different ways.* The small-fruited banana (*musa sapientum*) has, in all ages, been the food of the philosophers of India and priests of Brahma. Among the Eastern Ghauts, the great American aloe (*agave Americana*) grows in great profusion. The bread-tree (*melia azadirachta*) and the *roleria mitis*, grow spontaneously in the barren sands of the Carnatic: the latter is found also in the rich muddy soil on the banks of the Ganges.

The fruits of Europe, the apple, the pear, the plum, the apricot, the peach, the walnut, the almond, the orange, and the mulberry thrive in the northern provinces †. The mango, of all Indian fruits deemed the most delicious, grows both wild and cultivated in almost every part, but thrives best in the southern districts. Battalah, in the Punjaub, is celebrated for a plum of excellent flavour, called the *alooha*. In the Sylhet district of Bengal, orange-plantations occupy a considerable tract, and this fruit forms the chief export of that part. Grapes of an extraordinary size are produced in the neighbourhood of Chikery, in the territories of the Peishwa; they are grown also in some parts of Aurungabad and Malwah, and have recently been introduced into the territory of Bombay. The *jumbos*, a species of rose-apple, is esteemed not only for its fruit, but also for its crimson flowers, which hang down very elegantly from every part of the stem. Two species of the papaw-fig

* See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. p. 24. Persia, vol. ii. pp. 43, 300.

† The largest and best apples grow in the Punjaub, near Battalah. In Lahore, the white mulberry attains a remarkably large size and fine flavour.

are remarkable for the rose-flavour and sweetness of the fruit. In addition to these may be enumerated, the *spondias dulcis*; the *dillenia Indica*, remarkable for its beauty, and bearing a large pomaceous fruit of a pleasant acid, and equalling the lily in fragrance; the *pilloe*, the fruit of which is described as resembling the almond in flavour, but the nuts are contained in fibrous bags, sometimes attaining twenty-five pounds weight; the *averrhoa carambola*, which bears three crops of fruit in the year; and the elephant-apple, almost equally a favourite with the animal whose name it bears, and with the Hindoos.

Among the trees and shrubs remarkable for their beauty, the *hibiscus floridus* is distinguished by its magnitude and the profusion of its elegant blossoms; it is also of peculiar value in a tropical climate, as hardly any insects are found under its shade. The cotton-tree rises with a thorny trunk 18 feet in circumference, to the height of 50 feet, without a branch; it then throws out numerous boughs, which are adorned, in the rainy season, with large purple blossoms: these are succeeded by the capsule containing the cotton. The *nyctanthes Arbutis* (or *amboe*) and the *jasminum grandiflorum* (*kathumalipu*) boast the most fragrant blossoms of the Oriental Flora; the former perfuming the night, the latter giving forth its scent by day. The *gloriosa superba* and the Indian vine form, by their union, "bowers worthy of Paradise." The *bauhinia superba*, a small tree, by the striking contrast of its green leaves, black flower-stalks, and large scarlet papilionaceous blossoms, attracts the admiration of the most luxurious. Among the trees which diffuse their fragrance over the forests, while they adorn them with their splendid blossoms, is the *pandanus odoratissimus*, together with various species of

Sigunsin. The elegant *atimuctu* (*banisteria bengalensis*); the *tchandaga*, used by the Indians for adorning their hair and perfuming their clothes; the *mussunda*, which displays in fine contrast its white leaves and blood-red flowers; the *teora*, which, from boughs six feet in height, exhibits its scarlet and yellow tufts of flowers, "like so many bright flames enlivening the foliage of the woods;" the *sindrimal*, which opens its flowers at four in the afternoon, and closes them at four in the morning; and the *nagafalli* or *pergularia tomentosa*, a parasitical plant poisonous to the serpent tribe; may also be mentioned among the more curious and remarkable varieties in Indian botany. The sensitive plant is said to grow spontaneously in the Amran district of Gujerat. The fine white rose called the *koonja*, scents the vales of Delhi and Serinagur; and the rose-plantations of Cashmere yield the highly-valued *attar*.

The oak, the pine, the cypress, and the poplar are found in various parts of India; but the forests consist chiefly of species unknown to Europe. One of the most valuable of these is the teak-tree,* the qualities and uses of which appear to have been little known or appreciated in this country till towards the close of the last century. It affords a hard and almost incorruptible timber, well fitted to supply the place of oak in ship-building. This tree, which is almost peculiar to India and Indo-China, is found along the western side of the Ghauts and other contiguous ranges of hills, particularly on the N. and N.E. of Bassein. The

* The *tectona grandis* of Linnæus, of the *pentandria monogynia* class. It is an evergreen, and esteemed a sacred tree. A purple dye is obtained from the tender leaves; also a medicinal syrup; and the flowers, mixed with honey, are prescribed in dropsy. Vast forests of teak-tree cover the *ddns* of the Irrawaddy in Birmah.

forests of Rajamundry, stretching from the hills on the banks of the Godavery to Pettenshah, contain also great numbers of these trees; but this is the only district on the eastern side of the Peninsula which furnishes them. In North Canara, the number of teak-trees annually felled, amounts to about 3000; and it is computed, that the district of Palicondchery in Malabar, might supply annually 45,000 cubical feet of this valuable timber. Excellent timber for masts is furnished by the *poona* (*calaria Indica*, *maria altissima*), called the mast-tree or poon-tree, which grows to the height of 60 feet.* Small timber for building is furnished also by the *koru* (or *anoo*) of the northern forests, the *djaase* (a species of *pterocarpus*), and the *ungsaar* or iron-wood. The Indian ebony, which abounds in Ceylon, is said also to be found on the banks of the Ganges at Allahabad. In North Canara, abounds a very remarkable tree, the *calophyllum inophyllum*, esteemed alike for its welcome shade, its fragrant blossoms, and the useful properties of its seeds, from which is extracted the lamp-oil in general use in that part. It frequently attains 80 feet in height and 12 in circumference. The *ricinus communis*, or *palma Christi*, is cultivated in the Mysore, as well as in other parts of India, for the castor-oil, which is used for the lamp; and the seeds are given to the female buffaloes with a view to increase their milk. On the Almora hills in Kumaoon, grows a tree called *phulwarrah*, attaining the height of 50 feet, with a circumference of six, from the kernels of which is extracted a fat-like substance. The northern sides of the hills in the upper part of Delhi produce the common Scotch fir in great abun-

* See a botanical plate of this and the teak-tree in Forster's Hindoostan, vol. i. A very brief description of some other large trees is given at p. 134 of vol. ii.

dances: it is, indeed, not uncommon in the northern districts of Hindostan Proper. The mountainous districts of Nepaul and Upper Lahore contain vast forests of pine: those of the Terriani district are not surpassed any where for straightness and durability. From the *Salla* pine, a pure turpentine, called *lota*, is produced. The willow is generally found in those parts of India where the pine thrives.

Some individuals of the sacred banyan, or Indian fig-tree (*ficus religiosa* of Linnæus), will come under description in our topographical account of the country. The two most remarkable for size in India, are found, one on an island in the Nerbuddah, within a few miles of Baroache, and the other not far from the town of Mungee in Bahar. The former is said by the natives to be 3000 years old, and is supposed to be the largest in the world, its shade being capable of sheltering 7000 persons. It has no fewer than 350 trunks (that is, branches that have taken root, and which in circumference exceed most English trees), and upwards of 3000 smaller branches, measuring nearly 2000 feet in circumference. It must once have been considerably larger, as part of its roots have been swept away, along with the bank, by the floods.* The other

* A description of this surprising tree, called the Cubee Bore, is given in Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. II. p. 108. It is supposed to be the Gaetical tree which Arrian describes (Hist. Ind. cap. 11) as speaking of the gymnosophists. Another celebrated tree of this kind, at Gombroon in Persia, is described by Sir Thomas Herbert (Travels, 1665, p. 122) and by Tavernier. The latter says: "The Franks call it the Banian's tree, because in those places where these trees grow, the Idolatrous Heathens take up their quarters, and have their victuals under them." A tree of the same kind also grew near the city of Orissa. "Below the hills ran that grew in the island." Dr. Fryer says, the Portuguese called it *arbor de reis*, because the branches bear its own shade; and the banyan-tree, for the adoration the banyans pay it: "by whom it

tree has between 50 and 60 stems, and the circumference of its shadow at noon is 1110 feet.

A great part of the soil of India is covered with forests of bamboo, a species of reed sometimes rising to the enormous height of 60 feet, in the short space of five months, with a circumference of 8 inches. It attains its greatest height during the first year, and during the second, acquires those properties of elasticity and hardness which render the wood so useful for a variety of purposes. A single acre of bamboos, with a good soil and proper management, produces more wood than ten acres of any other tree. At the N.W. extremity of the Northern Circars, the forests are almost entirely of bamboos; and as, besides their thorns, they grow closer, and resist the axe better, than any other tree, the inhabitants formerly trusted entirely to their bamboo forests, binding and interweaving the reeds so as to constitute an excellent defence to their fortresses, in the place of redoubts,—at least in the rainy season: in dry weather, as they are very inflammable, they can afford little protection. The larger shoots and the trunk are employed by the Hindoos in constructing their slight habitations, and for all sorts of furniture. The best bamboos, used for

is held in almost as the oak in the Druids, who paint it dull, and make offerings of rice, and pray to it. It has leaves like ivy." Milton has given an admirable description of this tree in his Paradise Lost (b. ix. 1101, et seq.)

—"such as at this day, to Indians known,
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her arms
Branching so broad and long, that, in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade
High overarched, and echoing walks between.
There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
At loopholes cut through thickest shade."

bamboos, grow near the summit of the rocks in the mountains of Tekan and Hindole in Orissa. They spring up in July, at which time the stringent shoots are cut off to ripen, in order to train them to the proper form; and at the beginning of the dry season, the tops are cut off, which prevents their running higher, and makes them grow hard and elastic. In some parts, the young shoots are pickled for eating. The indurated juice of the plant, called *tabasheer*, has been used in medicine, and is a very remarkable vegetable concretion, being a hydrate of silica. The first and smaller shoots form the well-known walking-sticks; and a kind of pith is made of the larger shoots, in which water keeps extremely cool. Various other reeds, as the genus *calamus*, abound every where.

Of the grasses, the *poa cynosuroides*, the *kusa*-grass of the Brahmins, deserves particular notice. It is regarded as a sacred grass, is used at sacrifices, and is held almost constantly in the hands of such as are supposed to be regarded as particularly devout. It is also of considerable use, since from the roots is made a sort of mats called *tatis*. These are placed against the doors or windows, and kept constantly watered, by which means an agreeable scent, as well as coolness, is diffused through the apartments. On the eastern frontiers of Bengal, an immense extent of sandy soil is covered with the *nugreh* grass, which grows to the height of 20 feet and the thickness of a man's wrist. The *munja* grass is common in many parts of the country. In the Rajemal district of Bengal, it attains the height of eight or ten feet, and is topped with a bright downy blossom, resembling the feathers of a swan. These coarse grasses are the only kind which resist the burning climate of India. Even these disappear, in some places, during the prevalence

of the hot winds, so completely, that the farmers are obliged to feed their cattle on the roots cut from under the ground, and washed. The grass-cutters, who form a distinct class, by means of a sharp instrument, will bring provender from a field that has no appearance of verdure. During the rainy season, the grass-lands look green, and are covered with various kinds of pasture; but it consists for the most part of a hard grass, similar to what is called *bent* in England, and which is neither relished by the cattle, nor nourishing. In some districts of India, however, the pastures are abundant and nutritious. The Lucky Jungle, a circular tract forty miles in diameter, on the confines of Delhi and Ajmeer, is celebrated all over India for its fertile pastures and its excellent breed of horses. The Poorneah district of Bengal is also distinguished by its extensive and fertile pastures. The excellence of the bullocks of Gujerat is in some measure owing to the richness of the grasses in those parts of the provinces which lie near the Run; and the elevated table-land of the Mysore affords extensive tracts of rich pasture-land.

Although the mineralogy of India has not been very carefully or thoroughly explored, it is certain that, in mineral wealth, it is one of the richest countries in the world. The rivers of the Deccan, of Orissa, and of Berar, still carry down gold in considerable quantities; the Sutlej also, and its tributaries, afford grains of gold on washing. The *Ayeen Akberee* mentions several rivers with golden sands in the Punjaub, Cashmere, and Kemaoon; and it is said, that the nearer the source of the rivers the more gold is obtained. In many of the rivers of Assam, gold is by no means uncommon; especially in the Dehreng, which falls into the Brahmapootra. All this proves that the pre-

cious metal must abound in the Himalaya mountains, although no gold-mines have been discovered.* In the eastern extremity of the Rajah of Mysore's territories, an area of country, comprising 150 miles, is said to contain gold dust. Mines of silver and lead are stated to be found in the mountains of Kumaoon, and in Assam; and there are lead-mines in the territory of the Rajah of Joudpoor, in Ajmeer. Extensive and valuable copper-mines exist at Dhampoor and other places in Nepaul and Kumaoon: copper is said to exist also in Agra, Ajmeer, and Badrekshan. Iron is found in various parts, especially in Mysore. At Ghettypoor, steel is manufactured. Not far from Sevendroog, the sand is absolutely black with particles of iron, of which sufficient quantities are collected during the rainy season, to keep a furnace employed during the remainder of the year. Black sand, mixed with iron ore, is also brought down in the rainy season by the torrents from the Eastern Ghauts, especially near Naiekhan-erry. At some of the iron-works, 47 *per cent.* of malleable iron is obtained from this ore; but it is by no means in a pure state: the work is every where performed in a very rude and careless manner. In the Velater district of Malabar, there are many iron-forges. In the Singrowla district of Gundwana, this metal abounds. The hilly country of Bahar is also rich in iron, which is fused for sale by the natives in large quantities; and in the south-

* Herodotus states, that the tribute paid by the Indian satrap to Darius Hystaspes, which was nearly one-third of the whole tribute paid by the twenty satrapies, was paid in gold. The ancients say, that the gold was heaped up by the ants in India, which, in the river-courses, might be literally true. It is probable, that the quantity obtained from the Indus and its tributaries was much greater in early times. At all events, the classic writers were strictly correct in speaking of the auriferous rivers of India.

western coast of Gujerat, there are extensive iron-works. There are whole mountains of magnetic rock in the neighborhood of Hoa in the province of Agra, from which iron is extracted. Some mines of tin are worked near Zamrar in Ajmeer, and in Punjaub. Quicksilver and antimony are said to be found in a few places; and zinc abounds.

The diamond-mines of India have long been known and celebrated. From that of Pannah (or Purnah),* in the Bundelcund district of Allahabad, the emperor Acbar drew eight *lacs* of rupees annually; and the native chiefs and Mahratta conquerors, who in turn succeeded to the possession of the district, derived a considerable revenue from this mine. Subsequently, however, it seems to have declined; for, in the year 1756, it yielded to the Rajah only four *lacs* of rupees. The mine of Sumbulpore, on the banks of the Mahanuddy (the *Adamas* of the ancients), in Gundwana, is believed to be now the richest. After rains, a red clay is washed down from the mountains, in which diamonds are often found. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the diamond-mines of Sedhout, in the Balaghaut ceded territories, were very productive. Diamonds have also been found at Raolconda, about forty miles N.W. of the junction of the Beemah and the Krishna; at Oolore, on the southern bank of the latter river, not far from Gundavir, in the Guntoor circar; and in different parts of Golconda. But all the diamond-mines of India have long ceased to be very productive, either through exhaustion or neglect. *Lapis lazuli*, which, in its perfect state, is one of the most beautiful productions of nature, and is considered by some learned writers as the sapphire

* Supposed to be the Panna of Pudeny.

of the aerients, is found in the mountains of Oude, and in those on the north-west of India, the Hindoo Cooch and Beloot-tag. The Indian onyx, supposed to be the shoham of the Jewish high-priests,* came from a chain of mountains which seems to correspond to the Balaghaut hills. Carnelian and other opaque gems are found near Cambay, and garnets near Hyderabad. Rubies, sapphires, amethysts, rock-crystals, and other precious stones, have been found in the channels of the mountain torrents. Bahar is rich in alabaster. The mountains of Ajmeer contain white, black, and green marbles; and both alabaster and marble quarries are found in other provinces. The Thibet stone is very abundant all over Hindostan Proper, and is not uncommon in the Deccan and the Peninsula. In Bombay, there are large quarries. In one of the branches of

* Onyx, like bdellium, seems to be the name both of an odoriferous gum or unguent, and of a gem or precious stone. The former is the Hebrew *shecheleth*, Exod. xxx. 34; rendered by the Septuagint, *onycha*, and by the Arabic version, *lubnam*. Dioscorides describes it as the produce of a shell-fish found in some lakes in India,—an aromatic shell. But the root of the Hebrew word seems to drop or distil, and *shecheleth* would seem, therefore, to mean some exudation. See also Ecclus. xxiv. 15. The onyx is first mentioned (Gen. ii. 12) in connexion with gold and bdellium. Two onyx-stones were attached to the ephod of the Jewish high-priest, on which were engraved the names of the tribes (Exod. xxviii. 9). Yet, onyx-stones are enumerated among the building materials prepared by David (1 Chron. xxix. 2). This, as the learned Editor of Calmet remarks, was probably the *onychites* which Pliny mentions as a stone of Caramania. The Greek *onyx* signifies the nail; and it may be supposed, that the drug, the gem, and the marble were all alike semi-transparent and of a similar colour; the latter seems to have been alabaster. Thus, Horace speaks of an onyx or alabaster box of *ephesaard* (Od. iv. 12.):

"*Nardi parvus Onyx eliciet cadum.*"

See Calmet's Dict., *onyx*; and Harris's Nat. Hist. of the Bible, p. 287. The sardonyx, which is supposed to have resembled the sardius in colour and the onyx in kind, was perhaps carnelian.

the Ganges, and some other rivers, is found a very rare and curious stone called *salgrama*, which are regarded with religious veneration by the votaries of Vishnoo. It is an ammonite or fossil shell, and is described by Sonnerat as commonly black, but sometimes violet, of a round or oval form, a little flat, and nearly resembling touch-stone; hollow, with a small hole outside, yet very heavy.* Rock salt, sulphur, saltpetre, naphtha, and coal, are also to be enumerated among the mineral productions of India. A considerable quantity of saltpetre is manufactured in Bengal and Bahar, and exported to Europe, Tatary, and China. †

A general view of the principal productions of India, so far as they are articles of commerce, will be obtained from a list of exports, abstracted from papers printed by order of the House of Commons; with this, the reader may compare the catalogue of the articles of commerce mentioned in the Periplus ascribed to Arrian, as illustrated by the learned diligence of the Translator.

* The upper part of the Gunduk is called Salgrami, from the number of ammonites contained in the schistous rocks over which it passes. Might not the Druidical *anguinum*, or serpent's egg (*glain neidyr*) be an amulet of a similar description?

† In this imperfect sketch of the botany and mineralogy of India, we have availed ourselves of the article in Brewster's Ency. above mentioned, and of Malte Brun, Vol. III. pp. 33—35, to which we refer for authorities. Many of the statements, however, require to be verified; and we give the whole as a general guide to the inquiries of the future traveller, rather than as a satisfactory account of the vegetable and mineral productions of India.

EXPORTS IN 1818.

From BOMBAY and SURAT.

Cotton and piece goods. Cardamoms. Cocoa-nuts and betel-nuts. Elephants' teeth. Grain. Hemp. Horses. Lead, red and white. Liquors. Salt. Spices. Sugar. Sugar-candy. Tin. Woollens.

From COCHIN and MALABAR.

Betel-nuts. Cocoa-nuts. Cardamoms. Coir cordage. Cassia. Copra. Ghee. Grain. Piece goods. Pepper. Sandal-wood. Teak timber.

From TINNEVELLY, COROMANDEL COAST, &c.

Brandy. Chanks. Copper. Cotton. Drugs. Fruit. Jaggery. Liquors. Metals. Piece goods. Spice. Timber and sandal-wood. Tobacco. Woollens.

From the NORTHERN CIRCARS.

Indigo. Rum. Grain. Piece goods.

From BENGAL.

Drugs. Ghee. Ginger. Grain. Indigo. Liquors. Opium. Raw silk. Sugar. Spice. Timber. Piece goods.

From OTHER PARTS.*

(Besides articles enumerated.) Camphire. Oils. Horns. Hides. Ivory ware. Copper ware. Mother of pearl. Skins. Dyes. Turtle-shell. Saltpetre. Arrack. Coories. Shawls. Cottons and woollens. Gum lac. Turmeric. Precious stones. Rice.

PERIPLUS, supposed to be about A.D. 61.

Cloaks (φᾶρος). Cotton cloths. Adamant. Aloe (wood). Silver plate. Arsenic. Aromatics. Bdellium (the gum). Striped cloths. Slaves. Oil of olives. Ivory. Spices. Girdles or sashes. Ginger. Mules. Incense. Horses. Gum-lac (κόκκος). Gold coin (δαρεῖ). Fine muslins (σησανεῖ). Casia and cinnamon. Tin. Nard. Coverlids. Coral. Costus. Lazarus (the resin of a species of cistus). Linen. Porcelain (λιθία μυρρίνη). Crystal. Gem-stone. Opaline-stone. Alabaster. Red-thong (for dyeing). Quills. Pearls. Betel. Bark (μακίς). Knives or daggers. Brass or copper articles. Sugar. Honey-bees. Purple cottons. Lead. Myrrh. Shell. Black silk, Chinese and Indian. Muslins. Wines. Awls and hatchets for the African trade. Pepper. Pearls, Purples. Wheat. Cinnabar. Sapphires. Chinese furs. Iron. Stibium, for tinging the eye-lids black. Stones. Amethysts. Brass. Tortoise-shell. Chrysolite. Specie. Gold plate.*

* Vincent's Peripius, vol. i. Append. pp. 3—38. In the xxvith chapter of Ezekiel, there is what might almost be termed another

NATURAL HISTORY.

The zoology of India is not less rich in species than the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. We shall not attempt either a scientific classification or a full description of the Indian animals. M. Malte Brun may be very correct in commencing with the simiæ; but the half-reasoning elephant, the royal tiger, the rhinoceros, and the camel, claim a precedence over the sacred apes and marshalled armies of monkeys.

In the elephants of India, there is considerable variety with regard to colour, size, and the length of their trunks. The prevailing colour is a blackish brown; the white variety, which is held sacred in Indo-China,

inventory of the principal articles of the Indian trade, as carried on, overland, by Persian and Syrian merchants, and by sea, through the medium of the Nilotic or Phœnician traders, B.C. 588. Thus, from Dedan or Dadena, (ver. 15.) on the coast of Oman, were brought horns (perhaps tortoise-shell), ivory, and ebony; (ib. (ver. 20.) precious clothes for horsemen (shabracks?). From Sheba (Saba) and Raamah (Rhegma in Oman), were brought the chief spices, precious stones, and gold. From Uzal (or Yaleb), Javan (Yemen?), and Meshech, (which Michaelis also makes to be places in Arabia,) were brought wrought iron, casia-lignum, and odorous aromatics—either cinnamon or sugar-cane. And from Haran (Charræ), Canneh (Calneh in Shinar), and Eden in Mesopotamia, were brought blue hangings or robes, braidered work, chests of rich apparel—perhaps the largesses, (ἐξαίρετα, and κόμματα) of the Periplus. Nine hundred years before, we find some of the most precious productions of India had become familiar articles of Egyptian consumption. The "chief spices" referred to, Exod. xxvii. 23, are probably the same that are distinctly enumerated, Exod. xxx. 23, 24; viz. myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, casia, stacte, cerphe, galbanum, frankincense. And about 240 years still earlier (B.C. 1729), we find an Arabian caravan transporting to Egypt, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut, and the spices, probably, of Scindia, Gen. xxxvii. 25. See, on this interesting subject of the early Indian trade, Vincent's Periplus, vol. i., Prel. Diss., and vol. ii. pp. 738, 21, 753—54. Also, Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. pp. 62—65.

* See Mod. Trav., Hindostan, 256—8.

is supposed to be an albino, the subject of disease. In the forests of the Ghauts, there are flocks of two or three hundred. In the Tiperah district of Bengal, they are also very numerous. Those of Chittagong are highly valued; but the most docile and handsome, though inferior in size, come from Ceylon. On the mountains in the north of India they are still smaller, seldom exceeding 7 feet in height, and they are caught chiefly for their teeth. The common height of the female elephant in India is from 7 to 8 feet; that of the male, from 8 to 10. The largest ever seen in the country, measured 10 feet 6 inches at the shoulder; it was caught in the year 1796, and belonged to the Nabob of Oude. The largest tusks of the Bengal elephant seldom exceed in weight 70 or 80 lbs. These gigantic animals, once so formidable in the field of battle, are now employed in the disciplined armies of India, only to drag cannon and carry ammunition, to set in motion heavy engines, or to bear on their broad backs the purple tent in which some nabob reclines on his gilded cushions. The height required by the Bengal Government, for the elephants purchased for the service of the army, is 9 feet.

The one-horned rhinoceros is also a native of Bengal, and is found especially in the islands at the mouths of the Ganges, where he is frequently seen in company with the tiger. These savage and very different animals, although they have no instinct for mutual association, are brought together by their respective physical habits. The tiger finds, in the jungle and underwood of the Sunderbunds, the coarse aliment on which he feeds, while the rhinoceros seeks amid mud and water a protection from the scorching heat. The royal Bengal tiger * attains a height of five feet, and

* Seneca, in his Œdipus, speaks of the Gangetic tigris. See Pennant's Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 155.

is said to be able to clear by his fatal spring a hundred feet. Such is the size and strength of these formidable animals, that they have been known to carry off bullocks. The ground colour of a young or vigorous beast is almost a brilliant orange, with intensely black stripes.

From the ancient Indian records, there is reason to believe, that the lion (called *singh*) was formerly found in most parts of India. Most naturalists, however, doubt whether the African or long-maned lion be a native of this country.* The other varieties of the cat kind are very numerous. The *serval*, or panther-cat, which is but little known, is found from the Deccan to Tibet. The ounce, the panther of Pliny, inhabits the central part of the Deccan and the province of Gujerat. In Bengal is found a peculiar species of panther, of a deep black colour, with the spots of a more intense black. The common tiger

* Mr. Forrest affirms, that near the fortress of Gwalior, and that of Bhutta Gur, in Agra, are "numbers of lions." "Those," he adds, "who deny that those animals were natives of India, assert that here was a royal menagerie, and that the breed was propagated from the beasts which had escaped. I find in Bernier (part iv. p. 42), that Aurungzebe frequently took the diversion of lion-hunting, but do not learn that the noble animal was ever turned out for the royal diversion. The *Ayeen Akberee* relates many instances of the valour of Akbar the Great in his engagements with this tremendous animal, but is silent whether they had, or had not, been aborigines of Hindostan. Mr. Terry, in the vast forests near Mandoa, more than once saw lions, or heard them; they were also frequent about Malwah. These must have been their most southerly haunts, as the tract between Lahore and Cashmere is the most northerly, where they were the game of Aurungzebe. Possibly, they may have been extirpated in other parts of Hindostan."—Forrest's *Hindostan*, vol. ii. pp. 133, 6. See also *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 78. Jehangir, it is there remarked, asserts that he had killed several. If the *singh* actually means the true lion, and not the leopard, its having a Hindoo name would certainly indicate that it was a native of India.

abounds in the Ghauts of the Peninsula and in Ceylon. Leopards also are found, varying considerably in size and colour. One species, called the *chittah*, is trained for hunting wild deer. The lynx is peculiar to the northern provinces; but the *caracal*, a black-eared variety, makes its appearance in Bengal, which contains also two varieties of the tiger cat.* Hyenas (*cheerwah*) are very numerous in Orissa and on both coasts of the Peninsula. Jackals are formidable in the interior provinces. Wolves are seen, particularly in the Ghauts, the Carnatic, and Malabar. Wild boars, of a vast size, of a brown and bristled colour, and very fierce, lodge in the jungles of Bengal.

In the northern district of Coimbetoor, there are a great number of black bears, which, however, are said to be very inoffensive, living chiefly on the white ants and the fruit of the palmyra.† But near Chittagong, there is a very ferocious species of bear, which rejects vegetable food. It is there called the wild dog. Its head is shaped like that of a dog, but bare, and red about the muzzle; its paws are like those of the common bear, but the coat is short and smooth. Bengal produces a particular species of fox, small and very agile. The jerboa, the musk rat, the striped mouse, and several peculiar species of the same genus; civets of two varieties; badgers, racoons, and ichneumons, are also to be added to this enumeration.

The musk-deer inhabits the mountains of the

* See Pennant's Hindoostan, vol. i. p. 31; vol. ii. pp. 280, 285. The *Chittah* is the *guépard* of Buffon, and the great *pardalis* of Oppian.

† This is probably a variety of the sloth, called *bradypus ursinus*, which has a resemblance to the bear, and lives on ants. The two-toed sloth is found in Bengal and along the eastern shore.—PENNANT, vol. ii. p. 288.

Himalaya range, but its musk is not equal to that of the Chinese. Antelopes are numerous, especially the blue species called the *nylghau*, or *roi*, the hunting of which with leopards was the favourite sport of Tippoo Sultaun. A small white species called *dirdhagen*, the male of which has four horns, is perhaps the *argali*.* Hares, rabbits, and martens abound in the northern provinces. The Malabar porcupine, called *pangolin*, is often kept tame in houses. Squirrels live in flocks on the Malabar coast. The large purple squirrel, which attaches itself particularly to the cocoa-palm, is found about Bombay; and the yellow squirrel lives in a gregarious state in the Gujerat. These animals are very destructive, but not more so than the large vampires and bats of all shapes and sizes, which infest Gujerat and the Coromandel coast.†

The monkeys of India are also of very gregarious and predatory habits. On the coast of Malabar, thousands of them come to the very centre of the villages, and commit great devastation: they are of almost every species. The gibbon ape is found chiefly in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast. The great ourang-outang is said to have been seen in the same parts, and in the Carnatic. The *rudjiskode* ape, with red face and black beard, is, in the eyes of the lower

* Mr. Pennant enumerates, the gazelle, a clumsy species with a hump, the *nilgau* or grey ox of the Indians, the common antelope, the smooth-horned variety, the Chinese antelope, and the beautiful spotted axis.—Vol. ii. pp. 348—5.

† "The flying monkey is co-tenant of the forests (of Gujerat). It wholly inhabits the trees. In descending, it spreads its membranes, and balances itself till it reaches the place it aims at; but, in ascending, it uses a leaping pace. Its food is the fruit of the country. This is the animal which Abulfoul calls a cat which will fly to a small distance."—PENNANT, vol. i. p. 68. See also, *ib.*, p. 191, and vol. ii. p. 350.

orders of Hindoos, a representative of their god Hunooman, the Indian Pan, who is believed to be an incarnation of Shivu or Seeva. Having assumed that form, he placed himself at the head of an army of monkeys for the assistance of the god Rama, and materially contributed to the discomfiture of Ravan, king of the giants, and sovereign of Ceylon. His name is said to be derived from hanoo, the cheek-bone; Hunooman having broken his cheek-bone by a fall from the sun's orbit.* It may be supposed, that this species has something peculiar about the conformation of the cheek-bones. Alexander's army met with a body of monkeys so astonishingly numerous, that, mistaking them for a hostile nation, they prepared to give them battle. Of true monkeys, the green monkey, an "elegant species," the talapoin, the mona, and the tawny, a malevolent species, are all found in India; together with the pigmy ape, the "fierce and malignant lion-tailed ape," the *golok*, and some other species of a large size, very dangerous when insulted.† Mr. Pennant says, that the hunting-leopard (or pea) runs up the trees, and makes great havoc among the monkeys.

The ox and the cow are treated with as much religious veneration in India, as they were in ancient Egypt. "Persons strict in their religion," Mr. Ward

* Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. 251. Mr. Ward describes Hunooman as a black-faced monkey. "About twenty years ago," he says in 1815, "the Rajah of Nuddeya (in Bengal) spent 100,000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, with all the parade common to Hindoo marriages." Before that time, none of this species were to be seen in this district. "Now, they are so numerous, that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards, as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them." The account of Hunooman's adventures at the head of his monkey army, is given in the Ramayuna.

† Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 251—3.

says, "worship the cow daily;" and an annual festival is celebrated in her honour.* The sainted species, which is very handsome in Guzerat, Malwah, and Bengal, is distinguished from the European breed, only by a fatty protuberance on the back. It is the *zebu* or *bos Indicus* of naturalists, and is described as being of a white colour, small size, active and well-proportioned, with large perpendicular horns. The British Government in India have paid considerable attention to the improvement of the breed of bullocks for their ordnance; but there are only two districts in the Bengal Presidency, in which are bred bullocks of the size required; the Purneah district of Bengal and the Sarun district of Behar. Those in the former district are of a large size, well-formed, and very strong and active; much superior to the draught cattle in the lower parts of Bengal. The Sarun bullocks are not quite equal in size and quality. Upwards of 5000 from these districts are employed by the Bengal Government for the conveyance of artillery, camp-equipage, &c., besides elephants and camels.† In the neighbourhood of Surat and in Ceylon, there are oxen no larger than mastiffs. The buffalo is found through-

* See Ward's Hindoos, vol. I. p. 248. Brumha is said to have created the Brahmans and the cow at the same time. The cow is termed the mother of the gods. The touch of a cow purifies from defilement. The ox and cow were anciently regarded as symbols of the productive energies of nature, emblems of the sun and moon. These mythological notions seem to have passed away in India; and we cannot but regard the religious honours now paid to the cow, as the remnants of an idolatry more ancient than the present system.

† In the year 1806, there were found to be, in the ceded districts, 1,198,813 black cattle, and 1,147,491 buffaloes. In Bengal, there were supposed to be, of both kinds, above 30 millions. From the Chuteegur district of Gujerat, where the bullocks are reckoned to be the strongest, swiftest, and handsomest in India, they export, in favourable seasons, 100,000 bullocks.

out southern India; and among the Ghaut mountains, as well as in the Himalaya, is a species called *urut*, said to be 6 feet in height, with horns of enormous length. The *yak* is peculiar to the northern provinces. Milk, *ghee* (clarified butter),* and cheese are the produce of the cows and female buffaloes. Some cows, however, Mr. Ward says, are of more value for their dung than for their milk, for the Bengal one gives very little milk, compared with the European. The dung is used for purposes of ritual purification and for fuel. Some cheese is made in Gujerat and other parts of Hindostan Proper, but it is of very inferior quality. In various parts of Gujerat, Cutch, and the Deccan, there is a particular tribe whose chief employment is selling milk and husbandry labour.

Camels are bred in the delta of the Indus. On the sea-beach and sandy slips in that part of Gujerat which is separated from the main land by the Run, they are suffered to run wild among the jungles, the tender parts of the brushwood serving them as pasture; they are, however, of an inferior description. The Arabian camel (with one hump) is not unfrequently to be met with about Patna and Monghir, in Moolan and in Tatta. In this last province, the author of the *Ayeen Akbaree* saw herds consisting of some thousands. The two-humped or Bactrian camel is also said to live in a state of natural liberty in the northern provinces.

Comparatively little use is made of the horse in India, except for the saddle. The native breed is a small, ill-shaped, vicious pony, in some parts not exceeding 30 inches in height, particularly on the con-

* Ghee is made of butter which has been kept for two or three days, when it becomes rancid; it is then melted in an earthen pot, and boiled till all the water has evaporated; after which it is poured into pots or leathern jars, and kept for use.

fines of Nepaul, where it is called the *goat of goat*. Mr. Pennant describes the native horses of Bengal as about ten hands high, slender and elegant, yet strong, and much used to carry men and baggage. *Tanekys* and *tayns* are horses about fourteen or fifteen hands high, fit for either draft or saddle, and supposed to be a foreign breed naturalised. The Mahratta horses, used for their formidable cavalry, are "very scraddy, but active," and swift. Wild horses of a hardy and useful breed, of middle size, thick and strong, and singularly pied or spotted, are brought from Tibet and the banks of the *Boat-ea*, in Nepaul: they are called *tanyens*, and are used in the draft, but not for the saddle. The countries about Candal send great numbers of horses of Tatarian breeds to the great annual fairs of that city, whence they are dispersed over the northern provinces of India. In some parts of the country, however, the native breed is of a better sort. The province of Lahore, according to Pennant, is celebrated for its breed; introduced originally, as it would seem, by the Mogul sovereigns. The Emperor Akbar had constantly 12,000 horses in his stables, brought chiefly from Arabia, Persia, and other foreign parts.* In the Chittergur district of Guzdwana, brood mares of the native species are kept in considerable numbers, but it is not superior to that of Bengal. On the banks of the Beemah river, however, there is a beautiful and excellent breed, of a middle size, generally of a dark bay colour with black

* Pennant, i. 411; ii. 298. It has been ascertained, that the horse degenerates, both in size and qualities, in low and moist situations; while, in dry and moderately elevated situations, it thrives and attains a good size. Some of the Bengal horses are said to be as large as mastiffs. In the mountainous districts of Nepaul, though not much superior in size, they are considerably more active and handsome.

legs, which are highly esteemed by the Mahrattas: they are called Beemarteddy horses, from the district in which they are bred. In Aurungabad, also, great numbers are reared for the Mahratta cavalry, which are hardy, but neither strong nor handsome. In that part of Bahar which borders on Nepaul, a great number of horses are bred for the British cavalry; and since attention has been paid to the breeding of them in this part, many of the very best qualities have been reared, particularly in the districts of Tyrpoot and Hajypoor; and they are in such request, that horse-dealers from Upper Hindostan frequent the fairs at Hurdwar and other places, to purchase them. The British Government frequently obtain excellent horses also from Lahore and from some districts in Gujerat.

In some parts of Bengal, the Carnatic, and the Balaghaut, the ass is a common and useful animal. It is a small species, the colour varying: some of them are entirely black, and it is remarked of these, that "there is no appearance of the cross on their shoulder." Herds of wild asses are sometimes seen near the mountains in the northern provinces, which have descended from the highlands of Tibet; and these are sometimes found as far south as the Deccan.* The Hindoos, for the most part, like the Europeans, attach an idea of extreme meanness to the use of asses for riding. Nor is the milk of the ass ever used.

The sheep of India, Mr. Pennant states, "are covered

* "The *kshikhorr*, or wild mule, and the *koulan*, or wild ass, may justly be reckoned among the animals of India; they are both found within its borders, in the vast sandy desert of Gobi. The *koulans* collect towards autumn in herds of hundreds, and even thousands, and direct their course to the north of India, to enjoy a warm retreat during winter. Barbega, as quoted by Pallas, says, that they penetrate even to the mountains of Malabar and Golconda."—PENNANT'S *View*, vol. ii. p. 248.

with hair, instead of wool, except towards the very northern parts." M. Malte Brun says: "The Indian sheep is distinguished from the European by his reverted horns and the silkiness of his wool. This breed is found all over India, excepting towards the extremity of the Peninsula. Ctesias was acquainted with the riches of Northern India in the article of wool. When he assures us, that the sheep of those countries were as large as the Grecian asses, and that they were employed as beasts of burden, he speaks of the sheep so common in Cashmere, and which the inhabitants call *bundgo*. The true Cashmerian sheep, a delicate animal, furnishes the fine wool used in the manufacture of shawls. In Moultan, the *Dhara*, or thick-tailed sheep, is also found; and the Tibet sheep, so highly prized for the quality of its wool: this precious article consists of the interior or shorter hair. In the kingdom of Assam, the rams have four horns. Finally, India contains also the *argali*, or wild sheep; the *ovis ammon* of Pennant. Gujerat and Cutch contain many goats, both wild and tame. The Cashmere goat furnishes very fine hair for shawls.* In the mountains and forests of Orissa, Telinga, Berar, and Malabar, the goat is met with, from which bezoar is obtained; a morbid concretion formed in the intestines, presenting the appearance of a mineral, and valued in Asia for certain supposed medicinal qualities." †

* Pennant describes "the shawl-goat" as characterized by smooth horns, with a single spiral twist, and between them a long tuft of white hairs: face white, bounded lengthways with a dark line: cheeks, pale red: hind part of the head and neck, fore part of the throat, and the beard, white: rest of the hair, black: all very long: straight ears, white and pointed."—PENNANT'S *View*, II. 266.

† Malte Brun, vol. iii. pp. 38, 40. Bezoar is a name derived from the Persian *pâzehr*, an antidote. The species of mountain goat in which it is found, is called in Persia, *pâzen*. The Arabians retain the name of the stone, *bazahr*. It is composed of concentric coats

Sheep are numerous in the Mysore, where they are of three varieties, red, black, and white. The shepherds and their families live with their flocks, the women and children sleeping under huts made of leaves or basket-work, about 6 feet in diameter. In the Peninsula, there are most sheep bred in the Arnaanal district of Coimbetoor. Mr. Pennant mentions a species called *cabrito* by the Portuguese, distinguished by its very long legs, and of a most disgusting appearance, which, he says, is sometimes saddled and bridled at Goa, and will carry a child twelve years of age. This must be the *Aundoo* above mentioned.* Swine were common in the Mysore till they were almost extirpated by Hyder Ali. They are not now numerous in any part of Hindostan, either domestic or wild.

The ornithology of India presents a numerous and splendid variety. This is the native country of the peacock. These birds exist in almost every part, in a wild state, and are much larger than elsewhere, producing also a greater number of eggs. The historians of Alexander mention the delight and surprise with which that conqueror first beheld this magnificent bird, and he forbade their being killed under severe penalties. Near Cambay, and in different parts of Malabar, they are particularly numerous.† Mr.

of a calculous concretion, with a little cavity in the centre, containing a bit of wood, straw, or other such substance. The oriental kind is of the size of a walnut, of a shining dark green, or olive colour, smooth and shining. There are various kinds of bezoars, animal and mineral, as well as artificial.

* Pennant, vol. I. p. 50. In the year 1801, the number of sheep in the coded districts amounted to 1,147,681, and the goats to 694,653. These in Allahabad and on the Coromandel coast are small, and of quality inferior even to those of Bengal.—Buchanan's Journey.

† The peacock, Mr. Pennant says, inhabits most parts of India,

Forbes says, they feed upon serpents. Pennant speaks of the Tibet peacock, which he supposes to be the same species as the *Ceylonensis* peacock of Latham. He also mentions, among the birds of Eastern Hindostan, the horned turkey, the head of which is furnished with two callous horns, falling back and reverting at the ends, and two broad, long dewlaps pendent one from each side of the bill. The colour of the body is orange, marked with pearl-shaped drops of white: on each leg is a strong spur. Another species or variety has the head covered with long black feathers in form of a crest, and, from the resplendency of its colours, is called *mony sunnaarei*, the bright bird.* Among the gallinaceous tribes of Northern India, is a species of pheasant, the colours of which are of "matchless

adding highly to the beauty of its rich forests, as well as some of the islands, as high as lat. 31° 16'. It is yet found on the Barren. Ælian states, that it was imported from India into Greece by the barbarians. A male and a female were valued at Athens at a thousand drachmæ (about 32*l.*) Samos appears to have been one of the first places in Europe to which they were brought: here they were preserved about the temple of Juno, being sacred to that goddess, as they are in India to Karttikeya, the son of Shiva and Doorga. Their use was, however, subsequently permitted to mortals; and Gellius, in the *Noctes Atticæ*, commends the excellency of the Samian peacocks. They were known in Judea many years before the era of Alexander, being enumerated among the precious things imported by the Tharshish fleets in their three years' voyage to and from Ophir. 1 Kings, x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21. Harmer, after Bochart and others, would make תכיים (or תוכיים) to be Egyptian parrots; but Bochart has proved the propriety of the received rendering. On the Malabar coast, the name of the peacock is said to be still *togei*.—Sir Penrant's *Zool.*, vol. i. p. 311, 12. Calmet's *Dict.*, art. Peacock, and Harmer's *Obs.*

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 344–6. The turkey, according to the most received opinion, is originally from America. Yet, remarks M. Malte Brun, this bird is called in German, the "cock of Calicut;" and the question of its origin appears deserving of fresh examination.

metallic brilliancy:" it measures two feet in length. On the hind part of the head is an upright crest composed of feathers terminated with spear-shaped heads. There is also a black pheasant of the size of our black cock, the bill much hooked. The common fowl is found in the jungles, and is called the jungle-bird; and the wild cock, with variegated feathers which shine like gold, is found in the Ghauts and the adjacent forests.* There are also four elegant species of partridge or quail.

The finest eagles, vultures, and falcons † are found in the northern provinces. The griffin and bearded vultures appear to be natives of Siberia, where the Mongolian princes keep numbers of them for the par-

* "That now universal bird, the origin of our poultry, derives its descent from the Indian stock. They arrived in our very distant island before the time of Julius Cæsar, who tells us, that they were a fowl forbidden to the Britons. Athenæus calls the cock the Persian bird: and adds, that it enjoyed that kingdom before Darius and Megabyzus. It then travelled westward from the neighbouring Hindostan. They probably were imported into Britain by the Phœnicians. Poultry, in a state of nature, are found in great numbers in most of the jungles in Hindostan, and are extensively wild: they are small as bantams. The females are of plain colours, and resemble a large partridge. The cocks are of a brilliant red, and resplendent with a rich gloss of gold."—Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 269, 70.

† Mr Pennant says: "The falcons of this country are, the Chinese, the Cheela, (both large species,) and the crested Indian." Vol. ii. p. 58. He elsewhere mentions, "the great Indian falcon, brown, with broad black bands on the wings." Also, among the hawks, an elegant black and orange species, not seven inches long, yet trained for falconry: the musk-chow, a little green bird, no bigger than a sparrow, that can bring down a crane, which was used by Akbar: the *crane*, about the size of a wood-pigeon, which haunts the rice-fields, and preys on frogs and other reptiles, and at the sight of man sets up a loud cry: the European goshawk: and a blue variety of the peregrine falcon.—*Ib.* pp. 266, 1. See also, for an account of other varieties of this genus in Ceylon, vol. i. p. 204.

pass of falconry. The finest hawks come from Cashmere and Northern India. The neighbourhood of Pondicherry abounds with different species of vulture; and here is found in great numbers the Brahminy kite, or Pondicherry eagle, which has received the former name on account of the high veneration in which it is held by the Brahmins.* The body is chestnut-coloured, the rest of the plumage white. It is of the size of the common English kite, which is also found in great numbers in the Peninsula all the year round; and, with the hooded crow, feeds in the very streets. But in Bengal, the kites retire to the mountains during the rains, and return in the dry season, "telling that the rains are past." "As to the crows," says Mr. Pennant, "their familiarity and audacity are amazing: they frequent the courts of the Europeans, and, as the servants are carrying in dinner, will alight on the dishes, and carry away the meat, if not driven away by persons who attend with sticks for that purpose." The rooks and ravens are regarded by the Hindoos as symbols of the soul in a state of separation from the body: the ardigigus are believed to be inhabited by the souls of Brahmins.

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 90. It is called by the native Mussulmans Shiba, and is considered as an incarnation of Doorga. The Hindoos bow to it whenever it passes them. Mr. Ward calls it the white-headed kite or Commander eagle. The wag-tail, called Khanjana, "considered as a form of Vishnoo, on account of the mark on its throat, supposed to resemble the calyxes," is honoured in the same manner. The peacock, the goose, and, though an unclean bird, the owl, are worshipped at particular festivals, as vehicles of certain deities. Gurooru, the carrier of Vishnoo, who ranks as a deity, and is called the king of birds, is represented with the head and wings of a bird and the body of a man. Some suppose a large species of vulture to be the bird intended by his respective parts; others, the gigantic crane. See Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. ch. xi.

Owls are very numerous in some parts. On the coast of Malabar, they form flocks consisting of some thousands. Among the various species, Mr. Pennant mentions the great horned species of Ceylon; the Coromandel, a small species; the English white owl, a beautiful bird; and the "double-eared," a new and large species, with two pairs of long tufts of feathers, wings and back grey, spotted, and breast pale grey.*

Of the pies, there are endless varieties. In the Deccan, there are said to be no fewer than fifty kinds of parrot.† "The parroquets of Malabar are remark-

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 39.

† Mr. Pennant says, including those of the islands, the Indian species amount to 33: of these he describes several, vol. ii. pp. 253. See also vol. i. p. 205. This bird was in great request among the Greeks and Romans: and Ælian notices its being esteemed sacred by the Brahmins. One species has received the name of the Alexandrine, from the supposition that it was the same kind that was seen by Alexander the Great. Quintus Curtius states, as something remarkable, that he met with birds in India which could be taught to imitate the human voice. Arrian, however, a far better informed writer, says: "Nearchus tells us of parrots bird in India, as a great rarity there, and takes much pains to describe the several qualities of that bird, particularly his imitating men's words. But, as I have seen many of these myself, and know them to be common enough, I shall forbear speaking of them as a rarity. Neither shall I add any thing of the vast size of the apes there, their exceeding beauty, or the manner of taking them: these are all too well known to bear a description."—Bohn's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 312. The association of apes with parrots, will recall the apes and peacocks of King Solomon. The name of this bird in Persian, is *tóti*, whence, apparently, the *Psittacus* of Ctesias. The Latin *psittacus* is deduced from another Persian word, *tûtî*. This bird does not appear to be mentioned in the Old Testament, unless it is comprehended under the *tuphim*. Pliny writes the word *attacen*, describing the species alluded to, which, he says, was sent from India, as wholly green, except a red circle round the neck. He also mentions its talking qualities. Ovid pathetically deplores the loss of a favourite parrot (*Amor. Elegy*, ii. 6)—"*Psittacus ecce Psittacus eois imitatrix ales ab Indis*," &c. The heads of parrots and pheasants was a dish at the table of the imperial glutton, Heliogabalus.

ably handsome: the head, shaded with red, purple, and blue, finishes in a black circle round the neck, whence, to its long, tapering tail, the plumage is a lively green. The parrots are not so beautiful. Their number is astonishing: they are as much dreaded at the time of harvest, as a Mahratta army, or a host of locusts: they darken the air by their numbers, and, alighting on a rice field, in a few hours carry off every ear of ripe corn to their hiding-places in the mountains."* A most elegant species of cockatoo is described by Pennant as inhabiting Gujerat and some other parts; it is white, with the under side of the crest crimson, and of the size of a raven. "They are called *kakatoas* from their note; are very familiar, easily tamed and taught to speak; they breed in great numbers in even the cities of India, the buildings of which are frequently so interwixed with trees, that the traveller scarcely discovers the streets till he has got into them. The cockatoos are so domesticated, as to make their nests under the eaves of the houses, undisturbed by the haunt of man. They are not confined to the continents, but extend as far as Amboyna."†

The Malabar shrike is distinguished by the singular feathers in the tail. "From the end of the exterior of each side feather, the shaft is continued naked nearly six inches, and the end dilated into an oval web; the head is furnished with an elegant crest with tips inclining backward. The colour is universally black. It inhabits most parts of India: those of Malabar are the size of a thrush; those of Bengal large as a jackdaw. They fly heavily, and are seen only in the evening."‡ In another part of his work, Mr.

* Forbes's Orient. Memoirs, vol. i. p. 329.

† Pennant, vol. ii. p. 95. ‡ Ib. p. 38.

Pennant characterises the Bengal shrike or butcher-bird as having its plumage glossed with purple, and on the neck a buckle of blue feathers. A "new species" is described under the name of "the fighting *bulbul*," as about the size of a blackbird; the bill, head, and legs, black; the body and wings cinereous; the feathers edged with black; the tail black, tipped with white; the breast a rich scarlet; on the head a rising crest. "This species, like all the rest, as the generic name (shrike) implies, has probably a most harsh noise; yet is called *bulbul*, the Persian name for nightingale." It is called the fighting *bulbul*, because it is trained for battle for the amusement of the natives.* "Many of the grakles of the East Indies," it is added, "are remarkable for speaking, singing, and whistling, even much more distinctly, than the parrot kind; and they soon become familiar. They are of a black colour, their heads surrounded with a naked yellow skin. The *dial* grakle is trained in Sumatra for fighting, but the conflicts are performed in the air on wing."

"The eastern cuckoo is as large as a magpie: they fly in flocks, are highly venerated by the Mohammedans, and sought after by the epicures. There are two or three other black species, which in India are called *coucels*.† The English cuckoo reaches Bengal. It is observable, out of the multitude of cuckoos, none have the note of the European."

The Indian *merops* arrives on the banks of the Ganges in the beginning of autumn. The Coromandel bee-eater is remarkable for its almost uniform pale yellow colour. The long-billed creeper, or honey-sucker,

* Pennant, vol. i. p. 301.

† A black species as large as a jackdaw, the bill much hooked; and the lark-heeled cuckoo, of a rust colour, are specified.

perches on the rich flowers of India, and, darting its tongue into the calyx, extracts the sweets. The head and part of the neck, in this species, are of a light green; forepart of the neck, white; back and wings, dusky; breast, yellow; the bill an inch and a half long. Bengal has also another species, very small, yellow-winged, with a long tongue. Of rollers, there are various species, all of the richest colours. "Among grotesque birds, may be reckoned the two species of *buceros*, or horn-bill; the rhinoceros, called by the Dutch, from its singular recurvated, accessary beak, *dubbeld-bek*; and the wreathed, called in Ceylon the year-bird, being supposed to have annually an addition of wreath to its bill. They make a great noise when they fly, and have a sluggish flight; perch on the highest trees; feed on berries, and are reckoned very sweet food. The golden oriole, a European bird, is called, in India, the *mango*, from its feeding on the fruit of that tree. The European *Anguis* is common in Ceylon. Our common nut-hatch, and creeper, the wheat-ear, the wry-neck, the yellow wren, the house-swallow, the wood-cock, and the snipe, are also natives of India."*

To the various genera of pies already enumerated, there remain to be added, "the fasciated and the spotted *curucui*" (*trogon*), and the little bird of paradise, which is common in the Ghaut mountains, and in Malabar. Mr. Forbes, speaking of the "pied bird of Paradise" (*picus orientalis*), as common in the An-

* Pennant, vol. ii. p. 384; vol. i. pp. 294, &c. Ceylon appears to have some beautiful species peculiar to itself, as now could be found there. The Ceylon creeper and the grass-gold are elegant little birds. The parrot tribe are numerous. The peacock "swarms" in the island. The yellow-crowned thrush is kept there in cages, and is remarkable for its powers of mimicking every note that is whistled to it.

jenge district of Travancore, says: "Its elegant form, purple crest, snowy plumage, and long tail, constitute it one of the most beautiful in the Indian ornithology."*

Among birds of the passerine order, there is one very remarkable for its economy and social habits;—a grosbeak (*fringilla philippina*) of the hang-nest tribe. It is the *elanari* of the Malabars, but its Sanscrit name is *berbère* (*baïa* in the Bengalee), and it is called *baya* in Hindostanee. It is of the size of a sparrow, with yellowish brown plumage, yellowish head and feet, light-coloured breast, and very thick conical bill. It chiefly frequents the cocoa-nut trees, or the palmyra and Indian fig, being partial to a lofty site for its nest; and it prefers a tree that overhangs a well or rivulet. Its nest is very curiously constructed, of grass, or the long fibres of plants, which it weaves like cloth, and shapes like a large bottle; suspending it, by means of a sort of cord nearly half an ell in length, to the extremity of a slender branch, the entrance downwards, in order to secure it against snakes and birds of prey. This hanging nest, though it rocks with the wind, is so strongly secured as never to suffer injury. The interior usually consists of three neat chambers or divisions: in the first, or forepart, the male keeps watch, while, in the second, the female hatches the eggs, and the inmost division contains the young. In the outer apartment, a little tough clay, or cow-dung, is always stuck against one side, on the top of which are fixed fire-flies; and it is the popular belief, that the proprietor of the nest catches these insects alive at night, and imprisons them in this manner, to afford him light. That such flies are

* Forbes's Or. Mem., vol. i. p. 300.

found so confined, is indubitable; but, as their flight can hardly be imagined to be of use to their captor, the more credible explanation is, that these insects are the food of the bird. The *baya* is a great favourite in Hindostan. "It is," says a native naturalist, "astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master....It may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper or any small thing that his master points out. It is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with singing celerity, catch the ring before it reaches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shewn to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye-witness of it. The young Hindoo women at Benares and in other places, wear very thin plates of gold, called *tica*, slightly fixed by way of ornament between their eye-brows;* and when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training *baya*, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to their lovers. The *baya* feeds naturally on grasshoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water. The female lays many beautiful eggs resem-

* The same description of ornaments is probably alluded to, Isa. iii. 18, under the name of *shaharonim* or *suffragans*.

bling pearls: the white of them, when boiled, is transparent, and their flavour exquisitely delicate. When many bayas are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din; but it is chirping, rather than singing. Their want of musical talents is, however, amply compensated by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitant of the forest." *

Among the other passeriues, Mr. Pennant specifies the pagoda-thrush, "esteemed among the finest choristers of India,—it sits perched on the sacred pagodas, and thence delivers its melodious song;" the Chinese thrush, found in Bengal, "where it is called the five brothers, being usually seen in flocks of five;" the Dauma thrush, called in Bengal, *cossaf*, from its note; the "lovely finch;" the pied fly-catcher, so highly esteemed in Bengal for its song, that it is named *shamdaf*, or king of the singing-birds;† a very diminutive red-headed swallow, not exceeding in size a humming-bird; the European chimney swallow, and several new species;‡ the Bombay and the Indian goat-sucker; and (in Ceylon) a curious bird of the warbler tribe, called, on account of its wonderful nest, the tailor bird, which deserves a more particular notice.

"The brute creation in the torrid zone," remarks Mr. Pennant, "are more at enmity with one another, than in other climates; and the birds are obliged to exert unusual artifice in placing their little broods out

* Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 169.

† In describing the birds of Ceylon, Mr. Pennant speaks of two fly-catchers distinguished by their enormous length of tail, darting through the air like arrows.

‡ "Swallows (I do not know the species) never leave Ceylon."—PENNANT, vol. i. p. 267. The Ceylon yellow-crowned thrush has been mentioned in a preceding note. Also the wagtail (motacilla) a noted bird which Mr. Pennant does not notice.

of the reach of an intruder. Each aims at the same end, though by different means. Some form their pensile nest in shape of a purse, deep and open at top; others, with a hole in the side; and others, still more cautious, with an entrance at the very bottom, forming their lodge near the summit. But the little species we describe, seems to have greater diffidence than any of the others: it will not trust its nest even to the extremity of a slender twig, but makes one more advance to safety, by fixing it to the leaf itself. It picks up a dead leaf, and, surprising to relate, sews it to the side of a living one, its slender bill being its needle, and its thread, some fine fibres; the lining, feathers, gossamer, and down. Its eggs are white. The colour of the bird is light yellow; its length, three inches; its weight, only three-sixteenths of an ounce; so that the materials of the nest, and its own size, are not likely to draw down a habitation that depends on so slight a tenure." *

Pigeons in India assume the most beautiful colours. The pompadour pigeon of Ceylon has, for its general colour, a fine pale green, but the male is distinguished by wings of a fine pompadour. This species is particularly attached to the banyan-tree. They are excellent eating. The domestic pigeon of Europe is very common on the continent, and in the time of Akbar, the utmost attention was paid to their breed. That emperor was the greatest pigeon-fancier of his day, and kept prodigious numbers, as well as an aviary of all sorts of birds." †

There yet remain to be noticed, the aquatic tribes,

* Pennant, vol. i. pp. 26, 7.

† Ibid, vol. ii. p. 308. For the equal pain to the pigeon in Mohammedan countries, see Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. ii. p. 162. The Sanscrit name of the pigeon is [illegible].

some of which are highly beautiful. Various species of the *ardea* genus arrive in Bengal before the rainy season, and retire at the approach of the dry. Among these, Mr. Pennant enumerates the common crane; the beautiful Indian crane; the *demoiselle*, which, as well as the Indian, is seen in vast flocks on the banks of the Ganges; the hunch-back, a new species of large size, all black except the white neck and legs of a dirty yellow, the shoulders so elevated as to appear a deformity; and the great heron, or gigantic crane, called at Calcutta, the *argali* or adjutant. This enormous bird is by some supposed to be the deified carrier of Vishnoo, named *Garooro*. It is held in the highest veneration, both in India and Africa. The Indians, Mr. Pennant says, believe them to be invulnerable, for that they are animated with the souls of Brahmins. It grows to the height of from five to seven feet, when erect; has an immense, strong, pointed bill, 10 inches round at the base; and the wings extend nearly 15 feet from tip to tip. It is a bird of filthy aspect; the craw red, naked, and pendulous; the feathers of the back and wings very strong, and of an iron colour; the belly covered with down of a dirty white; the legs and half the thighs naked. At a distance, as it stalks majestically along, it may be mistaken for a naked Hindoo. It is a most useful bird, clearing the country of snakes and other noxious reptiles and insects. In Bengal, it finishes the work begun by the jackal and vulture: they clear the carcasses of animals of the flesh; the *argali* swallows the bones entire.* These birds are undaunted at the sight of man, and familiar as if conscious of the regard entertained for them.

* On opening one of these "monstrous" birds, a serpent of land tortoise, ten inches long, was found in its craw; and a half male black cat was found entire in its stomach. The gape of the rd is tremendous. They are met with in companies

The *Lohangung* heron is a large and elegant species, with bill long, slender, and black; head and neck black; the rest of the plumage white; legs very long and red. The Coromandel heron is a small white species, the neck and back of the head a fine pale yellow. The violet heron, or *manikjore*, is about three feet in length, entirely of a bluish black glossed with violet, except the space from the eyes to the breast, which is of a snowy whiteness; it is the object of falconry, and is esteemed good eating. There are two species of open-billed heron (*bec-ouvert* of Pondicherry and Coromandel), 15 inches in length; one white-backed, the other wholly white except the back, which is black. To these are to be added, the small white heron called *cobogu*, with a yellow bill and black legs; the yellow-necked heron, with a pendulous black crest; the cinnamon, a new species; the yellow-slippered egret, with plumage of a pure white, black legs, and yellow feet; the great white egret; the European heron; several species of bittern; the stork; and the *nycticorax*; all frequenting the plains of the Ganges.

The other *grallæ* comprehend an equal variety. The Indian *jabiru*, a distinct species from the American, is of large size, and feeds on snails. The great white-headed ibis, called at Calcutta the *junghil*, is common: the pink feathers of the tail are there used by the ladies as a head-dress. This bird makes a snapping noise with its bill: it loses its fine rosaate colour in the rainy season. The black-headed ibis is of the size of a heron; it is called *buttore*. There is a third species of the same size, with long, yellow bill, wings pale brown, black tail, and pink legs. There are various species of snipes. Among the plovers are, the long-legged plover,—a genus common to India, the West

Indies, and Europe; the golden plover; the Indian, which does not exceed the size of a lark; and the passarage plover of Bengal,—a beautiful bird, 18 inches in length, the plumage delicately reticulated with the finest lines of black and brown, inclosing meshes of a full black; on the head, a most elegant crest, consisting of four pairs of capillary feathers of unequal length, terminating in spear-shaped tufts. Among the other *genera*, Mr. Pennant mentions, the *nappi-pi jacana*, "a fine bird as large a golden pheasant; the courier (*cursorius Asiaticus*), a rare bird: and the blue gallinule, called by the ancients, *porphyrio*, and in the language of Malabar, *pidaroolee*." This last bird may be recognised in the rude attempts at painting in the Indian and Chinese drawings.

Of the web-footed tribes, the flamingo is common on the banks of the Ganges; the great white pelican, and the roseate, are seen in vast numbers; and the *pelicanus onocrotalus*, a large Asiatic pelican, is found in Malabar. The black-bellied *anpinga* lurks in thick bushes by the water side, and darting out its long and slender neck, terrifies passengers with the idea of some serpent about to inflict on them a fatal wound. The barred-head goose arrives by hundreds in Bengal, in the wet season, from Tibet, and departs at the approach of summer; it rests among the corn-fields, in the upper country, and is very destructive to the grain; its flesh is esteemed. The back part of the neck is marked with two black crescents; the back and tail are of a fine pale grey; the front of the neck, black; the head and throat, white; the legs, orange. The grey-headed goose is a species common to India and Africa. The pink-headed duck has its bill, head,

In Sanscrit, according to Mr. Ward, the *Kalpeeka*.

and part of the neck of a fine pink; the rest of the plumage of a deep chocolate: it is usually seen in pairs, and is domesticated for the table. Besides these, the falcated duck, the English garganey, and other species of the anas genus, migrate into Bengal. The black skimmer is common to North America and the Coromandel coast; and gulls and terns of different kinds are numerous.*

"The Ganges," says Mr. Pennant, "swarms with infinite quantities of fishes; but I do not observe that the genera are numerous. The species which abound most, are those of the cyprinus or carp-kind: of them, I observe the English chub, and I have heard of the common carp of great size. The anjana is a small species taken in large numbers, dried, and sent up the country for sale. A singular apodal fish (the cheetal), found near Dacca, is about three feet long; head small and much depressed; back greatly elevated; near the lower part, a single fin of five rays, ventral, begins not remote from the mouth, and unites with that of the tail, which ends roundish; colour, a yellowish white, dark on the back. The genus of silurus is extremely numerous: among them are some undescribed and very curious."† But, of all the kinds

* Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 41, 71, 156—166; 271; and vol. i. p. 212. In the article India, in Brewster's Encyclopædia, among the few birds specified, is the Rigni, described as "the largest of aquatic birds, found among the lakes to the north of Hindostan Proper, where it is kept by the natives in their gardens for the purpose of picking up the vermin." Dr. Fryer mentions [illegible] birds which he calls cokos and serous, supposed by Mr. Pennant to be of the same kind, which are remarkable for a duplicature of the wind-pipe, in the form of a French horn: in the cokos, the duplicature is double; in the serous, single. They come in vast flights from "Mount Caucasus," at the approach of the cold.—Pennant, vol. ii. p. 155.

† Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 317, 18.

found either in this river or in any other part of India, the most delicate and high-flavoured is the mango fish (the *polynemus paradiseus* of Linnæus), which has received that name, "either from its brilliant orange colour, like a ripe mango, or from its coming up the river in the mango season." It is about nine inches in length, and is distinguished by seven thick bristles issuing from near the gills. These fish first appear about Calcutta, in June, and after spawning, return to the sea in six weeks. They are highly esteemed by the Anglo-Indians, especially during the time that they are full of roe. The other kinds in highest repute for their flavour, with Europeans, are the cockup and the sable-fish. The coast of Chittagong is celebrated for oysters, small, but of an excellent flavour, which are sent to Dacca and Calcutta. Oysters are also plentiful in the rivers of Cochin. Turtle are found in the Ganges, but they are small, and of inferior quality. The salmon frequents the coast and the rivers of Malabar, and pilchards in immense numbers are found on that coast. Such is the abundance of fish on both coasts of the Peninsula, that pigs, dogs, and even horses are sometimes fed on them.* In the Alaknunda river, among numerous fish of the carp genus, is one, *cyprinus denticulatus*, about seven or eight feet in length, which is distinguished by its beauty. The scales on the back and sides are very large, and of a fine green, with a bright gold edge; the belly is white, with a slight gold tinge; the tail and fins of a dark brown. The flavour is very delicate and rich. Many of these fish are so remarkably tame, that they will take bread

* On the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, the domestic animals are fed chiefly on fish; and the hyena is sometimes obliged to content himself with the same food.

out of the hands of the Brahmins, by whom they are daily fed.*

"The phenomenon of small fish appearing, in the rainy season, in places before dry," (in the neighbourhood of Bombay,) Mr. Pennant says, "is as true as it is surprising. The natives begin to fish for them the tenth day after the first rains, and they make a common dish at the tables." Among the several modes of accounting for this annual appearance, this Naturalist prefers, as the least violent explanation, that these fish have "a pre-existent state" in the form of frogs. †

Alligators and porpoises are common in the Ganges. The Gangetic crocodile (*lacerta alligator*) grows to the length of 30 feet, and is as dangerous as the Nilotic, from which it differs chiefly in its narrow, long, and hooked proboscis, "formed like the bill of the bird *goosander*." There is another large species of crocodile in the Ganges, called the *ghurri-auf*; "so named from an excrescence in form of a ball, near the end of the nose, which tapers from the head, and ends abrupt, like the snout of a dog." ‡ There is a

* One of Vishnoo's incarnations is said to have been in the form of a fish, but as to the particular kind, authorities are not agreed. The fish of the Ganges are worshipped at the festivals in honour of Ganga, in common with all the other finny, aquatic, and amphibious inhabitants of the sacred waters. The fish above described, is probably indebted for the attentions paid it by the Brahmins, to its choosing the Alaknunda, Mr. Ward was informed, that the Hindoo women inhabiting the banks of the Padma branch of the Ganges, actually worship the Ilisha fish, when they first arrive in the river, and, after the due ceremonies, "partake of them without the fear of injuring their health."—Ward, vol. i. p. 220.

† Pennant, vol. i. p. 105. The island of Bombay and other places swarm with frogs and toads.

‡ Pennant, vol. ii. p. 267. A specimen of this species, 14 feet in length, is in the British Museum.

smaller species, not above 12 feet long; the head and neck are half the length of the body; the gape of the mouth is of an uncommon width. It does not attack man, but eagerly devours dogs. It is always found in the tanks after the annual inundations, and is supposed to be brought down from some of the streams which flow into the Ganges, but never descends into that river. This species is particularly venerated by the Hindoos as a consecrated animal. They are sometimes maintained in the ditches of fortified places, as contributing to their defence. Lizards are extremely common in all the provinces: among the Ghauts, there are some of prodigious size; and though hideous in shape, they are of most beautiful colours.*

The salt-waters of Travancore abound with the *phoca pusilla*, a genus of seal partaking of both the beaver and the otter. The Travancore seal has a round head, short ears, thick neck, tapering body, and flat tail like a fish; it is web-footed, and the skin is covered with a soft oily hair. It seldom exceeds four

* "In some," says Mr. Forbes, "the shoulders and dewlap take every intervening shade between the palest yellow and the brightest scarlet: in others, the dewlap is of the brightest azure, contrasted by yellow, scarlet, and orange, in other parts of the body. The greatest curiosity is the chameleon (*lacerta chamaleon*), found in every thicket" (in the Concan).—*Orient. Mem.* vol. i. p. 158. This author had one for several weeks in his possession, of which he gives a minute description. The average size, including the tail, is about 9 inches long, the body being half that length, and it has a hollow tongue half the length of the body. The general colour of the one described, was a pleasant green, spotted with pale blue, which changed to a bright yellow, dark olive, and dull green. It never appeared to so much advantage as when irritated: its body was then considerably inflated, and the skin clouded, like tortoise-shell, in shades of yellow, orange, green, and black. If a black object came in its way, it was instantaneously transformed to a hideous skeleton, black as jet. On removing the cause, the sable hue gave way to a brilliant colouring.

feet in length. These amphibious animals are gregarious, and form sociable parties on the banks of the rivers, but always plunge in at the approach of a stranger. The *hippocampus*, or sea-horse, is caught in great numbers off the Malabar coast. This singular animal "is generally from four to six inches in length, and two in circumference at the thickest part; the head and curvature of the neck resemble a horse, whence a short, swelling body gradually tapers to the extremity of the tail. Some parts of its form are quadrangular, others hexangular, and the body has seven or eight divisions; the whole separated by ridges, and furnished with fins, to shape its course in its own element." *

The sword fish (a very large species), the flying-fish, the tiger-shark, the sea-hedgehog, and other curious *genera*, abound in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Sea; † and off most of the coasts, at the distance of 20 or 30 leagues from land, sea snakes are numerous, from three to four feet long, and very venomous. ‡ Turtles are common on the coasts: the best tortoise-shell is from the Orissa shore. The *sepia octopodia*, or eight-armed cuttle fish, grows, in the Indian seas, to an amazing size. "The natives affirm, that some have been seen, two fathoms broad over their centre, and that each arm was nine fathoms long. When the Indians navigate their little boats, they go in dread of them; and lest these animals should fling their arms over them and sink them, they never sail without an axe to cut them off." §

* Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. i. pp. 341, 399.
† Pennant, vol. i. pp. 253, 141. vol. ii. p. 308.
‡ Pennant, vol. i. p. 50.
§ Ib. vol. i. p. 315. "These," adds Mr. Pennant, "may parallel the monstrous *polypus* or *sepia* described by Pliny (lib. ix. c. 30).

The serpents of Hindostan form a very formidable catalogue. Dr. Patrick Russell has given a delineation of forty-three species found on the Coromandel coast. The royal serpent, or *boa*, which attains the enormous length of forty feet, is treated with divine honours.* Similar homage is rendered to the hooded snake (*coluber naja, cobra di capella*), called by the natives *naag* or *nagoo*, and *sarpa pambee*, the good serpent. This singular reptile, which is found over all the hotter parts of India, receives its name from its having the power to dilate the skin of the head into the form of a hood. The centre of this moveable skin bears a mark, in black and white, resembling the form of a pair of spectacles, whence it is also called the spectacle-snake. It distends its hood only on being agitated by fear or some other passion, when, rearing the fore part of the body a third of its whole length, it spreads it out, and moves its head round, darting a fiery glance in every direction, often remaining in other respects immoveable; or else its motion becomes slow, steady, and cautious, on which account, in India, it is deemed the emblem of prudence. This species is from four to eight or nine feet in length, and is justly dreaded for its venomous bite, which is generally mortal, producing a universal gangrene in two or three hours. Yet, it is capable of being tamed; and the Malabar jugglers have the art of teaching them to dance to the inharmonious and slow notes of their flageolet. The serpent first seems astonished, then begins to [illegible] himself, and sometimes, by a gentle,

which made its nightly invasions on the magazines of salt-fish at Carwar, and long put both men and dogs at defiance."

* This is the anaconda of Ceylon, compared for its size to the mast of a ship. It is found in Africa and the Indian islands, and is described by Mrs. Graham as common in the vicinity of Bombay.

undulating motion of the head, and with distended hood, seems to listen with pleasure to the notes.*

The bite of the *cobra-manilla* is not less speedily mortal. This is a genus of a bluish colour, about a foot long, haunting old walls.† The *cobra de mantilla* is only six inches long, and not thicker than a crow-quill; it is apt to creep into the ear, and occasion death by producing frenzy. The sand-snake is another small species, not less fatal. The *palmira*, with a viperine head and varied body, is four feet long, yet, in no part thicker than a crow-quill. One of the most dangerous is a long snake (a species of *Javulus*), of a beautiful green, called the whip-snake, from its resemblance to the lash of a coachman's whip. This inal-

* The *colubra* or *coluber* of *capella* makes a conspicuous appearance in the sculptures at Ellora, Salsette, and Elephanta. These "dancing snakes" are carried in baskets by the jugglers all over India; and it is, Mr. Forbes says, "a well attested fact," that when a house is infested with these snakes, and some others of the *colubrine* genus which destroy poultry, or even even of the larger serpents of the *boa* tribe, the musicians are sent for, who charm the reptiles from their hiding-places to their own destruction.—Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 43.

† Mr. Forbes describes the "*cobra manilla*" as "the smallest and most dangerous" species, occasioning by its bite a speedy and painful death." They are of a brown colour, speckled with black and white, at a distance not easily distinguished from the ground on which they move. They enter the houses, and creep upon the beds and chairs. Mr. Forbes once found four, and at another time five in his chamber up stairs.—Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 43. Thomson well describes this reptile as

> "The small close-lurking minister of fate,
> Whose high-crested venom thro' the veins
> A rapid lightning darts."

Mr. Pennant speaks of a snake found at Bombay and near Madras, which the Portuguese call *cobra di manta*. "It is only from six to nine inches long. It has on its head the marks of a skull and two cross-bones, perhaps imaginary." Its bite produces instantaneous death.—Pennant, vol. ii. p. 278. This is probably the same that Mr. Forbes describes.

dious animal conceals itself among the branches of trees, whence it darts rapidly on the cattle grazing below, generally aiming at the eyes. It does not often attack man, but rather glides from his approach. The Hindoos, Mr. Pennant says, have the same notion as the Arabs have, of its being a flying serpent: it is the *alhetulia* (i.e. *oculis infestus*) of Ceylon, the *volucer serpens* of Lucan, and probably the "fiery flying serpent" of the Hebrews.* Besides these, Mr. Pennant mentions "the poison-snake, two feet long, very slender, and freckled with pale brown or red," the bite of which occasions almost instantaneous death; the Ceylonese *nangpolonga*, or asp, which kills by inducing endless sleep; and "the burning serpent," so called from its producing by its bite the sensation of "raging fire."† The *rubdira mandali* (*Amœnorrhois*), a large species, is said to cause the blood to flow through the pores of its victim. A similar effect is ascribed to the bite of the

* Isa. xxx. 6; xiv. 29. In Greek, σκυτάλη. They are mentioned by Pliny, N.H. lib. viii. 23—"*Jaculum ex arboribus vasta silvæ, quæ perflua tantum cuncta serpentes, sed et animali solere torquibi.*" They are described by Niebuhr, and are common to India, Egypt, and Arabia.

† Pennant, vol. i. pp. 101, 197—200. This is probably the same species as the *lybbi* of Shaw, a viper so called from *lybbi*, to burn (Shaw's Travels, p. 159); or the "*torrida dipsas.*" "A violent pain and intense burning along the bitten arm, was felt by a man bitten by a small brown snake called *viriem pambo*: on application of remedies, he was restored."—Pennant, vol. ii. p. 279. A fiery bite is ascribed by the ancients to several reptiles; and the sough of the Arabian desert, (Numb. xxi. 6. Deut. viii. 15,) probably owed its name to the same circumstance, rather than to its fiery colour. "At Hajamdilly, two soldiers were bitten by a small snake scarcely six inches long, and not thicker than a large goose-quill, of a dark stone colour. Its very small eyes shone like diamonds. It did not creep, but sprang forward a foot at a time. The effect of the bite was loss of sight, a sleepiness that nothing could prevent, and a deep stupor which ended in death." This is perhaps the asp of Ceylon.

Intuka-rekula-poda, which is probably the same species of *coluber*.* The *cobra de duas cabeças*, or two-headed *coluber* of the Portuguese, is a snake with a head and tail of similar size and appearance. Other *genera* (or at least other names of serpents) might be added to this terrific catalogue. Many of the Indian serpents, however, are harmless. Of forty-three species examined by Dr. Russell, seven only were found with poisonous organs.† The serpents of Gujerat are, Mr. Forbes says, more numerous and varied than even those of Bombay and the Malabar coast. Many are of large size; especially a species which seemed peculiarly partial to the shrubs and creeping plants which overshadowed a large well in the Author's garden. These, the native gardeners would neither destroy, nor suffer to be molested, as they looked upon them to be the genii or guardians of the place, and "often invoked them under the endearing appellations of father, mother, and other respectful and affectionate epithets." ‡

It will not be expected, that we should attempt even to enumerate the insect tribes; much less to describe the character and beauty of "the papilios, *libellulæ*, *scarabei*, *cicadæ*, *cantharides*, and other insects which animate the groves and gardens throughout the day," and are succeeded by a similar variety of nocturnal visiters. The fire-flies (*lampyridæ*) glitter by thousands in the dark recesses of the banyan-tree; and the spreading tamarind and other trees are sometimes so com-

* Mahe Brun, vol. iii. p. 42. Pennant, vol. ii. p. 378.

† Forbes's Orient. Mem., vol. i. p. 45. The outward application of *sua de lace*, and a quantity of warm Madeira wine taken internally, are stated to be generally efficient in curing the bite of the most venomous. "The Tanjore pill" is recommended as not less effectual.

‡ Forbes, vol. ii. p. 214.

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pletely covered with them as to appear like "pyramids of light." The creeping-leaf and some others of the mantis class, are extremely curious. India abounds with wasps and bees: the latter build their nests in rocky caverns and hollow trees, and produce abundance of wax and honey, which were in ancient times articles of export, but the best is now imported from Muskat. The true silk-worm (*phalæna mori*) does not appear to be a native of India, and has only found its way into the country in modern times. A strong and useful silk is obtained, however, from the cocoon of the *phalæna atlas*, which inhabits the orange-tree, and of a beautiful sea-green worm which feeds on the ricinus, and has received the name of the *phalæna ricini*. The *coccus lacca*, and other species of that order, rank also among the insect labourers. Among the predatory tribes, the ants, black and white, form one of the severest scourges of the country. They march in large armies, and in a few hours commit terrible depredations.* The visits of the locust are also much dreaded in some parts of India. Spiders, large and small, butterflies of the most brilliant colours, scorpions, mosquitoes, and myriads of minute winged tormentors; cray-fish, and numberless testaceous animals; corals and polypi; unite to form a list which only a practised naturalist would have courage sufficient to encounter.

* Forbes, vol. i. pp. 41, 45. Pennant, vol. ii. pp. 272, 273.

HISTORY OF INDIA.

The history of India naturally divides itself into three parts; the ancient history, the Mahaummedan annals, and the history of the European colonies.

India, properly speaking, is only the geographical designation of the country; it has never been the name of an empire; at least, the whole of what now bears the name, has never been permanently united under one monarchy. It has been peopled by distinct races, partially conquered and colonized by various nations; and the differences of dialect, as well as the natural divisions of the country, support the tradition that it anciently comprehended at least as many as ten independent states. According to the Brahmins, the ten great kingdoms of Bharat-khand were the following:

1. Saraswata	Comprehending the Punjaub.
2. Canyacubja	Comprehending Delhi, Oude, Agra, and Serinagur.
3. Tirhoot	Extending from the Coel to the Gunduck.
4. Bangala or Gaura	Comprehending Bengal and part of Behar.
5. Gerjara	Comprising Gujerat and part of Khandesh and Malwah.
6. Utcala	Comprehending Orissa, &c. to the Godavery.
7. Maharashtra	Comprising Khandesh, Berar, Aurungabad.
8. Telingana	Lying chiefly between the Godavery and the Kristna.
9. Karnata	Comprising all the table-land south of the Kristna, above the Ghauts.
10. Dravira	The Tamul countries, comprising the Peninsula S. of about lat. 12° 30'.

Corresponding to these general divisions, Mr. Colebrooke enumerates ten distinct polished dialects, which he supposes to have anciently prevailed among as many civilized nations. These are: 1. the Praecrit, properly so called, or the vernacular Sanscrit, spoken by the Saraswata nation; 2. the Hindee, spoken by the Canyacubjas; 3. the Tirhutiya, or Mait'hila, which has a close affinity to, 4. the Bengalee, or Gaura;

5. the Gurjura, nearly allied to the Hindee; 6. the Utcala, Oudiya, or Orissa;* 7. the Mahratta; 8. the Telinga; 9. the Karnata or Carnara;† and 10. the Tamul. All these are either mere dialects of the Sanscrit, or are considerably mixed with that language. In the Hindee, however, and some others, there are traces of a distinct idiom, having no apparent affinity to the Sanscrit, and thought to be the remains and ground-work of an original language. The Punjabee dialect, spoken by the Sikhs, appears to be either the same as the Saraswata, or to be formed from it. The Brij-bhassa, or Vraja-bhasha, is a variety of the Hindee, containing a larger proportion of Sanscrit; it is spoken in the upper provinces, especially in the Doab.‡ Besides these, Cashmere has a dialect peculiar to itself; and the Magadha or Pali, the learned language of Ceylon and the Birman empire, may be added to the enumeration, as the ancient vernacular dialect of Bahar; but this, too, is Sanscrit, with scarcely any variation. The Hindostanee is a mixed language, varying greatly in different parts: the genuine Hindostanee is apparently a mixture of Hindee with Persian and Arabic;§ but the barbarous jargon which

* The Serampore Missionaries calculate, that the Hindee, the Brij-Bhassa, the Mahratta, the Bengalee, and the Orissa, the vernacular dialects of Central India, are spoken by upwards of 30,000,000.

† The junction of the three languages, the Mahratta, the Telinga, and the Karnata, is said to take place somewhere about the city of Bender in the Decean.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. pp. 215—231.

§ M. Malte Brun says: "The dialect of Central Industan" (by which he seems to mean the Hindee), "mixed with that of the Afghans or Patans, and with that of the Mongolian armies, has given birth to the idiom formerly spoken at the Mogul court, and still prevalent among the Mohammedans of India. It should be called the Mongol-Hindostanee, but is generally known by the name of the Moorish or Moors' language." The Carnatic, he asserts, makes the nearest approach to the ancient Sanscrit. The

reciprocal mistakes have introduced among Europeans and their native servants, and which goes by that name, scarcely deserves to be called a language. Some mountain-tribes have a peculiar *bhasha* or speech, having no affinity to the Sanscrit, and supposed to be aboriginal. It is referred to by the native grammarians under the contemptuous term *apabhransa* or jargon, but of its true character little is known. It is, perhaps, the same as the Kassai, which is spoken by the mountaineers inhabiting the eastern border of Bengal and the north-western districts of Birmah. The languages of Assam, Nepaul, and Bootan are also distinct dialects. West of the Indus, besides the Guarjara or Gujarattee,* the Pushtoo and the Beelooches are spoken. The Maldivian is also a distinct dialect, related probably to the Malay. † In the neighbourhood of Bombay, there prevails a language called *Kunkunna*. The Malabaric, according to the positive assurance given to Mr. Colebrooke by a learned native, is different from the Tamul, with which it is generally identified: it is apparently that of Cochin, and may be a mixed dialect. The Telug, or Wahug, is said to be spoken about Cuddalore and Madras.

There seems no reason, however, to doubt that the enumeration given by Mr. Colebrooke is substantially accurate and complete, comprising all the principal national varieties of the great Hindoo family; and the existence of these several dialects seems to render it

purest dialect of Hindostanee is the *Woodha*, spoken in the neighbourhood of Agra and Mathura."—MALTE BRUN, ib. 599, 59. The language of Moultan, according to the Author of the Mahabharata, has about one-tenth Persian.

* This dialect is said to be spoken not only in Guzerat and Sinde, at Surat, and in the Balaghaut, but even Orissa as far as the Coromandel-coast, eastward to Bengal and Assam, and even in Nepaul.—ANDERSON, cited by Malte Brun.

certain, that the country was, in remote times, politically subdivided into at least as many separate states.

At what period these ten kingdoms were formed, or whence the various tribes originated, is matter only of conjecture. About 2000 years before the Christian era, according to the Puranas, or sacred books of the Hindoos, Bharata comprised four rich and powerful kingdoms, virtually independent of each other, but generally confederate under one common head or emperor. *Prachi*, or the East, (corrupted by the Greeks into *Prasii*,) was the name given to the most opulent and distinguished of the four, comprehending the modern provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Oude, the metropolis being Palliputra, the renowned Palibothra of Grecian history. That which ranked second, in point of opulence and strength, was the kingdom of Bejanagur; so called from its capital, seated on the river Tumbhudra, and comprising the whole of the Peninsula S. of the Krishna. A third state extended from the Gulf of Cambay to the mouths of the Ganges, and from latitude 22° to 17° N., including the modern provinces of Gujerat, Malwah, Khandeish, Aurungabad, Berar, and Gondwana. The provinces of Delhi, Lahore, Moultan, and Ajmeer formed the fourth and not the least powerful of these monarchies; and this seems to have been the kingdom of Porus. These four states might be denominated, in fact, Eastern, Western, Central, and Southern India. The different provinces of which each was composed, were governed by their respective rajahs, answering, in some measure, to the great feudatories of Europe. A confederacy which held together states and principalities differing materially in language, manners, and religious observances, must, of course, have been subject to perpetual interruptions. Contests for the supremacy

between rival sovereigns, as well as intestine struggles between the sacerdotal and military classes, or contending factions, must have occasioned petty revolutions similar to those which are obscurely referred to in the annals of ancient Egypt, or which have taken place in comparatively recent times, among the monarchies of the Buddhic world.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the subordinate principalities were always divided among these four monarchies. *Prachi* (by which, says Mr. Wilford, is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of India) was divided into two parts; the first comprehending all the country from Allahabad to Raj-mahal and the western branch of the Ganges; and the second including Bengal or Gangaridea (the *Gangaridæ* of the Greeks).* The capital of "*Prachi proper*," or the western part, was *Rajgriha* (*Raj-mahel* or *Raj-mandalam*; that is, *the royal residence*), built by a son of King Prithu (supposed to be Noah), called Haryaswa. In the war of the Mahabharat, it was taken and rebuilt by Bala Rama, who is considered as its second founder, and in honour of that conqueror or one of his sons, it received the name of *Bali-putra* (the son of Bali). Diodorus Siculus, in conformity to this account, makes the *founder* of Palibothra to have been the Indian Hercules or Belus,†

* "Prachi . . . is also called Purva, an appellation of the same import, and Pursh in the spoken dialects. . . Perhaps from these two countries, called Purva, is derived the appellation of Parvaim in Scripture, which appears with a dual form (2 Chron. iii. 6, *gold of Parvaim*). According to Arrian's Periplus, Bengal was famous for its highly refined gold, called Kotta in the Periplus, and *coudre* or *calden* to this day."—*Asiat. Resear.*, v. 269.

† "As Bala sprang from Vishnoo, or Hari, he is certainly Hercules. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did no-

who was worshipped by the *Suraseni*. The chief cities of that people, according to Megasthenes, were Methora and Clisobora, which retain their names in the Mathura (or Mutra) and Calisa-pura of the modern Hindoos; and the whole country about Mutra, is called Surasena by the learned Brahmins to this day. The navigable river Jobares, which passed through their territories, is the Jumna.* Palibothra was built on the confines of the *Prasii*, near the confluence of the *Erannoboas* (*Hiran-ya-baha*, *i. e.* auriferous) with the Ganges. The former river is supposed by Mr. Wilford to be the Coosy, which, in the days of the Greek Geographer, united with the Ganges about five-and-twenty miles below its present mouth, where the old channel is still visible. The greater part of the site of this immense metropolis has been carried away by the encroachments of the Ganges; and the present town of Raj-mehal, formerly a suburb of the city, is all that remains to represent that "famous place."

Patali-putra, (or Patya), the modern Patna, which has been mistaken for Palibothra, was the original capital of the hereditary sovereigns of Magadha or Southern Bahar.† One of these kings, an ancestor of the great Chandra-gupta, having subdued the whole of Prachi, transferred his residence to Pali-poutra. Here he was overcome and put to a most cruel death,

thing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 279.

* See Rooke's Arrian, vol. ii. p. 198. Mathura is much celebrated and venerated by the Hindoos as the scene of the birth and early adventures of their favourite deity, Krishna.

† Patali is a form or name of the goddess Devi, formerly worshipped there. Mr. Wilford assigns strong reasons for supposing it to be the *Patala* of Pliny. There was another place of the same name at the mouth of the delta of the Indus.

by Bala Rama and his brother Krishna. The name of the unfortunate monarch was Jara Sandha, and the imaginary war, which forms the subject of the great epic poem called the *Mahabharat*, is fixed by Mr. Bentley about 1180 years before the Christian era.

Among all the Sanscrit works which have hitherto come to our knowledge, there is but one which has any pretensions to the character of an historical composition.* This is the chronicle of the kings of Cashmeer, entitled *Radja Taringini*, which had long been known to orientalists through the medium of Persian translations; but our learned countryman, Mr. Colebrooke, first succeeded in obtaining, in 1805, a copy of the original: since then, Mr. Wilson has been fortunate enough to procure three other manuscripts. The first part of this series of chronicles, compiled by Kalhana Pandit, son of Kampaka, commences with the ages of fable, and comes down to the reign of Sangrama Deva, B.C. 1027. The author is supposed to have written about B.C. 1148. A continuation of this original chronicle, called the *Radjavali* of Djona Radja, together with the *Sri Djaina Radja Taringini*, by his pupil, Sri Vara Pandita, brings down the Cashmirian annals to the year 1477. "In the great obscurity which envelops the Indian history prior to the Mussulman conquest, the appearance of such a document," M. Klaproth remarks, "is of great importance: and although its contents do not appear to be of very high interest, it

* "That no Hindu nation but the Cashmirians have left us regular histories in their ancient language," remarks Sir W. Jones, "we must ever lament."—*Asiat. Res.*, iv. xvi. The learned President was never able, however, to procure the original.

is nevertheless the only torch which remains to throw light on the antiquities of India."*

According to these Hindoo annals, the beautiful valley which forms the kingdom of Cashmeer, was originally a vast lake named *Sati-saras*, or the lake of Sati (one of the names of Deorgi); a story which accords with the local traditions of the country. The individual who drained this valley of its waters, was a holy personage named Casyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahma, who accomplished this task by opening a passage through the mountains near Baramauleh, through which the water escaped. It is not improbable, remarks M. Klaproth, that the valley was originally a large reservoir, and that, as Bernier supposes, a convulsion of nature opened the mountain barrier which closed it on all sides, and gave vent to the waters, which then flowed into the plains of the Punjaub. The territory thus recovered by Casyapa, was also peopled by that holy man, with the assistance of certain gods whom he brought down from heaven for that purpose. This took place at the commencement of the seventh *manwantara*, or the age in which we are now, according to the Hindoo chronology.†

* Journal Asiatique, tom. vii. p. 8.

† According to Major Wilford, Chasspa, Chasyapa, and Chasyapati, signify the lord of the Chasyas, "a most ancient and powerful tribe, who inhabited the Indian Caucasus (Koh Chasyad), from the eastern limits of India to the confines of Persia, and most probably as far as the Euxine." "Their great ancestor, Chasyp, is mentioned by Sanchoniathon under the name of Cousus. The two countries of Cash-ghar, those of Cash-mir, Cashwar, and the famous peak of Chas-ghar, are acknowledged in India to derive their names from the Chasas. The country called Cada by Ptolemy, is still inhabited by Chasyas; and Pliny informs us, that the inhabitants of the mountainous region between the Indus and the Jumna, were called Cos, a word obviously derived from Chas, or Chasa, as they are often denominated in the vulgar dialects."

From the epoch of this first colony down to the reign of Gonerda, the first prince whose name is mentioned by Kalhana, Cashmeer is stated to have been governed by a series of fifty-two monarchs of the family of Kaurava, whose reigns collectively form a period of 1266 years. These princes, says a Hindoo author, are undeserving of mention, on account of their contempt for the precepts of the Vedas, and their impure and vicious life. The chasm left by the Hindoo writers in the history of their country, is in part supplied by the Mohammedan writers; and M. Klaproth has drawn, from another source, a list of twenty-nine of these monarchs. The fourth from Casyapa, was Bandou or Pandou Khan, the ancestor of the Pandavas, who afterwards became so celebrated in the history of India. That Cashmeer was the original country of the Pandavas, (they afterwards settled on the banks of the *Hydaspes*,) is mentioned in several Sanscrit works. Tchab Khan, the fifteenth sovereign of this dynasty, was attacked and dethroned by Kaldjou Khan, king of Caubul, his neighbour and relation, who was, in his turn, after a reign of seven years, expelled by his kinsmen the Pandavas, who took possession of the throne. Nanreng Khan, the nineteenth in succession, is said to have been a great conqueror, and to have extended his possessions as far as China; and Pandou Khan II. recovered the provinces which had formerly belonged to Cashmeer,

The western Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and the Syrian and Egyptian Caulus, the learned Writer would appear to have derived their appellation from the same people, whom he supposes to be the Persian Cassi. The classical Jupiter Casius and Casiopeum, he refers to the same Indian original. In fact, these Cassyas are made almost to answer to the allegorical Cushites of Jacob Bryant. The Cassayes of Indo-China are very probably the same race. See Asiat. Res., vi. 455. Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 246

extending to the borders of the Indian Sea. Nauder Khan, the twenty-seventh monarch, introduced the worship of fire. In the reign of his successor, a revolution took place, followed by a series of disorders. At length, after a long interval, which forms a blank in the Cashmirian annals, Gonerda or Gonanda (the Augnand of the Persian Version), the contemporary of Krishna and Youdhishth'hir, began his reign. He was, it seems, a relation of the unfortunate Jara Sandha, to whose aid he came from Cashmeer at the head of an army. The confederates encountered Krishna in the province of Mathura, and were defeated on the banks of the Jumna by that chief and his brother Bala Rama. Gonerda, while in the act of rallying his routed troops, was killed by the latter.* He was succeeded by his son, Damodara, who, very shortly after, met the same fate, being defeated and slain by the victorious Pandavas, leaving a widow in a condition which rendered her quite incapable of maintaining the contest by any effectual resistance. But Krishna sent some Brahmins to her, to calm her apprehensions, and established her in Cashmeer. She was at length delivered of her son, the posthumous heir to the throne, who, immediately on his birth, was declared king; and the government fell into the hands of the ministers of his father.

Although the name of Gonerda does not occur in the Mahabharat, that poem gives a detailed account of the sanguinary war carried on between Jara Sandha and Krishna; and both the origin and the principal circumstances of the contest are related with a strong appearance of probability. Jara Sandha, king of

* Among the other princes who were slain, are mentioned Hansa and Dimbhka. Hansa was defeated by Bala Rama, and driven into the Jumna, where he was drowned.

Magadha, is represented as a powerful prince, who numbered among his allies or tributaries, Sis'oupala, king of Chedi; Vakra or Vakradanta, king of Karoosha, the powerful prince of the Yavana (or Greeks); Bhagadatta, king of the south-west; and several other petty sovereigns.* Kansa (or Kung-sa), king of Mathura, had espoused the daughter of Jara Sandha; and it was to avenge the murder of his son-in-law, that the emperor of Magadha made war upon Krishna.† According to the Mahabharat, this war lasted three years. The Bhagavat informs us, that Jara Sandha besieged Mathura eighteen times. The two accounts are in accordance with the result of the war. Krishna was eventually compelled to flee and take refuge, with his family and his partisans, in a strong position on the western side of the Indus, where he built the town or fort of Dwaraka.

The power of Jara Sanda formed an insurmount-

* What were the proper territories of these monarchs, it is not easy to ascertain. Contemporary with Jara Sandha was Vrihadbala, king of Ayodhya or Audh (Oude). Bengal (Gaura) and Orissa (Utcala) had also their kings. Among the monarchs whom Krishna is stated to have slain, we find mention of a Naraca, king of Pragyotisha (now Gauhatee in Lower Assam); but he is said to have restored the kingdom to his son Bhagadatta. This must be the monarch above referred to, and the acts of Krishna and those of Jara Sandha may be confounded.—See *Asiat. Res.*, ix. 74. Wilson, i. 194, 201.

† Krishna, the Roostum of the Hindoos, would seem to have been of neither divine nor royal birth, being the son of a Rakshasa, or warrior. He was born at Mathura, and while yet an infant, we are told, Kung-sa sought to destroy him; but his father escaped with him to Vasudevanan. On attaining manhood, Krishna, "assuming four arms," returned to Mathura, and destroyed its king.—Wilson's *Hindoos*, i. 193—209. If, however, Kung-sa was, agreeably to other accounts, Krishna's uncle, either he had something to fear from the claims of Krishna, or the story of his seeking his life is a fabrication. Some accounts make Krishna the grandson of Kunsena.

able obstacle in the way of Yudhishthir's * being able to offer the sacrifice called *Rodjasooya*; in other words, his being able to make good his pretensions to the dignity of emperor or lord paramount of India.† Of this circumstance, the artful Krishna adroitly availed himself in enumerating the grounds of complaint against Jara Sandha; and he succeeded in instigating the prince Pandava to take up arms in his favour. Accompanied by Bheema and Arjoona, Krishna entered Bahar by a circuitous route, passing under the mountains by Gorakpore and Tirhoot. Jara Sandha, it appears, had made no preparation for defence, for he was surprised in his capital, and, according to one account, after a contest of several days, was killed in single combat by Bheema.‡ This event was, probably, not attended by the effect anticipated, since it was undoubtedly one of the causes of the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, one of the results of which was to prevent Krishna from recovering the territory to obtain which he had killed his uncle. Kansa, the king of Mathura, who appears to have occupied that territory after the death of Jara Sandha, was probably placed there, and undoubtedly supported, by the Kaurava princes. These facts, it is remarked, "sufficiently explain the intimate

* Yudhishthira was king of Prithistana, or Delhi, and appears to have been the head of the Pandavas.

† ——— "The sacrifice
That should, to men and gods, proclaim him lord
And sovereign master of the vassal world."
SOUTHEY'S *Curse of Kehama*, vii. p. 76.

'The Rajas Yag, or *Feast of Rajahs*, could be performed only by a monarch who had conquered all the other sovereigns of the world.'—Halhed."—*Ibid.*, notes.

‡ According to other accounts, the unfortunate monarch was slain asunder by the ferocious brothers, Krishna and Bala Rama.

alliance which subsisted between Krishna and the Pandavas, his expulsion from Mathura, and his founding a city on the coast of Malabar." This Hindoo demigod was at length "slain in Saurashtra, by the aboriginal tribes (the Bheels) whom he and the Pandus had expelled; and his followers in the Great War, on the death of their leader, settled, part in Zabulistan and part in Sewesthan, on the Indus. The native annals state, that Samba, one of Krishna's sons by his favourite wife, Jambavati, was founder of the Sindesama dynasty, who had for their capital, Samanagara or Samba-nagara (the fortress of Sama or Samba)," the same as the Minagara of the Periplus, the Sindomana of Arrian, and the modern Tatta or Debeil.* Like other deified heroes, the character of Krishna appears to have been infamous for cruelty, treachery, and licentiousness.

With regard to Bala Rama, who is conjointly wor-

* This account of the death and posterity of Krishna, we give on the authority of a paper by Major (now Colonel) Tod in the Trans. of the Royal Asiat. Soc., vol. i., to which we shall have occasion again to refer. The preceding details are taken from Mr. Wilson's Notes to his Translation of the Raja Tarangini, as given by M. Klaproth in the *Journal Asiatique*, tom. vii. pp. 10—95. According to other accounts, Krishna was either assassinated or accidentally killed with an arrow, while sitting under a tree, by Angada, a hunter. His posterity, some of the Puranas state, were all destroyed by the curse of a Rishi; while other authorities make him to have put them to death with his own hand. His "legal wife" was Rucmani, daughter of Bhismeca, King of Canda-nagara in Berar. "According to the *Shree Bhagavata* (*Sri Bhagavat*), *Mahabharata*, and other works," says Mr. Ward, "this god, Krishna, a form of Vishnu, was incarnate to destroy kings Shishoo-pala, and Kung-sa, and a number of giants." "Syama, or Syama," Colonel Tod says, "was one of the names of Crishna, from his dark complexion; hence Samba." Both Syama and Crishna mean black; and the latter is, perhaps, a translation of his real name.—See Ward's *Hindoos*, ii. 190—202. *Asiat. Res.*, iv. 55, 73, 74.

shipped with his brother Krishna, as one incarnation of Vishnoo, it seems difficult to ascertain his real history.* He is also styled Bala Deva, and is said to have built three cities for his sons; Bali-pootra (Palibothra), Mahabalipooram (Mavalivoram) in the Carnatic, and Balipura in the province of Beder. The title of *Maha Bala* has, however, been assumed by different monarchs, and little dependence, therefore, can be placed on the tradition. His posterity are supposed to have occupied the imperial throne of Palibothra; but of this inglorious dynasty of Balapootras, Indian history has preserved no memorial. Sahadeva, the son of the unfortunate Jara Sandha, was permit-

* "Megasthenes," says Mr. Wilford, "reckons fifteen generations between Dionysius (Deo Nandha) and Hercules, by whom we are to understand Crishna and his brother Bala Rama."—*Asiat. Res.*, v. 269. "Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand ....As Bala sprang from Vishnu or Hari, he is certainly Hari-cula, or Hercules. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did nothing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."—*Ibid.* p. 270. Vol. ix. in a subsequent volume, the learned Writer tells us, that Nonnus, in the Dionysiacs, gives the title of Hercules or Bala to Sandel, or Jara Sandha; an epithet, he says, to which he is fully entitled. "Old Sandha is considered as a hero to this day in India, and pilgrimages, I am told, are yearly performed to the place of his abode, to the east of Gaya, in South Bahar. It is called *Raja Gritha* (the royal mansion)." Martial games were formerly exhibited in honour of this unfortunate hero, who is "represented naked with a club in his hand." At Benares, a ghaut (landing-place) still bears the name of Jara Sandha; and the tradition is, that he erected there a pillar of victory.—*Asiat. Res.*, ix. 89, 93. It is very probable, that both Jara Sandha and Rama successively assumed the title of Bala, and it is not surprising that they should therefore be mistaken for each other, and their actions mixed up together. Mr. Wilford has clearly confounded them. Jara Sandha's ancestors were the Vrihad-Ratha, or Barhadrat'ha dynasty, kings of Casia, descended from Puru, the 6th son of Yayati, the son of Nahusha.—*Ibid.*, p. 91.

ted to retain possession of his hereditary dominions, although, possibly, as a tributary. At length, towards the beginning of the third century before Christ, the warlike and enterprising sovereign of Magadha, Maha Nanda, recovered, from the slothful or effeminate successors of Bala Rama, the conquests wrested from his ancestor, subdued the whole of Prachi, and re-established the seat of the Magadha empire at Palibothra.

Nanda, sovereign of Prachi or Eastern India, was the contemporary of Alexander the Great; and the native annals now receive some illustration from western or classic history. Two hundred years before, the Persian empire, under Darius Hystaspes, had extended itself into India.* His admiral, Scylax, a Carian Greek, descended the Indus from Caspatyrus † to its mouth; and on his return, the Conqueror of Lydia and Thrace, of Transoxiana and Arachosia, crossed that river, overran great part of India Proper, and imposed upon its princes an annual tribute of 300

* In Dow's Translation of Ferishta's History, the first invasion of India by the Persians, is said to have taken place at the instigation of "one of the blood-royal of India," who, "disgusted with the reigning prince (king of Oude), fled into Persia, whose king was called Feredon. That monarch, espousing the cause of the fugitive, sent an army into Hindostan, and carried on a war with that empire for ten years. The country suffered exceedingly, and the Maraja (Maha Rajah) was obliged to cede part of his dominions to the fugitive prince, who, it seems, was his nephew. A tribute was, at the same time, sent to the King of Persia: and the empire of India seems ever after to depend, in some measure, upon that of Persia."—Dow, vol. i. p. 2. As Feridoon reigned, according to the Persian annals, 500 years, it is not easy to ascertain the precise date of these events. If, however, Feridoon may be identified, as Sir John Malcolm supposes, with Arbaces, this would fix it about 820 B.C. Ferishta (or his Translator) would place it, by a random conjecture, 700 years earlier. Possibly, the story of Krishna is here mixed up with occurrences of later date, which led to the last Persian invasion.

† Cashalpoor on the Hydaspes, according to Wilford.

talents of gold. It is not, indeed, probable, that his conquests extended so far eastward as Pruchil, or much beyond the district watered by the Indus and its branches; but it is admitted by a Hindoo writer, that the ostensible cause of the celebrated invasion of India by Alexander of Macedon, was, to levy this tribute, which had been withheld, and to compel the Indian princes to acknowledge the supremacy of the Great King.

At the era of this invasion (B.C. 328), Western India, according to the sober statements of Arrian, was partitioned among several warlike tribes.* The inhabitants of the Punjaub are described as strong-built and large-limbed, taller in stature than any other Asiatics, many of them being little less than five cubits high. Their complexion he describes as more swarthy than any yet known, and their military skill as far surpassing that of all the other inhabitants

* Arrian ridicules the affected exactness of Megasthenes, according to whom the whole of India was divided into 122 several nations. Megasthenes, however, who visited the courts of both Porus and Sandracottus, derived his information from the natives. "In the Punjab country," remarks Major Rennell, "in an extent less than is comprised within one of the subahs, or grand divisions of the Mogul empire, we find no fewer than seven nations; and along the lower parts of the Indus, many more. Even in the Punjab, where Alexander warred a whole campaign and part of another, there was nothing of that kind of concert apprehended, which must have taken place between the governors of provinces, had they been under one head; but, in general, each acted separately and for himself. The Malli, Oxidracæ, and Oxydracæ, we are told, leagued together for their mutual defence; and this proves that they were separate governments."—RENNELL, p. 120. Ambhara, king of a tribe of Indian mountaineers, and Doxarus, another rajah, are mentioned by Arrian as having tendered their submission to the invader. Another Porus, the nephew of the brave adherent of Alexander, fled, at his approach, to the court of Pruchil.—BOHN'S *Arrian*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 43. *Ib. Ind.*, vol. iv. p. 78.

of Asia. "Even those warlike Persians," he adds, "by whose valour Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, deprived the Medes of the empire of Asia, and brought many other nations under subjection, partly by force, and partly by voluntary surrender, are by no means to be compared with those Indians."* They appear, in fact, to have presented an imposing front to the victorious army of Alexander, and to have excited at once his astonishment and admiration. Their martial zeal was raised to enthusiasm by the eloquence of the Brahmins, who, according to the concurrent statements of Grecian and native writers, called upon the people to unite in opposing the irreligious invader. Several of the petty chiefs of the Sindetic provinces, however, tendered their allegiance to Alexander; and at Taxila on the Indus, the chief joined his army with 5000 Indians.† Alexander crossed the Attok

* Rooke's Arrian, ii. 5. We seem to recognise, in this description, the Pandavas, and their black hero, Krishna.

† The immense ruins of *Tacshila*, the Taxila of the Greeks, Lieut. Wilford says, are to be seen between the Vetasta (or Hydaspes) and the Indus. They cover a vast extent of ground, upon which have been built a town and several considerable villages; but these ruins are mere rubbish. Seid Rasool (or Rashaut) is built upon the site of part of the city. The Tacshailas (or Tacshasilas) still exist as a numerous tribe under the name of Syalas or Sayalas, and are divided into several branches; the Syalas proper, those of Syal-cote, of Jehung-Syal, (whose principal town is called Yahungsilah by Major Rennell,) the Cur-Syalas, &c. . . . The Syalas are exceedingly proud of their antiquity, and talk of ancient heroes; yet they remember nothing of Alexander and his conquests. They are a fine race of men, tall, bold, and generous, like their neighbours, the Chatars, the *Cshatri* of Diodorus. The greater part of the latter are still Hindoos. I have seen several of them at Benares, and their tribe is well known in Punjab. The Syalas and Chatars are certainly a distinct race in that part of the country. The Syalas of Tacshasilas, are also called simply Tacshas. They say, that the ancient name of their city was *Ishnagri*, and that of their country; so called from one *Hari-Tacsha*, or the shepherd, called Yalkoob by Persian authors, and Lilaka

without opposition; but, on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes, he encountered and defeated Porus, the Maha Rajah of Western India, at the head of a powerful army, including, according to Arrian, 4000 horse, 300 chariots, 200 elephants, and nearly 30,000 foot. On the field of victory, he founded the city of Nicæa, and on the site of his grand encampment on the hither side, that of Bucephalus, in memory of his favourite horse.* A second victory was gained over a large Indian army collected at Sangala.† But this was the extent of his conquests. On the banks of the Hyphasis (the Beyah or Gurra), a mutiny broke out among the Macedonians, who, discouraged by the hardships they had undergone, and

by the Greeks. The country of Hud is called Hotu in the book of Esther, and seems to have included what is called Sind by Turkish writers; at least the northern parts of it. It is called Yaudeya in the Puranas, and *Abisares* or *Apisal* by European travellers of the sixteenth century.—WILFORD in *Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. p. 348, 8. Major Rennell supposed Taxila to be near Attok.

* These were probably the sites of towns partially ruined, which Alexander ordered to be rebuilt under new names. He ordered a third to be built on the Chunaub.

† Arrian states, that Alexander, after defeating Porus, entered the country of the Glaucanicæ or Glauæ, which he added to the dominions of Porus. On the third day after crossing the Hydraotes, he encountered, near Sangala, the confederate forces of the Cathæi (Kuttry tribe), the Oxydracæ (people of Cutch), and the Malli (inhabitants of Moultan). About 17,000 Indians are stated to have been slain at the storming of that place. The extensive ruins of Sangala, Major Wilford informs us, are to be seen about 36 miles W. of Lahore, in an uninhabited part of the country. It "is situated in a forest, and though desolate and uninhabited, it still preserves its ancient name." It has been confounded by Arrian with Salgala (called to this day Salgheela) near Calanore. It is the Kuttea of Ferishta and the Persian romances. One of its rajahs assisted Afrasiab in his war against the famous Kai Khosrau."—*As. Res.*, vol. v. p. 282; vi. 521. See also Dow, vol. i. pp. 3—7; and RENNELL, p. 125. The capital of Phoor, or Porus, according to Ferishta, was Canouge.—Dow, vol. i. p. 6.

dismayed at the prospect of still greater difficulties in advancing into an unknown and hostile region, unanimously refused to proceed further. It is not improbable that Alexander yielded less to the impatience of his troops, than to the obstacles presented by the season, the natural strength of the country, and the unexpected resistance of hostile millions.* Reluctant as he must have felt to abandon the splendid enterprise, a paramount necessity compelled him to affect to yield to the wishes of his troops, and to content himself with the empty conquest of a province, instead of the subjugation of an empire.† The expedition had been planned in utter ignorance of the nature of the country. Alexander passed the Hydaspes about the height of the rainy season; and it was not without reason that, after being exposed to incessant rains for seventy days, the soldiers complained. On escaping from the inundated plains of the Punjaub, they had to enter upon a sandy desert, where still more formidable hardships threatened them. The army too had already been thinned by disease.‡ Under these circumstances, it redounds to the military glory of

* Plutarch states, that the last battle with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonian courage, and hindered their further progress in India. They were told, that the Gandaritans and Prasians (the Gangaridæ and Prasii) were expecting them with an immense army of no fewer than 3000 elephants. The capture of Sangala was a dear-bought and bootless conquest; and a few more such victories must have proved fatal to the conqueror.—See Rowan's *Arrian*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.

† Major Rennell remarks, that, with such an army as Alexander is stated to have had, "the conquest of the Punjab and Sindy would be no very great matter in our times, although unlike; and yet, this conquest is considered as a brilliant part of Alexander's history. The truth is, the romantic traveller is blended with the adventurous soldier; and the feelings of the reader are oftener applied to than his judgement."—Rennell, p. 130.

‡ Rennell, p. 121. Robertson's India, note 5.

Alexander, that he could mask a retreat under the semblance of a triumph, subdue the countries through which he led back a dispirited army, and convert his escape from the sandy deserts of Gedrosia into a Bacchanalian triumph.*

Alexander left a small portion of his army under some of his most experienced officers, to keep possession of the conquered territory on the banks of the Indus; but his troops abandoned themselves to every species of debauchery, and mutual broils were the natural result of their unbridled passions. The death of Alexander, together with the subsequent division of his empire, hastened the downfal of the Grecian power in India. It was not, however, immediately annihilated; and Seleucus Nicator, the greatest of his successors, after reducing to his authority Parthia, Bactria, and the other intermediate provinces of the empire, marched into India to take possession of the Macedonian conquests in that quarter.

In the mean time, Nanda, the aged monarch of

* Curtius, Plutarch, and Diodorus relate, that, in leading his army through Carmania (Kerman), Alexander affected to emulate the ancient bacchanals of Dionysius. Arrian rejects the story as improbable. Yet it was quite in consistency with his usual policy, which led him, as this historian remarks, to conform himself to the customs of the nations he conquered, to colour himself to them the more. And if he accomplished re-appearing under more favourable auspices on this magnificent stage of conquest, nothing could be better adapted to forward his future views, by conciliating the superstitious prejudices which had armed a whole country against him, than assuming the character of an avatar of Bacchus or Vishnou. "I cannot condemn Alexander," says Arrian, "for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine origin, nor be induced to believe it any great crime; because it is very reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it, than merely to procure the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, who all of them challenged kindred with Jove; and none of the ancients condemned them for it."—Rooke's *Arrian*, vol. ii. p. 154.

Prachi, having been assassinated by his prime minister, had been succeeded by an active and enterprising prince, the famous Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Grecian writers.* The circumstances attending this revolution, so far as they can be gathered from the discordant statements of the Hindoo annals, were these. Nanda was the son of Maha Nanda, king of Magadha, by a female Sudra; he was a good king, just and equitable, and "paid due respect to the Brahmins." His prime minister, Sacatara, was probably of that order; and he appears to have wielded the whole powers of government during the latter part of the monarch's reign, much in the same way as some of the ministers of the modern rajahs. Not content with this, in furtherance of his criminal designs, and in concert with the queen, he murdered the king, and placed Upadhanwa, one of the younger sons of Nanda, upon the throne. The crime did not, however, go unpunished. Sacatara and all his sons, except one, were put to death; and to secure himself against hostile claimants of the crown, Upadhanwa gave orders for the massacre of all his half-brothers, the children of Nanda by a different mother. Chandragupta alone escaped, and fled to the court of Parvateswara, "lord of the mountains," or king of Nepaul; to whom he offered one half of his kingdom, if he would assist him in taking the field against his enemy.

* Chandragupta (i. e. guarded by Lunus, or the Moon) is the name which he is said to have assumed in gratitude for this escape. Of this, the Greek writers made Sandrocyptus, Sandracottus, Chandram, and Xandrames. According to Diodorus, he was of a low tribe. His mother appears to have been a Sudra, and Sacatara is stated to have been his paramour. A previous attempt to get rid of Nanda by poison, had failed, the dose proving only strong enough to impair the faculties of the unhappy monarch, without destroying life.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. pp. 283—81; 294.

In conjunction with this powerful ally, aided by a body of Greek auxiliaries, Chandragupta defeated Upalhanwa with great slaughter under the walls of his capital, the monarch himself being among the slain, and took possession of the throne of his father. His promise to Parvateswara was now disregarded. He retained a large body of Yavans or Greeks in his pay, and fortifying his capital, set his enemies at defiance. Eventually, he appears to have either conciliated or triumphed over all parties, and during a reign of many years, was beloved by his subjects.*

When Seleucus entered India, he found himself opposed by this monarch, who appears to have marched to the assistance of the western princes, at the head of a formidable army. The particulars of this invasion are obscurely and differently related. According to the Greek historians, the expedition of Seleucus was splendid and victorious; and it was, probably, his first successes that brought him in immediate contact with the sovereign of Prachi, and led to a treaty so honourable to the invaders. Seleucus is stated, indeed, to have yielded up all his conquests east of the Indus; but, by the same treaty, he gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta, who, in return, agreed to

* In the Vishnoo-puraun and the Bhagawat, Chandragupta is stated to have been raised to the throne by the minister of Nanda, Chanacya or Coutilya, to whom is ascribed the destruction of the eight sons of Nanda: and the revolution is said to have been effected in seven days. (Asiat. Res., vol. v. p. 303.) But, according to a dramatic poem cited by Major Wilford, the young king, Upalhanwa, shared the imperial power with his seven brothers for twelve years, or till 350 B.C., when Chandragupta was raised to the throne by the intrigues of a wicked and revengeful priest called Chanacya. The accession of Chandragupta, we are told, is a famous era in the chronology of the Hindoos; and the crimes, repentance, and expiatory penance of Chanacya form the subject of many popular legends.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 94—99.

furnish Seleucus annually with fifty elephants. If the latter article looks like a tribute, the former might seem to be but a royal dower.* In order to confirm and perpetuate this amicable relation between the courts of Babylon and Palibothra, Seleucus sent the celebrated Megasthenes to reside as envoy at the capital of Prachi; and by his knowledge and ability, he restored the commercial intercourse between Persia and India, which had been suspended and almost destroyed by the Macedonian conquests.† Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, and died B.C. 293.‡

In the reign of Allitocrates (or Antiocrates, sup-

* "It may be objected to the foregoing account," remarks Mr. Wilford, "the improbability of a Hindu marrying the daughter of a Yavana, or, indeed, of any foreigner. On this difficulty, I consulted the Pundits of Benares, and they all gave me the same answer, namely, that in the time of Chandragupta, the Yavanas were much respected, and were even considered as a sort of Hindus; though they afterwards brought upon themselves the hatred of that nation by their cruelty, avarice, rapacity, and treachery in every transaction while they ruled over the western parts of India: but that, at any rate, the objection did not apply to the case, as Chandragupta himself was a Sudra, that is to say, of the lowest class (by his mother). The Hindus acknowledged that, formerly, they were not so strict as they are at this day; and this appears from their books to have been the case."—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. pp. 286, 287.

† Dr. Robertson supposes, that Seleucus would have proceeded much further, (Pliny, indeed, represents him as having advanced to the mouth of the Ganges,) but he not been recalled in the midst of his career, to repel the invasion of his western territories by Antigonus. Megasthenes is supposed to give a very exaggerated account of the power and opulence of the Prachi. He relates, that he had an audience of Sandracottus in a place where he was encamped with an army of 400,000 men.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 196. Tradition extends the empire of this famous monarch over the greater part of India; and he is said to have built a city in the Deccan, which he called after his own name, and the ruins of which are found below Sri-sailam, or Purwatum, on the banks of the Krishna. The inhabitants of the Deccan are familiar with his history.

posed to be a corruption of Mitra-gupta, guarded by the sun *), the son and successor of Chandragupta, Seleucus sent Diamachus as his ambassador, to re-establish an amicable intercourse between the two nations. Long after the death of Seleucus, the alliance was renewed by Antiochus the Great, who, after reducing the revolted provinces of Parthia and Bactria, entered India, and concluded a treaty with Sophagasenus, the grandson of Chandragupta, receiving from him, besides the fifty elephants, a tribute in money.† The Syrian monarchy, after this, became too feeble to retain its hold on these distant conquests; but the Greeks of Bactria, which province threw off the yoke of the *Seleucidæ* long before Parthia, continued to maintain an intercourse with India, and even made some considerable acquisitions of territory in that country. "Concerning the transactions of this kingdom," remarks Dr. Robertson, "we must rest satisfied with gleaning a few imperfect hints in ancient authors. From them we learn, that its commerce with

* The son of Chandragupta is called Varisara and Dasaratha in the native annals; the other was, probably, his surname. A remarkable conformity is observable in this respect between the customs of India and those of Egypt. The Diospolitan sovereigns uniformly assumed a regal surname, by which they claimed to be the favourites of their patron deity; e. g. "the Beloved of Ammon," "Approved of Phre," "Cherished of Hercules," "Established by Phtha," &c. To the many conjectures that have been offered respecting the etymology of Ægyptus, we are tempted to add, that it will, most probably, prove to be a similar title—Ai-gupta, guarded by Ai or Aia. In fact, Mr. Wilford tells us, that *Ai* corresponds to *Lunus*.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. vi. p. 467. If so, the true meaning of the title is ascertained to be the same as Chandragupta.

† This inroad of Antiochus, which Robertson mentions only in a note, occurred about a century posterior to the invasion of Seleucus. Sophagasenus, Mr. Wilford supposes to be a corruption of *Shoora-sena*, implying the merciful.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 286.

India was great; that the conquests of the Bactrian kings in that country were more extensive than those of Alexander himself; and particularly, that they recovered possession of the district near the mouth of the Indus, which he had subdued. Each of the six princes who reigned in Bactria, carried on military operations in India with such success, that they penetrated far into the interior of the country; and proud of the conquests which they had made, as well as of the extensive dominions over which they reigned, some of them assumed the lofty title of Great King, which distinguished the Persian monarchs in the days of their highest splendour.* But we should not have known how long this kingdom of Bactria subsisted, or in what manner it terminated, if M. de Guignes had not called in the historians of China to supply the defects of the Greek and Roman writers. By them we are informed, that, about 126 years before the Christian era, a powerful horde of Tartars pushed from their native seats on the confines of China, passed the Jaxartes, and pouring in upon Bactria like an irresistible torrent, overwhelmed that kingdom, and put an end to the dominion of the Greeks there, after it had been established near 130 years." †

Such is the brief and unsatisfactory manner in which, owing, in part, to want of materials, this writer disposes of one of the most interesting sections

* "In the Vishnu-purana and in the *Bhagavat*, it is recorded, that *eight* Grecian kings reigned over part of India. They are better known to us by the title of the Grecian kings of Bactriana." —WILFORD in *Asiat. Res.*, vol. v. p. 287.

† Strabo mentions that the Greeks were deprived of Bactria by tribes or hordes of Scythian nomades, who came from the country beyond the Jaxartes, and were known by the names of *Asii, Pasiani, Tachari*, and *Sacarauli*.—RENNELL, note, p. 56. In Tachari or Tachari we have the supposed origin of the word Turk.

in the history of ancient India. The connexion between the Bactrian Greeks and the Indians, deserves, however, more specific notice; and the recent discovery of some Greek, Parthian, and Hindoo medals, has thrown considerable light on the obscure annals of this Greek kingdom.

Among the allies of Jara Sandha, mentioned in the *Mahabharat*, it is highly remarkable, Mr. Wilson observes, "that we find a potent king of *Yavana-dwipa* (or Greek land), who is represented as having an unbounded authority, and as reigning over the west, like another Varuna. This passage, and several others, in which the power of the Yavana is spoken of, afford room for presuming, that the date of the composition of that book is posterior to the invasion of India by Alexander. In the *Sri Bhagavat*, the Yavana present themselves under another form, and their name is applied to the Mohammedans. Their prince, who, in the *Mahabharat*, is a powerful monarch, and is only distinguished as one among the numerous allies of Jara Sandha, appears in the *Bhagavat*, on the contrary, as Yavanasur, a Titan, or demon, who attacks Krishna of his own accord, and whose aggression, joined to the approach of Jara Sandha, with whom he is not, however, connected by any confederacy or allianee, compels the demigod Krishna to transport his family to Dwaraka. Subsequently, the latter takes the demon in a snare, and destroys him. The entire story of the war and character of Krishna is, in fact, changed from history into a legend in the *Sri Bhagavat*, which is evidently the most modern of the Puranas." *

* Journal Asiat. t. viii. p. 20. See also Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 507. According to the *Mori-vansa*, which is there cited, this Titan king of the Yavans was Dro-Cal-Yan, or Deucalion.

There can be no doubt that the Yavana is the name given by oriental writers to the Ionians or Greeks.* The followers of the Macedonian conqueror were not, however, the first to whom the name was given; and they might be called such, either from their affinity, real or supposed, to the original inhabitants of *Yavana-dwipa*, or from possessing that country. Supposing it to answer to Bactria, the inhabitants of that territory, whether aboriginal, Greek, or Turkish, would, of course, be alike denominated Yavans. The extent of *Yavana-dwipa*, Mr. Wilson remarks, it is not easy to determine; but, as it comprised Marou (Meru or Merve) and Naraka, it probably answered to that portion of the modern kingdom of Cabul which embraces the provinces of Balkh and Khorasan, together, perhaps, with part of Sogdiana and Sinde.

On the division of the Macedonian conquests between the Indus and the Caspian, by the successors of Alexander, Bactria and Sogdiana, according to Arrian, fell to Stasanor; Philip had Parthia and Hyrcania; and Pithon, the district east of Bactria, extending towards the territories of Taxiles and Porus, on the Indus. Various unimportant changes took place in this arrangement; but at length, Theodotus, the governor of Bactria under Antiochus Theos, taking advantage of the war between that monarch and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, declared himself independent. This event occurred in the 50th year of the *Seleucidæ*, and 256 B.C. "It is scarcely

* Javan (יָוָן) is written by the LXX. and Josephus, Ἰάων. "By this the Hebrews, like the Syrians and Arabians, appear to have understood the Greeks generally."—Gesenius. The Scholiast on Aristophanes says, that the barbarians call all Greeks Ionians.—Callist. The Hindoos pronounce it Yowana.

feasible," remarks Colonel Tod, in his Essay on the Bactrian Medals, "to assign precise limits to the Bactrian kingdom, for Bactria was soon overstepped; and what might be termed the Bactrian kingdom at the period of the revolt, comprehended Sogdia as well as the province of Bactria, which had the Oxus or Jihoon as its northern boundary. The kingdom of Theodotus, therefore, included all Transoxiana, or the *Do-áb* of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, (the *Mawer ul Nahr* of the Persians,) and to the south, the Paropamisan range. To the west, it was kept in check by its alternate rival and ally, the *Arsacidæ* of Parthia; but, to the east, its frontier cannot be fixed, for we are left in doubt whether Pithon declared himself independent, or whether the provinces he held gradually merged into Bactria.

"The first Arsaces was a Bactrian by birth, and, with his brother Tiridates, had opposed the ambitious designs of Theodotus; but, being unsuccessful, fled to the governor of Parthia, by whom being treated with indignity, he raised troops, expelled him, and following the example of Theodotus, declared himself independent. Three years after, he was succeeded by his brother Tiridates, who bears on his medals the title of 'Arsaces the Great, king of kings.' That he was much indebted to the Greeks of Bactria, we may judge from the epithet his medals and those of his successors bear, of *Philhellenes*. His friendship for the Greeks can only be understood towards the Bactrian Greeks; for he had scarcely been two years on the throne, when Seleucus Callinicus, having made peace with the Egyptian monarch, left Syria with a large army to recover Parthia; and the 'Great King' was obliged to flee to his Scythic brethren, the Getæ

Saca of the Jaxartes;* till a rupture between the brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, gave him an opportunity to re-enter Parthia. Seleucus, having prevailed over his rival, resumed his Parthian expedition; but the second Theodotus, who had succeeded to the Bactrian throne, formed a close alliance with Tiridates, and sent him a large body of Bactrian troops, by whose aid Tiridates defeated and made captive the Assyrian monarch. The day on which this battle was fought, became the anniversary of the foundation of Parthian liberty. This alliance sealed the independence of both states; and to this opportune succour afforded by Theodotus, we may ascribe the epithet we have mentioned as freely retained by the successive *Arsacidæ* from a grateful recollection."†

There appear to have been, in fact, no fewer than three Greek kingdoms co-existing at this time in the heart of Asia; the Parthian, the Bactrian, and the Indian. The latter, supposed to have been founded by Apollodotus, seems to have had Sangala or Sagala for its capital, to which Demetrius afterwards gave the name of Euthydemia, in honour of his father. This Demetrius was the son of Euthydemus, third king of Bactria; and, by marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, he secured the crown of Bactria to his father against any further attempt from Syria. It has been doubted, however, whether he ever reigned in Bactria, as Euthydemus appears to have been succeeded by his brother, the celebrated Menander, to whom Strabo refers in the following passage: "Some

* Sacæ-theiæ, the country of the Saca, is properly placed by D'Anville about the fountains of the Oxus. The Parthians were the Saca of Asia. Hence the titular appellation of its princes, Arsaces.

† Trans. of Royal Asiat. Society, vol. i. p. 337 98.

of these princes subjugated more nations even than Alexander; especially Menander, who, having passed the Hypanis (or Hyphasis), advanced towards the east as far as the Isamus.* But, if it was to him that the Greeks were chiefly indebted for their conquests, the obligation was in part due to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Thus, they subjugated the Patalene; then, spreading over the coast, they conquered the kingdom of Tessarionitus and that of Segestis. These same Greeks carried their victorious arms as far as the countries of the *Sgri* (Sauras) and the *Phauni*." Colonel Tod remarks on this passage, that, although it is not expressly asserted by the Greek Geographer, that Menander and Demetrius were contemporary, it is by no means improbable; and their respective conquests might be made in unison, yet in different directions, eastward and southward. The latter is the route of conquest by which they became known to the Author of the Periplus, who has handed down to posterity the names and exploits of Apollodotus and Menander. Their coins were still current at Baroach in the second century.†

* Supposed by the French translator of Strabo to be the Jumna; by Major Wilford conjectured to be the Isa, which flows into the Ganges, and which, though a small stream, formed the boundary between the two Hindoo kingdoms of Delhi and Canouge, seven centuries ago.

† Patalene is derived from the Sanscrit *Patal*, signifying the lower region, and seems to answer to the modern Tatta, in the Delta of the Indus. Its capital, Major Tod thinks, was Minagara or city of Sambus. The kingdom of Tessarionitus (supposed to be a corruption of *Gujerashtra*) answers to the modern kingdom of Cutch. Segestis is more doubtful; but the learned Writer assigns strong reasons for placing it higher up the Indus, with Arore for its capital, of which the ruins exist seven miles E. of the island of Bukkur or Bukar in Moultan. The latter is the Manowara of the

Menander seems to have been firmly seated on the throne of Bactria about B.C. 193. After having raised to its highest point of elevation the glory of this Greek monarchy, he was preparing to turn his arms against the Syrian king, when he was seized with a violent fever, which terminated his life. Plutarch tells us, that so highly was this sovereign revered by his subjects, that many cities of his empire contended for his remains: the dispute was terminated by dividing among them equal portions of his ashes, which were deposited in magnificent monuments.

Eucratides I., who succeeded Menander in the kingdom of Bactria, is said to have dispossessed Demetrius of his Indian sovereignty; and, according to Artemidorus, he possessed 5000 cities beyond the Indus! Like the Parthian monarchs, he assumed on his medals the title of the Great King. Eucratides II., in the 110th year of the Bactrian era, succeeded to the throne by the murder of his father; but he did not long enjoy it. The parricide was slain during an invasion of his territories, by the Parthians on one side, and the Getæ on the other. The latter were in their turn expelled by the Huns. Thus fell the Bactrian kingdom, after it had subsisted 120 years from its foundation. Mithridates, king of Parthia, who had compelled Eucratides to become his tributary previously to the total overthrow of the monarchy, succeeded in establishing himself in all the power which the Greeks ever had in India. He is said, indeed, to have conquered the whole of the countries from the Indus to the Ganges; "and such were his moderation and clemency, that many nations voluntarily submitted to him. Demetrius Nicator, of Syria, endeavoured to

Arctium, and has been supposed by some to be the ancient Minagara, but, according to Colonel Tod, erroneously

prop the declining cause of the Bactrians, but fell himself into captivity; his son Antiochus was slain in an attempt to release him. The Parthians extended themselves every where, and both they and their foes, the Scythic Tachari, had bands of Greeks as allies."*

It is to Mithridates and his successors, or to a minor Greek dynasty in India, that the learned Author of the communication above cited, assigns the numerous Parthian coins found in the neighbourhood of Mathura, Agra, Ujjayan, and Ajmeer. "That they belonged to Parthian and Indo-Scythic kings, who had sovereignties within the Indus, there cannot," he says, "be a doubt." The characters have the appearance of a rude provincial Greek. Among the "thousands" which he has succeeded in collecting,† few, unfortunately, have escaped the corroding tooth of time. But among the more valuable medals with which his researches were rewarded, he obtained from the banks of the Jumna,‡ an Apollodotus and a Menander, bearing, on the reverse, inscriptions in the ancient Zend or Pehlavi character, as found on the Sassanian medals of Sapor. "The Zend characters,

* Trans. of Royal Asiat. Soc., i. 398—40. See also Maurice's Hindostan, vol. 1, book 1, c. 4, 5, 6; and Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 79—84. All the coins of the Parthian kings that have been preserved, have Greek legends.

† During a twelve years' residence among the Mahrattas and Rajpoots, the Author accumulated altogether 20,000 coins of all denominations; among which, about 100 he considers as interesting, and about a third of these are valuable as documents.

‡ The Apollodotus was found among the obscure ruins of Sumpeha, an ancient city, supposed to have been the capital of Surasena, the grandfather of Krishna. There was a Sura, king of Mathura, contemporary with Krishna. Its name would answer to Heliopolis. The ruins are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage called Bateshur, between Agra and Etawah. The Menander was found at Mathura; both within the kingdom of the Surasenî.

common to both these medals," he remarks, "afford a proof which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of their conquests, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nagari* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia."

We now return to the Cashmirian annals. After the death of the young Gonerds, the grandson of Gonerds I., an obscure period ensues. The chasm is filled with thirty-five anonymous kings, probably foreigners, as they are stated not to have been followers of the doctrines of the Veda. After them reigned Lava (the Lou or Loulou of the Musselman writers), the founder of the city of Lahore, and a patron of the Brahmins. Janara, one of his successors, is said to have sent one of his sons, at the head of an army, to invade Persia, then under the government of Queen Homili, but he was repulsed and slain by Darab, son of Baloman. On the death of his son and successor, without issue, the crown of Cashmeer returned to the family of its first sovereigns, and devolved on Asoka, who, according to the *Ayeen Akberi*, abolished the worship of Brahma, and introduced the religion of the Jains; but the Sanscrit original represents him to have been a worshipper of Siva or Mahadeo. In his reign, Cashmeer was invaded by *Mletch'ha* or foreigners, but he repulsed them.

Jaloka, his son and successor, is celebrated as a valorous prince. He vanquished the Buddhists, and drove the remaining *Mletch'ha* entirely out of the country. He then carried his victorious arms, on the one side, into the north of Persia, at that time governed by King Darab, and on the other, subjected the

province of Kanouje. He introduced among his subjects the division into castes, and other customs in use in the neighbouring countries. Although a rigid votary of Siva, he permitted, towards the close of his reign, the free exercise of the Buddhic worship. This was probably owing to the declining influence of the Brahmins, who are said to have transformed, in their wrath, his successor, Damodara, into a serpent. This sovereign was succeeded by three princes of the *Turukka** race, who divided the kingdom between them, and founded three cities, to which they severally gave their names, Houshka, Joushka, and Kanishka. The worship of Buddha was now established in Cashmeer; and a *bodhisatwa* or pontiff, named Nagarjoona, was appointed, 150 years before the death of Sakyasinha. These three princes were succeeded, perhaps expelled, by Abhimanyoo, who restored the religion of Brahma; and this "reform" was completed by his successor, Gonerda III., whose accession is fixed, in the original, 1182 years B.C.† He re-introduced the worship of the *Naga* (serpents), which is supposed to have been the ancient religion of Cashmeer. A series of princes now succeed, of whose actions nothing is recorded. At length, about 200 years B.C., Mihira Koola ascended the throne, in whose reign the country was filled with *Mléch'ha*. He is said to have been a cruel prince, but a mighty conqueror: he led an army to Ceylon, dethroned its monarch, set up another, and subdued the princes of Chola, Karnata, Lata, and other kingdoms of the Dekkan, in his way home. To him is assigned, very consistently, a reign of seventy years.

* Supposed by Mr. Wilson to be a Turkish tribe; but M. Klaproth contends that that appellation is of modern origin.

† This remote date cannot be admitted. Mr. Wilson reduces it to B.C. 388.

The sixth next in succession, Gopáditya, was a prince of great piety, whose virtues brought back the golden age. He re-established the strict observance of the Brahminical ritual and institutions. About the time of the Christian era, we find the throne filled by a sovereign of foreign birth, named Pratapaditya, a relation of king Vicramaditya. The Cashmirian annals now become confused and distorted by fable, and several revolutions or changes of dynasty appear to have taken place. The *Gonerdiya* dynasty seems to have been restored in the warlike Megavahana, in the second century of the Christian era. To this monarch also is ascribed, without the slightest probability, the conquest of Lanca or Ceylon. His successor, Pravara-sena, is stated to have extended his empire into Khatai and Chin. His grandson, Pravara-sena II., about A.D. 476, built the new city of Srinagar, on the *Jelum*. Another *hiatus* now occurs; and the last of the Gonerda race closed his reign about the end of the sixth century.*

The king Vicramaditya above referred to, appears to be the celebrated Bickermajit of Ferishta, who, by a series of bold exploits, attained the supreme sovereignty of India in the 56th year before the Christian era. It will now be necessary to advert again to the history of the Magadha sovereigns. After the death of the grandson of Chandragupta, the throne of Palibothra is stated to have been successively filled by seven Maurya kings of the family of Chandragupta, or sons of the moon, and ten of the Surya-varsha, or solar kings. It was the eighth of the latter dynasty, whose reign forms so splendid an era in the Hindoo annals. A most magnificent account is given of him

* *Journal Asiat.*, tom. vii. pp. 28–34.

in all the native histories, of which Mr. Maurice gives the following abstract.

"He is recorded to have been unequalled by any former king of the country in the science of jurisprudence, governing in fortitude, in justice, and in wisdom; and to have travelled in the habit of a mendicant over a great part of the East, in order to acquire the arts, learning, and policy of foreign nations, and transplant them into his own. He was even thought to have taken up arms by the Divine command, as Rama of old, to purge the empire of vice and tyranny; and he exalted aloft, in the centre of the land, the standard of equity and the banners of religion. He rapidly subdued the kingdoms of Malva and Gujerat, and rendered all the other great feudatories dependent upon his sovereign will. Both poets and historians are uniform in their praise of this great and just man. The former, to impress us with an adequate idea of his inflexible justice, affirm, that the magnet, without his permission, dared not exert its power upon iron, nor amber upon the chaff of the field; and the latter add, that, such was his temperance and contempt of grandeur, he slept upon a mat, and reduced the furniture of his apartment to an earthen pot filled with water from the spring. He was also a munificent patron of learning; and the poet and philosopher Calidas, who flourished in his reign, was particularly protected by him. The latter was considered as the chief of fourteen learned Brahmins whom Bickermajit invited to his court from different parts of Hindostan, and who were denominated the fourteen jewels of his crown. To animate the religious zeal of the inferior classes, he set up the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, in the city of Oojein, which he built, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God.

"The Hindoos retain such a respect for the memory of Bickermajit, that most of them to this day calculate their civil time from the period of his inauguration. The famous Sapor, king of Persia, is placed, in the Indian chronology, as contemporary with this renowned king of Malva.* He was slain in his old age, about the commencement of the Christian era, in a battle against a confederacy of the princes of the Deccan." †

After the demise of Bickermajit, Ferishta tells us, the empire fell into anarchy and confusion. The great vassals of the crown assumed, or rather resumed their independence; and the name of emperor was obliterated from the minds of the people. In the Magadha annals, the *Surya-puranas* were succeeded by four monarchs of the Canwa race. Sisarman, the last of these, was assassinated by his prime minister, Sipraca, one of the Andhra tribe, who usurped the throne of Magadha, A.D. 151. About forty years after, Sudraca, the first of the Andhra Jatica dynasty, in like manner dethroned his master, and assumed the crown. This was the famous Sri Carna Deva, or Maha Carni, who, in an ancient grant found at Benares, in 1801,‡ styles himself sovereign of Tri

* If so, he must have reigned in the third century after the Christian era; and Ferishta has confounded him with another Vikramaditya, to whom Mr. Wilford thinks this account applies—the famous Sri Carna Deva.—*Asiat. Res.*, ix. 107, 146.

† Maurice's Hindostan, i. 68—78. See also Dow's Hindostan, i. 10—12. Although styled by Ferishta king of Malwah, he became such only by conquest, and the original seat of his empire was Magadha. He is stated to have subdued, either in person or by his generals, *Madhya-desa* (Central India), *Dachina-patha* (the Deccan), Cashmeer, Saurashtra, and the countries E. of the Ganges; and to have made the king of Sinhala or Ceylon sue for peace.—See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 127, 166.

‡ This grant, which was found at the bottom of a dry well in the

Calinga (the three shores), by which we are to understand, according to Mr. Wilford, the countries bordering on the coasts of the Bay of Bengal.* According to the Puranas, he reigned twenty-three years,† and was succeeded by his brother Crishna, who reigned eighteen years; to whom succeeded his son, who reigned fifty-six years. This brings us to the close of the third century. The last monarch of this dynasty, which appears to have occupied the throne of Magadha for the long period of 450 years, was Pulliman or Puloma the pious, who, after conquering all India, put an end to his life, in the year 648, by drowning himself in the holy waters of the Ganges,

old fort, is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal representing Parvati with four arms, sitting between two elephants with uplifted trunks; below is the bull Nandi, and between it and Parvati, the monarch's title, *Sri-Cumara-Deva*. The grant is dated the second year of his reign, and also of his reign, answering to A.D. 192.—*As. Res.* ix. 108.

* "By Calinga, the Puranics understand the sea-coasts at the summit of the Bay of Bengal, from Point Godavery to Cape Negrais. It is divided into three parts. Calinga Proper extends from Point Godavery to the western branch of the Ganges: the inhabitants of the country are called Calingæ by Arrian and Pliny. *Madhya Calinga* (Middle Calinga) is in the Delta of the Ganges, and is correctly called *Modo-Galinga* by Pliny. *Maha Calinga* extends from the eastern branch of the Ganges to Cape Negrais, in the country of the Maga: this is obviously the *Maroe Calingæ* of Pliny. Calinga implies a country abounding with creeks."—*As. Res.*, vi. 505.

† This would not make him contemporary with Shapoor, who did not ascend the throne till A.D. 241; so that Ferishta's statement strictly applies to neither of the Vicramadityas. According to Mr. Wilford, that title was borne by, or is applied to, no fewer than eight or nine different monarchs. The third Vicramaditya ascended the throne of Malwah, A.D. 441. He is supposed to have been the son of Bahram Gour, king of Persia, by an Indian princess, the daughter of Bin Deo, king of Canoje; and Mr. Wilford is disposed to identify him with Yendjird II. The amours of Bahram and Gulendam are a popular subject all over Persia as well as India.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. pp. 147—152.

after the example of his grandfather, who closed a brilliant career of conquest by a similar act of patriotism. From this monarch, the last of his race, India was called by the Chinese *Poulomurn-kouo*, the country of Puliman;* while in the west, the fame of the Andhra princes occasioned the inhabitants of the Gangetic provinces to be denominated Andhra Hindoos.† The Seven Carnas of this race are said to be held in the highest veneration all over India; and their fame has extended to the peninsula of Malacca, Carna, the Maha Rajah of India, being a favourite subject of the Malayan poetry.‡

Puliman was the last of the Magadha sovereigns who was at the same time Maha Rajah or Emperor of India. After his death, the Andhra Bhrityas seized upon the empire, and divided it among themselves. Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Maithila or Tirhoot, Oude, Kanouje, Carnadesa, Tumlook (Tamralipta) in

* The date of his conquests, according to the Chinese annals, was A.D. 631; that of his death, 648. He is called by the Chinese, Houlouchiu or Houlouchiuto.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 115.

† The ancestors of Sri Carna Deva, the founder of the second Andhra dynasty, were of the Bahliya tribe, whose original seat was the district of Gauda, on the banks of the Narbuddah, in Malwah. They afterwards became sovereigns of the country of Andhra on the Coromandel coast, extending from Nellore to the Godavery. Here, they were contemporaneous with the Carna dynasty of Magadha kings at the beginning of the Christian æra. At that time, Pliny represents the *Andaræ* kings as very powerful, possessing no fewer than thirty fortified cities and an army of 100,000 men, including 2000 cavalry with 1000 elephants. It is not clear, whether it was a collateral branch, or these same Andhras, who became possessed of the Gangetic kingdom. According to the Peutingerian Tables, the *Andri* still lived along the banks of the Ganges; the name of the dynasty being apparently applied to the inhabitants of Eastern India, in the same manner as they were more anciently called Palibothrans.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. ix. p. 109—304, 118.

‡ *Ib.* vol. ix. pp 114, 116; vol. iv. p. 253.

Bengal, and Gaur, each became the capital of a petty monarchy. The sovereigns of Gaur or Bengal were the first that became sufficiently powerful to be troublesome neighbours; and they subsequently extended their empire as far as Benares. The city of Gaur or Gauda rose to be the first city in Gangetic India, succeeding to the fame, and probably the commercial greatness of Palibothra, the very name of which is almost effaced from every record, and even from the remembrance of the Hindoos. The kings of Gaur assumed the title of Maha Rajah so late as the fifteenth century. In the meantime, the Punjaub and western provinces appear to have been ravaged by the White Huns, who even seem to have established themselves in the northern parts of India.* Orissa, Gujerat, and the provinces of the Peninsula, had also their dynasties, their civil contests and petty revolutions, of which there are obscure traces in the legendary fables of the country. To these we shall have occasion to advert in reviewing the customs, religion, and antiquities of the Hindoos. The general history of India presents no remarkable feature, from the dismemberment of the Magadha empire in the seventh century, to the Mohammedan conquests in the beginning of the eleventh.† Before, however, we proceed to review this

* "They succeeded the Parthians, and seem to be the same with the *Murundas*, whose thirteen kings ruled in the northern parts of India, immediately after the *Tusharas* or Parthians. These are the *Morundæ* of Ptolemy, who were masters of the whole country to the north of the Ganges, from Delhi to *Gaur* in Bengal. They are declared in the Puranas to be *Mlech'has*, impure tribes, and of course they were foreigners. Cosmas calls them White Huns."—*Asiat. Res.* ix. 113.

† We reserve for another place, an account of the progress of Christianity in India. The tradition of the Syrian churches is, that the Apostle Thomas visited the Peninsula in person, and converted

second period, from which commences the modern history of Hindostan, we must take a retrospect of the commercial and political relations which connected India with the other countries of the ancient world.

From the earliest ages, there is reason to believe, that the productions of India were among the principal articles of mercantile traffic; and that to obtain and transport these, was the object of the first commercial adventurers. Even prior to the era of Moses, the communication with India was open; and among the various branches of Sabean and Phœnician commerce, that which was carried on between India and the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, may be regarded, perhaps, as the most considerable and the most lucrative. It is probable, that the first traders would not venture beyond a coasting voyage; and the earliest *entrepôts* would therefore be on the shores of the Sea of Omaun, and at the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. A trade corresponding, in fact, to that which is still carried on between Bombay and Muscat, must have existed in all ages. As vessels coming with the monsoon for the Gulf of Persia, make Muscat, so, those bound for Hadramaut or Aden, run down their longitude to the coast of Africa. Here, too, therefore, Dr. Vincent has remarked, from the earliest periods that the monsoons were known to the Ara-

the king of Malagour, whence he proceeded to Cantala in China, and there he built a church! The bishop of the Malabar churches, by virtue of this apostolical succession, subscribes himself "metropolitan of Hindoo and China." It is probable, that the knowledge of the Christian religion was first propagated in Southern India from Alexandria. A primate of India was present at the council of Nice, A.D. 325; and in the following year, Frumentius was consecrated Primate of India by Athanasius, at Alexandria.

Indian traders, would more be established." The Egyptians themselves were not navigators, but their country necessarily became the channel of a large portion of the Indian trade, as well as of that of Ethiopia; and Thebes and Coptos no doubt owed to that circumstance their wealth and greatness. Another line of communication was from the port of Eziongeber at the head of the Ælanitic Gulf, overland to Rhinocolura. "Thither," Dr. Robertson remarks, "all the commodities brought from India were conveyed overland, by a route much shorter and more practicable than that by which the productions of the East were carried, at a subsequent period, from the opposite shores of the Arabian Gulf to the Nile. At Rhinocolura they were re-shipped, and transported by an easy navigation to Tyre, and distributed through the world. This, as it is the earliest route of communication with India of which we have any authentic description, had so many advantages over any ever known before the modern discovery of a new course of navigation to the East, that the Phenicians could supply other nations with the productions of India in greater abundance, and at a cheaper rate, than any people of antiquity. To this circumstance, which for a considerable time secured to them a monopoly of that trade, was owing, not only the extraordinary wealth of individuals, which rendered the merchants of Tyre princes, and her traffickers the honourable of the earth;† but the extensive power of the state itself, which first taught mankind what vast resources a commercial people possess, and what great exertions they are capable of making." ‡

Besides the maritime trade, a commercial commu-

* Vincent's Periplus, i. 61. See Mod. Trav., Egypt, i. 63—68.
† Isa. ch. xxiii. v. 8. ‡ Robertson's India, sect. i. Remark, xxxv.

ciation with India appears to have been maintained by the Persians and Assyrians, by way of Bactria and the Caspian provinces; and this was probably the most ancient of all. Of the existence of an early intercourse between Persia and India, there are abundant traces in the language, legends, and religion of the respective nations. The Zend, the sacred language of ancient Persia, is only a dialect of the Sanscrit; and between the Kourdish and Leorish dialects and the Hindostanee, there is a considerable affinity. The Sabian idolatry appears to have been common to the two countries; and what is still more remarkable, a famous resort of Hindoo fire-worshippers is found on the western shores of the Caspian.* Balkh, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persis in the ages of fable, and, in later times, of a Greek kingdom, could not have owed to any other cause than its advantageous position for commerce, its consequence and wealth. Every thing points to Bactra as to the very centre of early civilization, "the key of central Asia, and the link between the east and the west." It was, in fact, the grand rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not only to the country of the *Indi*, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route, a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and ancient Europe. The produce of India was, in like manner, transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to those of the Oxus; down which river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and distributed, partly by land carriage and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude and value of this commerce may be

* According to Tavelin, the province of Ghilan bore the appellation of *Hindu-al-asfar*, Yellow India.—*As. Res.*, vol. iii. p. 78.

inferred from the circumstance mentioned by Pliny, that Seleucus Nicator, at the time of his assassination, entertained thoughts of forming a junction between the two seas by means of a canal.* A branch of this commerce was carried on overland by way of the Caspian gates and the great caravan routes to Mesopotamia and Syria. It appears to have been exclusively from the Persians, that Herodotus derived the slender information which he possessed concerning India and its inhabitants; and the importance of the Indian trade carried on through the Persian dominions, affords the only adequate explanation of the fact which he mentions, that, under Darius Hystaspes, the Indian satrapy furnished a tribute of gold equal to 4680 Euboean talents of silver, being nearly a third of the whole annual revenue drawn from the twenty satrapies into which the kingdom was divided.

Major Rennell remarks, that "the communication by land between the Syrian empire and India, was dropped very early; for Bactria soon became independent, and by that means the link of the chain, that connected India with Syria, was broken." But although the political dependence of India on Persia was dissolved, and the further exploration of Asia by conquest was precluded by the rise of the Parthian monarchy, the stream of commerce continued, with occasional interruptions, to flow in its accustomed channel. "It appears certain," remarks Dr. Murray, "that, about the beginning of the Christian era, two great lines of commercial intercourse had been fully established; one by sea to India, the other by land across Asia to the borders of China." The outline of this great inland route is thus traced on the autho-

* *Plin. Nat. Hist.*, lib. vi. c. 11, cited by Robertson.

rity of Ptolemy. "In setting out from Byzantium, the caravan proceeded first nearly due E., through Asia Minor to the passage of the Euphrates at Hierapolis, about twenty miles S. of Beer.* Proceeding still E., and crossing the Tigris, they came to Echatana (Hamadan.)† Thence, in the same direction, they passed through the Caspian gates, and came to Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia, supposed to be the modern Damghaun. It was now necessary to turn northward into Hyrcania (Astrabad), and to pass through the capital (Georgaun).‡ The course next took a bend to the south, in order to reach Aria (Herat), which has always been a great centre of Asiatic commerce. A long route, almost due N., was now to be made, in order to reach Antioch, the capital of Margiana, a city founded by Alexander, and called at present Meru Shah Jehan. The line again became nearly E., till their arrival at Bactria. Soon after, they took a N.E. direction, probably up the course of the Oxus; and they had then to ascend the mountains of Belor to the elevated plain of Pameer, which carried them S.E. into Little Thibet. They then proceeded northward, apparently tracing upwards the course of the river of Ladauk. They came next to a remarkable place called the Stone Tower, of which, however, no description is given. At some distance beyond was a

* Palmyra owed to its happy position in this route, its commercial wealth and political importance. Under the Seleucidæ, it attained its highest degree of splendour; and when Syria became a Roman province, this little republic maintained its independence for upwards of two centuries, its friendship being courted alike by the Romans and the Parthians, while it traded with both.—See Mod. Trav. Syria, vol. ii. pp. 20—32.

† Still the great thoroughfare from the north to Bagdad.—See Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. ii. p. 288.

‡ See the route from Tehraun to Meshed.—Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. ii. pp. 243—8.

grand rendezvous of the merchants, who assembled there for the purpose of surmounting, by their united efforts, a formidable barrier which there presented itself. This was the great range of Imaus, which is described by Ptolemy as first passing eastward along the frontier of India, then turning N., and stretching far into Scythia; which vast region it divided into two portions, Scythia within and Scythia without Imaus. This Scythian Imaus is probably the range called the *Moos Tough*, which the Indians consider as a mere branch of the Himalaya. From the above-mentioned rendezvous of the caravans, no further details are given; and it is only mentioned, that the journey thence to the capital of Serica occupied seven months.*

That there was a constant commercial intercourse between China and India, and even Ceylon, about the beginning of the Christian era, is attested by Pliny, in a passage cited by Major Wilford; which at the same time establishes the fact, that a regular communication was carried on with the Chinese by the Roman merchants.† According to Ptolemy, there were two roads from China to India; one leading through Bactra to Barygaza, and the other to Palibothra. With regard to the former, the Author of the Periplus states, that caravans from *Thinæ* (supposed to be Tsinan in Shangtong) came regularly by the way of Bactria to Barygaza; a land communication which still exists.‡ And the importance of this line of route may be inferred from the fact, that the Greek monarchs of Bactria found it necessary to extend their conquests in this direction, and to possess

* Murray's Hist. of Discoveries in Asia, vol. i. pp. 33, 47—9.
† As. Res. vol. ix. p. 40. See Mod. Trav. Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 273. ‡ Murray, vol. i. p. 477.

themselves of the districts of Tatta and Moultan, adjacent to the mouth of the Indus. Barygaza (supposed to be the modern Broach or Barigosha in Gujerat) seems to have been at one time, in relation to ancient commerce, what Cambay and Surat have since been.* Besides this route to the coast, another practicable road leads from Balkh over the Hindoo Koosh, into Caubul, whence there is an easy access to the Punjaub, crossing the Indus at Attok;† while another route leads off from Herat, through Candahar, to Moultan, Hissar, and Delhi, avoiding almost the whole of the mountainous country.

From the Indus to Palibothra, what was called the Royal or Nyssean Road, was traced out with particular care; and at the end of every *cos* (10 stadia or 1.23 mile British) a small column was erected to mark the distances. Major Wilford gives the following account of this route, as the result of a careful collation of Pliny, the Peutingerian Tables, and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna:—From the ferry of *Ter Beliam* on the Indus, to Taxila, now Rubbaut; thence to Rotas (Ruytas or Rhodoes), where it is joined by the road from Attok;—to the ferry over the

* The Gulf of Cambay was called *Sinus Barygazenus*.—D'Anville, vol. ii. p. 134.

† "The high lands that surround this confined country (Cashmir), and in which the several branches of the Sinde take their rise, are, in truth, the key to Hindostan. The emperor Akbar was so convinced of the importance of this elevated region, that he caused a strong fortress to be built at Attok, near the confluence of the river of that name with the Indus; satisfied that by this route, across the Punjaub by Lahore, there was nothing to impede a large army in its advance upon Delhi and Agra. It was, in fact, by this route that Timour invaded India; that Baber made five different incursions into Hindostan; and that Nadir Shah, in later times, made himself master of that country."—Quart. Rev. No. lxxi. p. 139

Hydaspes or Jelum, and Alexandria-Bucephalos;—to the Acesines or Chunaub, and the town of Sparura;—to the Hydraotes (or Rauvee) and Labora (supposed to be Lahore);—to the Hyphasis, and afterwards the Zadadrus (Satadru), and the town of Tabora or Tibotra, the birth-place of Sami-devi;—to Ketrora or Cshetriwara in the Lucky Jungle;—to the Jumna at Cunjpoora, and to the Ganges at Hastinapoor (Bednora, Storna), about twenty miles S.W. of Dursnagur;—to Calinipaxa* on the river Calini;—to Rodapha (Rhodopa, Rapphe);—to Allahabad, and thence, along the southern bank of the Ganges, by Sagala (Mirzapoor), to Palibothra.† The total distance from the Indus to Allahabad appears to be, by this route, 1040 miles; and from Allahabad to Palibothra, about 400 or 430 more.‡

The direct road from the Gangetic provinces to China, is represented as coming from Carsania in the Gangetic provinces, supposed to be Carjana, near

* Conjectured by Major Rennell to be Canoge.

† As. Res., vol. ix. pp. 51—7. See also Rennell, p. 51.

‡ No point in ancient geography has been more contested, than the site of this celebrated capital of the Prasii. D'Anville, who is followed by Dr. Robertson, placed it at Allahabad. This is certainly sanctioned by Arrian's account, who clearly refers to the Jumna under the name of the Erannoboas, which, he says, is reckoned the third river in India. Major Rennell, at one time, conjectured it to be Canoge, but subsequently adopted the opinion that it was unquestionably Patna. We have placed it, (p. 106,) on the authority of Major Wilford, at Raj-mahal, about twenty-five miles above the confluence of the Cosey and the Ganges. Dr. Murray fixes it at Boglipoor (or Bhagalpoor); but he admits that this is inconsistent with the statement of Pliny on the one hand, as Patna does on the other. According to Pliny, from the junction of the Jumna with the Ganges to Palibothra, was a distance of 425 miles; and from Palibothra to the mouth of the Ganges, was 636. From Allahabad to Patna, it is not much above 300 miles. See Murray's Discoveries, vol. i. pp. 407—422. Rennell, pp. 50—54. Robertson's India, note xiv. Rooke's Arrian, vol. ii. pp. 192—202.

Burdwan; and passing by Soobary (Cuchabary), near Jorbarry, to the N. of Dinagepoor, to Arpoora or Arpoora in Tibet; where it met another road from Tabora and Hari-dwar.* It is supposed to have been by this route, that the Cingalese and Malays traded to China. "There can be no doubt," remarks Major Wilford, "that they went first by sea to the country of Magadha or the Gangetic provinces, where their legislator Buddha was born, and his religion flourished in the utmost splendour. There they joined in a body with the caravans of that country, and went to China, through what Ptolemy and the Author of the Periplus call the great route from Palibothra to China. It was in consequence of this commercial intercourse, that the religion of Buddha was introduced into that vast empire in the year 65 A.D.; and from that era, we may date the constant and regular intercourse between Magadha and China, till the extirpation of the religion of Buddha and the invasion of the Mussulmans." †

That the trade of Palibothra and of the kingdom of Magadha, in the days of its splendour, was very considerable, is attested by Ptolemy, the Author of the Periplus, the Peutingerian Tables, and, in later times,

* Asiat. Res., ix. 38, 39.

† Asiat. Res., ix. p. 41. In citing the statements of Major Wilford, the Editor is quite aware of the very doubtful nature of many of his ingenious hypotheses, and of the apocryphal character of much of the supposed information upon which he too credulously relied. But, without suffering ourselves to be misled by his learned reveries, we may be allowed to avail ourselves of his unquestioned learning and extensive research on points on which he was not likely to be deceived by his pundits. M. Klaproth tells us, that, when in London, he was told by several members of the Asiatic Society, that Wilford was master of (*possédait parfaitement*) the Sanscrit and the vernacular languages of Hindostan, but "*il manquait totalement de critique.*"—Journal Asiat., tom. vii. p. 14.

by the Chinese historians, and by Mohammedan travellers. The merchants of Magadha, we are told, formed not only a peculiar class, but a particular tribe called the *Magadhi*. Magadha had also its bards and learned men; and "it is universally acknowledged," says Major Wilford, "that the kings of Magadha gave every possible encouragement to learning, which they endeavoured to diffuse through all classes, by encouraging learned men to write in the spoken dialect of the country. Tradition says, that there were treatises on almost every subject in the Magadhi or Pali dialect. I believe that they were doomed to oblivion by the Brahminical class, who by no means encourage the composing of books in the vulgar dialects. Should they exist, they are to be found among the followers of Jina."* The fact, that the worship of Boddha was not introduced into China prior to the first century of the Christian era, seems to prove, however, that there was little or no intercourse between China and the Gangetic provinces in more ancient times; and the chief trade of Palibothra must have been carried on by means of the Ganges and the Indus.

The maritime trade with India was long monopolized by Egypt, which, under the Ptolemys, became transformed into a naval power. The old Egyptians were never navigators; the ships of all nations except their own, laded in their harbours; and their merchants contented themselves with being the factors of the lucrative trade of which the Nile was the channel. Thebes and Memphis, their two most famous capitals, were consequently both inland. The system of the Macedonian monarchs was the reverse; and in taking possession of Egypt, Ptolemy transferred the

* Asiat. Res., ix. 73.

seat of government to the capital which Alexander had founded with the express view of making it the emporium of the Indian trade, and which grew up to be the first mart in the world. The most strenuous exertions of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt were devoted to the promotion of commerce and geographical discovery. "Their immense library contained copies of all the memoirs and documents written by the officers who attended Alexander on his grand expedition. These, with other materials, were, for the first time, embodied by Eratosthenes, the librarian, into a general system of geography, calculated for the use both of the learned and the mercantile reader. Aided by these lights, and stimulated by their own enterprise, the merchants of Alexandria did not long content themselves with receiving Indian goods by the channel of Arabia Felix. The first recorded voyage to India is said to have been performed by an adventurer of the name of Eudoxus, who afterwards employed all his efforts in attempting to circumnavigate Africa. The details of his voyage are not given; nor is there any other account of the steps by which the vessels of Egypt found their way into the Indian seas. Our only full knowledge of this navigation is derived from the valuable work entitled, The *Periplus* of the Erythræan sea.*

"The port which formed the centre of almost all the Egyptian navigation on the Red Sea, was Berenice. As it would have been too arduous an undertaking for ancient navigators, to steer directly across the Gulf, they began with sailing up to Myos Hormus (N. of Cosseir), whence by keeping in view Cape

* Translated and illustrated by the learned Dr. Vincent. The Author, Arrian, is supposed to have been an Alexandrian merchant in the reign of Claudius Cæsar.

Mahomed, they could reach the other side without quite losing sight of land. They touched first at *Leuke Kome* (the fair village), the modern Mollah. Hence they communicated with Petra, the capital of Idumea, which, while the policy of Egypt remained inimical to commerce, had been the emporium of almost all the commodities of India, whether brought up the Red Sea or by the caravans across Arabia. Now, however, when this trade centered in Egypt, and Alexandria was become the commercial metropolis of the world, the port of *Leuke Kome* sank into a secondary mart; though a garrison was still maintained there, to collect a duty of 25 per cent. on all the cargoes landed. After leaving this place, they had a long course to make along a truly dangerous coast, beset with rocks, and affording neither roadstead nor harbour. If they were thrown on the coast, or even approached too near, they were attacked by the barbarous inhabitants, who plundered the vessels and made slaves of the crews. Contrary, therefore, to the general practice of antiquity, they stood out as far as possible to sea, till they came to *Gebel Tor*, on the borders of the modern Yemen. Here they found a mild and friendly people, subsisting by pasturage and agriculture, and affording full protection to merchants and visitors. The principal port was Mocha,* which had no harbour, but a good road." †

After passing the straits of Babelmandel, they sailed 120 miles, and came to the excellent harbour, called by the Romans *Arabiæ Felicis Emporium*, the modern Aden. This had been a place of extensive

* The modern village of Mocha is a considerable way inland, but is supposed to mark the site of the ancient port, the waters of the gulf having retired in this place. See Mod. Trav., *Arabia*, 326.

† Murray, i. 23–6.

trade, when it formed the *entrepôt* of the Indian commodities destined for the Egyptian market: but, with a view to secure the monopoly to Egypt, the Romans completely destroyed it.* The traders continued to coast it to Cape Fartakh (the *Syagrus* of the Periplus), and thence to Moskat, and Ras el Had.† After passing the Persian Gulf, they appear to have sailed by aid of the monsoon, without approaching very near the southern coast of Persia. The first ports which they entered for the purposes of trade, were named Minagara (supposed to be Debeil), and Barbarike (*Barbaricum Emporium*), at the mouth of the Indus. After passing that river, the most remarkable feature in the coast was the Gulf of Kirin (the modern Cutch), which was then, as now, unfrequented by mariners. Every care was, indeed, taken to avoid it, since the swell was so great, the shallows so frequent, and the bottom so bad, that a vessel, when once drawn in, was considered as lost. After passing Din Head, they sailed northward up the Gulf of Barygaza. The city of that name, the great Indian emporium, was thirty miles up the river, in a territory the capital of which was Ozene (Ozjein), and which, like all the coast from the Indus, was subject to the same sovereign as Minagara and Barbarike belonged to. Both here and at Minagara, it was necessary to propitiate the king by liberal presents of the best wine, cloth, perfumes, plate, musical instruments, and female slaves. The exports from the

* Subsequently, its commerce revived: and in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, it maintained an extensive intercourse with India and China: but it was again devastated in the wars between the Turks and the Portuguese. Mocha has succeeded to its trade.

† See a description of this coast in Mod. Trav., Arabia, 367—12.

Indus consisted of silk, cotton, emeralds, sapphires, costus, bdellium, and spikenard: those of Barygaza were muslins, cottons, porcelain, pepper, spikenard, costus, and bdellium.*

In sailing southwards from Barygaza, along the coast of the *Dachanobades* (Deccan), the navigators found the ports of Akabaroe, Ospara, and Kalliena (Kallianee near Bombay). Then succeeded a long extent of coast infested by pirates, answering to that of Concan, which is still called the pirate coast. It terminated at Leuke, the Angedive Islands, a little to the south of Goa; beyond which began the coast of Limyrica, the modern Canara, characterised by the three ports of *Tyndis* (Barcelor), *Muziris* (Mangaloor), and *Nelcynda* (Nelcuram).† The last of these was the most considerable place, and seems to have been the chief emporium of this part of India. The staple export from this coast was, as in the present day, pepper, together with pearls, silk, ivory, betel, spikenard, diamonds, hyacinths, amethysts, and tortoise-shell. This list, including the most valuable of the commodities furnished by the countries to the eastward, indicates this to have been the furthest point to which the Roman fleets were accustomed to sail. Hippalus, the Roman commander of an Egyptian East Indiaman, was the first who ventured to relinquish the circuitous coasting voyage, and to stretch boldly across from the Persian Gulf, with the western monsoon, to Muziris. Of such importance was this discovery deemed, which dates from about fourscore

* See page 68.

† According to Dr. Vincent. Major Rennell supposes Barygaza to be the ancient *Bimbar*; Tyndis he places at Goa; and Muziris at Meerjaow (Meerzaw or Midjay), 80 miles S.S.E. of Goa.—Rennell, pp. xxxviii. and 28.

years after the annexation of Egypt to the Roman empire, that the name of the adventurous navigator was given to the wind which enabled him to perform the voyage. It is probable, indeed, that the Roman obtained his information from some of the Arabian or Indian navigators; but whosoever first achieved the mighty voyage, it opened the best communication between the East and the West that was known during a period of 1400 years.*

After passing Nellouram, the coast down to Cape Comorin (*Comoru promontorium*), was called Paralia, and belonged to the kingdom of Pandion, the sovereign of Madura, or Pandi-mandalam, in the Carnatic.† Beyond Comara, the great pearl fishery began: the coast and capital are called Colchi, the modern Kilkary. Almost the only other place on the Coromandel coast that can be made out in Arrian's statement, which now becomes vague and erroneous, is Masalia, now Masulipatam. He mentions also the country on the Ganges as the seat of a great trade, and of the finest manufactures. Ptolemy, who wrote a century later, discovers better information. He is

* Dr. Robertson gives the details of the voyage from Pliny. From Alexandria, the cargo destined for India was first sent up the Nile to Coptos (300 miles), which occupied 12 days. It had then to be transported overland to Berenice, distant 258 miles, which occupied 12 days more. From that port, vessels sailed about Midsummer for Ocelis (Gella), at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, or Mandib Bay, a voyage of 30 days; and in 40 days more, they reached Muziris. The voyage from Ocelis to Muziris would be 35 days' run for a European ship in modern times, being about 1750 marine miles in a straight course; and the time occupied by the whole transport from Alexandria (94 days), is almost sufficient for the average length of the voyage from Portsmouth to Madras.—Robertson, § 2, and note 16. Rennell, p. xxxvi.

† From Pandion, the monarch of this territory, as well as from another Indian prince, called Porus, Augustus received an embassy while at Samos.

the first who describes Taprobana (Ceylon) as an island, and mentions the Maldives. His *Nigrum* is obviously Negapatam; *Chaberis* is the Cavery; the *Maesolus* is the Krishna; and his *Paralia Sorainarum*, or maritime country of the *Sorae*, answers to the modern Coromandel (or *Cholamandala*), which may have been pronounced *Sora-mandalam*. *Arcatu*, the capital of Sora, is probably Arcot, although the present town of that name, the capital of the lower Carnatic, is of modern date, and does not occupy an ancient site. *Maliarpha* is represented by Meliapoor (properly *Mailapuram*, the city of peacocks); a city formerly powerful, although the importance of the place, possessed by the Portuguese under the name of San Thome, is now merged in the political ascendancy of Madras. Beyond *Maesolia* (Masulipatam), Ptolemy mentions *Palura* (Sipeler), *Cocala* (Chicacole, in the Northern Circars), and *Caliaga* (Caliingapatam). The position of another *Palura* corresponds to Balasore in Orissa, situated on the Booree-Ballana river, by which there appears to have been a communication, by canals, with the Ganges. Beyond the latter river, occurs the name of the *Kirrhadae*, conjectured by Dr. Vincent to be Arracan. Then follows the Golden Chersonese, "a region dimly celebrated in antiquity," and the varying descriptions of which render it difficult to fix its true situation. There seems, however, little room to doubt, that Cape Romania is the *Magnum Promontorium* of Ptolemy; and *Zaba*, which he makes to be the principal port on this side of the cape, answers to Batu Sabor on the river Johore, towards the extremity of the Peninsula.*

* Murray's Hist., i. 39—45. D'Anville, ii. 113—124. Vincent's Periplus, vol. ii. passim. Rennel, pp. xxxvii—ix. If the Golden Peninsula be, as we are disposed to believe, the Malayan peninsula, the *Magnus Sinus* must be the Gulf of Siam; (M. Gosselin op-

This famous emporium, which continued to be such till the time of the two Mussulman travellers translated by Renaudot, gave name to the empire of *Zabaje*, which comprehended the adjacent island of Sumatra, called *Jaba-din*. The wars of its Maharajah with the king of *Al Cour* (Canorin) are mentioned by the Mohammedan travellers, who state, moreover, that the town of Calabar, on the Coromandel coast, belonged to the Maharajah of *Zabaje*.* In the ninth century, the date of these travels, the Malayan empire appears to have been in its greatest splendour. It may, however, be safely concluded, that, at a much earlier period, Malaya, as well as Ceylon, was the seat of a powerful state. The Malays have always been a maritime people, and seem in all ages to have traded with India and the African coast. Their language is said to be a mixture of Coptic, Sanscrit, and Arabic. They would seem, indeed, to be the genuine descendants of the first mariners and carriers of the Indian seas. Such being the case, it was inevitable that they should, either as peaceful colonists or as conquerors, possess themselves of some portion of the maritime districts of the Peninsula; and we may be sure, that the combat between Rama with his monkeys and the king of Lanca or Ceylon, was not the only contest in

poses it to be that of Marabars and Canigars, which has been supposed to be Tenasserim, must answer to Bankok, the southern Thina being the capital of Siam (Yuthia).

* Asiat. Res., ix. 26. Dr. Murray, in adverting to these travels, says: "Zapage suggests the Zipangu of Marco Polo, or Ceylon." The Zipangu of Marco Polo, however, is clearly Japan.—See MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, note 632. Nor can any resemblance be imagined between Zabaje and Zeilan, or any of the other names of the latter island. The kings of Sumatra call themselves maharajahs to this day. Malacca is supposed by Major Wilford to be derived from Maha Lanca.—See *As. Res.*, x. 142—153.

which the gods, and warriors, and sacred animals of Southern India had to engage with foreign invaders. The chief intercourse of the Malays appears, however, to have been with Magadha.

This rapid sketch of the commercial relations of ancient India will, it is hoped, assist the reader to form a more correct, as well as more comprehensive notion of the history of the country, than can be obtained from the obscure annals of its petty dynasties. It will be seen, in the first place, that India has always been indebted for its political importance and the splendour of its empires, chiefly to the boundless wealth which nature has lavished upon its soil, and next, to its commerce. Yet, it has never been a maritime power; in this respect strikingly resembling ancient Egypt and modern China. The Phenicians, the Arabs, the Egyptian Greeks, the Malays, the Portuguese, the British, those who have successively been the lords of the seas, have been the merchants of India, and have constantly enriched themselves by the monopoly of the trade. The next remark which suggests itself is, that India, in its most comprehensive sense, could never be held as an undivided empire by any but a naval power. To whatever extent, therefore, the nominal sovereignty of its emperors may at any time have been acknowledged, we may be certain, that they could exert no permanent or effective control over the more remote principalities. Even the Mogul sovereigns were never able to extend their empire over the whole of the Deccan; and the peninsular provinces seem to have been always very distinct. The histories of Cashmeer, of Magadha, and of Delhi, must, then, be regarded as only sections of the history of ancient India.

Another striking feature in the general history of

this country is, that it has never assumed the attitude of a belligerent power; never sent forth a conqueror to invade other territories by sea or land; never, in the person of its native monarchs, long preserved a substantial independency. In almost every age, India has been a tributary; and the country has not more enriched its princes and its merchants, than it has its foreign conquerors and spoilers. The hereditary claim to this splendid dependency has passed from hand to hand, if we may credit tradition, from the heirs of Japheth to the days of the Great Mogul; and it is remarkable, how little difficulty the Great King of the age has seemingly found in obtaining the recognition of his right and title. The mass of the population have, in addition to this political subjection to a foreign power, been held, from time immemorial, in a state of the most abject social degradation, by the ascendancy of a sacerdotal nobility and the singular institution of caste. That which some learned authorities maintain to have been the primitive religion of the country, now exists only among a depressed and scattered sect: and the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Buddhic world has been transferred from the kings of Magadha to the Tatar sovereign of the celestial empire.

These circumstances amply account for the strikingly peculiar and original character of the Hindoo nation, the fixed character of their institutions, and the unchanged nature of their language. They have never been blended down with other nations by either colonization or conquest.* During more than sixteen

* "Megasthenes asserts as," says Arrian, "that the Indians neither waged war with other nations, nor any other nation with them: and that Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, having subdued a great part of Asia, and carried his victorious army almost to Europe, retired and went back without attempting any thing against India."—Rooke's *Arrian* ii. 194.

hundred years, that is, from the fall of the Bactrian kingdom till the arrival of the Portuguese in the East, no European power acquired territory, or established its dominion in that country. "Nothing more was aimed at by any nation," remarks Dr. Robertson, "than to secure an intercourse of trade with that opulent country." The Mohammedan conquests may be regarded, however, as an exception to this remark; and of these we shall now proceed to take a review.

In that extraordinary revolution which transferred the conquests of Alexander, the kingdoms of Ptolemy and Seleucus, to the rude soldiers of Arabia, and reduced the empire of Noushirwan to a province of the khalifate, Bassora succeeded to the commerce of Alexandria, and the Indian trade fell into the hands of Mohammedan merchants. Khorassan and Balkh were subdued by Abdallah, the governor of Bassora, in the khalifate of Othman, A.D. 651. The cities of Bokhara and Samarcand were taken by Katelbah, the Arabian governor of Khorassan, about sixty years after.* When the sceptre of Persia "fell from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali," Transoxiana, Bactria, Khorassan, and Cabul were united in one empire under the dynasty of the Samanean princes, who for ninety years reigned in tranquillity at Bokhara.† On the death of the fifth sovereign of that family, Abustagein (or Alepteksin), who had risen from a state of servitude to be governor of Khorassan, seized upon the city and territory of Ghizni, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. Three successive victories over the general of Mansur, the monarch of

* Price's Mohammedan Hist., vol. i. pp. 100—4; 473—6.
† Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 189.

Bokhara, secured to Abustagein the undisputed possession of Khorasan and Zabulistan; and at his death, in the year 974, he left the throne of Ghizni to his son. The young monarch enjoyed for only two years the honours of royalty, his life being shortened by his debaucheries; and on his death, Subuctagi (or Sebektekein), the favourite general of his father, was proclaimed king by the army. His marriage to the daughter of Abustagein ratified this election; and the Mohammedan historians dwell upon the valour, moderation, and justice which gained him the hearts of all his subjects.*

Previously to his reign, the Mohammedan khalifs had made some attempts to extend their conquests to the western provinces of India; and in the reign of the khalif Walid, they obtained possession of Sinde, whence they made frequent incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Subuctagi, after having subdued the fortresses of Bost and Kosdaur, carried his arms across the Indus, and ravaged the Punjaub; but he made no permanent acquisitions in that direction. After exterminating vast multitudes of the Idolaters, he returned loaded with spoil to Ghizni. At this time, we are told by Ferishta, Jeipal, the son of Hispal, of the Brahmin race, reigned over the country east of the Indus, from Cashmere to Moultan; and he had the kings of Delhi, Ajmeer, Kanouje, and Kallinjur for his allies. It may, therefore, as Major Rennell remarks, be concluded, from the circumstance of the frontier provinces being under a Hindoo government, that the Mohammedans, whatever ravages they had

* Dow's Hindostan, i. 20, 21. Price, ii. 244, 277. The latter Writer, following the *Khelasset-al-akbar*, takes no notice of the son of Alaptekein, but says, he was succeeded by his slave, Sebektekein.

committed, had not hitherto formed any establishment in Hindostan. In fact, after gaining a great victory over the allies, Sulnctagi is represented as retiring, laden with glory and wealth, through the countries of Peishawir* and Lingan, which he annexed to his dominions, stamping their names upon his coins. One of his omrahs was appointed to the government of Peishawir, which may evidently be regarded as the eastern limit of his permanent conquests. Before he was at leisure to renew his incursions, his career was cut short by a fatal distemper, of which he expired A.D. 997, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving, "like Philip of Macedon, his projects as well as kingdom to his son." †

That son was the celebrated Sultan Mahmoud Ghiznavi, by whom the glories of his house were raised to their zenith. The first two or three years of his reign were occupied in securing to himself the throne of his father, and restoring tranquillity to his dominions; and he is said to have made a vow, that, when he had put down all his enemies, he would turn his arms against the idolaters of India. In pursuance of this sanguinary vow, in the year 1001, he marched from Ghizni, with 10,000 of his chosen cavalry, and was met at Peishawir by Jeipal, prince of Lahore, at the head of a far superior force, supported by 300 elephants. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Mahmoud was victorious; Jeipal, with fifteen of his principal chiefs, was taken prisoner, and 5000 of his troops

* Peishawir (*i.e.* the advanced post), situated on the S. side of the Cabul river, 40 miles W. of the Indus, from its advantageous position, has become an important *entrepôt*, uniting, in commercial intercourse, Persia and Affghanistan with India.—Rawlinson's Gaz.

† Rennell, xliv. Dow, i. 32—6. Price, ii. 278.

were left dead on the field. The booty which fell into his hands, was very considerable. Among other articles, were sixteen jewelled necklaces, one of which, belonging to the Rajah himself, was estimated at 180,000 *dinaurs* (equal to 82,800*l.* sterling).* On this occasion, Mahmoud is stated to have extended his ravages as far as Bahtindah or Batneir, in the province of Delhi, which he reduced. He released his royal captive on the promise of a stipulated tribute; but Jeipal, having now been twice a prisoner to the implacable enemies of the gods of his country, was rendered incapable, according to the customs of his nation, of retaining the sovereign authority. Having made over the government to his son, Anundpal, he ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, upon which he sacrificed himself to his gods.†

Mahmoud's further designs against this devoted country, were suspended by an expedition against the prince of Seistan, whom he defeated and made his tributary; and it was upon this occasion that he assumed the title of sultan, with which the subjugated prince had the policy to salute his conqueror. In the year 1006, he again entered India, and subdued the cities of Behantiah and Moultaun; but was recalled to defend his native dominions against a formidable invasion by the Uzbek monarch of Kashgar, and his ally, the sovereign of Khoten. The adverse hosts met and joined battle about four leagues from Balkh. Mahmoud's troops, overwhelmed by numbers, were beginning to give way, when the Sultan, by an effort of desperate valour, rekindled their enthusiasm, and

* Price, ii. 201. Dow makes Ferishta say, that "round the neck of Jeipal were found sixteen strings of jewels, each of which was valued at 100,000 rupees, about 320,000*l.* of our money."—Vol. i. p. 36.

† See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 130. Price, ii. 201.

turned the tide of victory against the invaders. The rival khans with difficulty effected their escape across the Jyhoon. The severity of the season prevented him from following up his success; but, before he took up his winter-quarters in his capital, he hastened to Peishawir, to chastise and dethrone a Hindoo prince who had relapsed from a feigned conversion into the double crime of revolt and apostacy.*

In the spring of the year 1008, Mahmood was called to encounter the united forces of all the Hindoo princes from the west of the Ganges to the river Nerbuddah, assembled on the plains of Peishawir, under Pal, the son of Anundpal, the monarch of Lahore, to punish the sacrilegious enemy of their common faith and country.† During the space of forty days, the two armies remained encamped in presence of each other, without coming to action, while the numbers of the Hindoos were continually increasing by fresh reinforcements. Mahmood had covered both his flanks with strong intrenchments, while his front was protected by a thousand archers. In this strong position, he was at length attacked with such fury, that 5000 Moslems were speedily slain, and his destruction seemed inevitable; when, on a sudden, the elephant of the Hindoo generalissimo took fright, it is said, at the report of some fire-arms, and the idea that their

* See Mod. Univ., Persia, i. 130, 1. Ferishta calls this renegade Zab Sein; Major Price calls him Nowasah Shah, probably his Moslem name. He fled at Mahmood's approach, but was pursued and overtaken by a detachment of cavalry; and the Sultan, "without further trouble, took the direction of his capital."

† According to Dow, the princes of Oujein, Gwalior, Kalinjer, Kanouje, Delhi, and Ajmeer. They were joined by the Ghikers (Guikkers or Kikkurs), a formidable tribe of savages, who had nearly proved more than a match for the Moslems. They inhabited the northern and largest division of the hilly tract situated between the Behut, the Sinde, and Cashmere; the southern division being occupied by the Joudis.—Rennell, p. 116.

rajah was fleeing from the field of battle, spread a panic through the undisciplined hosts, who dispersed in every direction. For two days and two nights, the fugitive idolaters were pursued by the Moslem cavalry; and 20,000 are stated to have been put to the sword, besides those who fell in the conflict. The impregnable fortress of Bheim-nugger, containing immense treasure, surrendered to the conqueror;* and he returned to Ghizni, laden with inestimable wealth.† In a magnificent festival of three days, Mahmood displayed to his subjects the spoils of Hindostan, laid out on tables of gold and silver; and the gorgeous spectacle closed with a liberal distribution of a portion of this wealth to the ministers of the Mohammedan faith and to the indigent.

During the year 1010, 11, Mahmood resumed his operations against the Indian territory;‡ and on his return from this inroad, he is stated to have been followed to his capital by the suppliant envoys of the paramount sovereign of the Hindoo princes, (probably Anundpal,) who offered, as terms of peace, an annual

* The fortress of Bheimnugher, Bheemghur, Nuggerkote, or Nuggracut, is described as a strong hill-fort, erected by Rajah Bheim, one of the ancient monarchs of the country, which had been used by the Hindoos as a secure repository for their most sacred images, and by the surrounding rajahs for their treasures and jewels. Either through a rash confidence of success or in reliance on the natural strength and sanctity of the fortress, it had been left without any other garrison than priests.

† The plunder of Nerdin is said to have amounted to upwards of 300,000*l.* sterling, besides 700 mauds of gold and silver plate, 200 mauds of pure gold, 2000 of wrought silver, and 20 of precious stones.—Price, ii. 253.

‡ It was apparently in this incursion, that he plundered and destroyed the celebrated temple of Tanasir, about 70 miles north of Delhi, carrying off the great idol Jug-soom, and that he took the city of Delhi. Feristha (according to Dow) places this event in A.H. 402.—See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 122.

tribute of fifty elephants, besides specie and precious commodities. The Sultan consented to this accommodation, and a commercial intercourse is said to have been opened or renewed between the subjects of the adverse powers. The next year, he found employment for his arms in subduing the Afghans of Ghour, a mountainous territory to the north of Ghizni, whose princes afterwards overthrew the house of Mahmood, and utterly destroyed his proud and splendid capital. He then proceeded to undertake the conquest of Cashmeer and the hilly districts adjacent, which appears to have furnished him with sufficient employment for more than one campaign.* By this means he opened a route for his army into the Gangetic countries, through Tibet, without violating the territory of the Lahore rajah; and accordingly, he now determined to march through Cashmeer against the great city of Kanouje, which, according to Ferishta, from the time of Guahtasp, the father of King Darab of Persia, had never been visited by a foreign enemy. "In the beginning of the year 409 (A.D. 1018), as soon as the sun began to wake the children of the spring, Mahmood, with a hundred thousand chosen horse and thirty thousand foot, raised in the countries of Tur-

* In the Cashmerian annals, we find no trace of this conquest; but, at the period referred to, Cashmeer was under the government of the Queen Dowager, Didda Rana, daughter of Sicha Rajah, king of Lahore; and the country appears to have been the scene of successive revolutions and disorders, which might afford a favourable opportunity to a foreign invader. Prithivapala, who is apparently the Pitteriejpal of Dow, attempted to overthrow the queen's faction, but was defeated, and saved his life by becoming tributary to the sovereign of Cashmeer. This prince could hardly be, as Ferishta represents, king of Lahore. It is very likely, however, that Tounga, by whom he was defeated, was the prince whom Mahmood had established in Cashmeer.—See *Journ. Asiat.* tom. viii. p. 84.

kestaun, Maver-ul-nahr, Khorassan, and the adjacent provinces," undertook this distant expedition. "Kanouje was distant from Ghiani, a three months' march; and seven great rivers rushed across the route. When Mahmoud reached the confines of Cashmeer, the prince whom he had established in that country, sent him presents of every thing curious and valuable in his kingdom. When the Sultan had with much difficulty conducted his army through the mountains, he entered the plains of Hindostan, drove all opposition before him, and advanced to Kanouje. He there," continues Ferishta, "saw a city which raised its head to the skies, and which, in strength and structure, might justly boast to have no equal. The Indian prince of this rich city, whose name was Korra, and who affected great pomp and splendour, being thus unexpectedly invaded, had not had time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops together. Terrified by the great force and warlike appearance of the king, he, in his embarrassment, resolved to use for peace, and accordingly went out with his family to the camp, where he submitted himself to the mercy of Mahmoud. Some authors relate, that he even turned true believer." *

From Kanouje,† where he remained only three days, the conqueror marched to Meerut in the Doab, the

* Dow, vol. i. p. 53.

† Dow, vol. i. p. 55. Kanouje is represented in the Mahabharat, as having succeeded to the imperial honours of Oude, the most ancient capital. In the beginning of the sixth century, it had become so populous, that it is said to have contained 30,000 shops in which betel was sold; and 60,000 musicians and singers paid a tax to the government. The route by which Mahmoud reached the Ganges, was probably the same as that by which, ages before, Krishna entered Babar, and took by surprise the monarch of Palibothra.

prince of which retreated at his approach, leaving only a garrison, which was soon compelled to capitulate. The plunder of the city, added to a stipulated tribute of 50 elephants and 250,000 rupees, was the price of their safety. Mavin, a strong fort on the banks of the Jumna, was the next object of Mahmoud's attention. Calchunder, the chief of this place, when summoned to submit to the conqueror, marched out, it is supposed, with a pacific intent; but an affray took place between some of the soldiery of the two armies, which led to a general action. Most of the rajah's troops were driven into the river; and Calchunder, in despair, drew his sword upon his wife and children, and having despatched them, turned it upon himself. Seventy elephants of war formed part of the rich spoil which was found in the fort. Mahmoud staid here only long enough to refresh his troops, and then marched to the sacred city of Mathura (or Muttra) on the east bank of the Jumna, which he took with little difficulty, and gave up to pillage. The accumulated treasure which here fell into his hands, was prodigious. He is said to have found in the temples, five large idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies, each eye being estimated at 50,000 *dinaars*. Upon another idol, he found a sapphire weighing 400 *miskal*; and the image, on being melted down, produced 98,300 *miskal* of pure gold. Besides these, there were above a hundred idols of silver, which loaded a hundred camels with bullion. Mahmoud intended to destroy the temples, but either this proved to be a labour beyond his power, or, as some authorities assert, he was diverted from this purpose by the admirable beauty of the edifices. He remained here for twenty days, during which a fire broke out, and consumed great part of the city. He then marched against the other

fortified places in the district, some of which held out a long time, and were with difficulty reduced. At length, loaded with spoil and encumbered with captives, Mahmoud slowly returned, by Lahore, to Ghizni, where the opening of the royal stores and baggage exhibited to the astonished inhabitants such a display of wealth and treasure as had never before been seen. It consisted of 20 millions of *dirhems* in bullion (nearly 450,000*l.*) with jewels, pearls, and other precious effects of inestimable value; also 350 elephants and 53,000 captives.* Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the royal treasury. Great part of this wealth was employed in the embellishment of the capital. Mosques, baths, palaces, bazars, aqueducts were constructed in every quarter; and one superlatively beautiful mosque, built of marble and granite, on which the Sultan lavished all his magnificence, received or acquired the lofty and impious title of the Celestial Bride. Near this mosque, Mahmoud founded a university, endowed with sufficient funds for the maintenance of both professors and students, and furnished with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. He transmitted an account of his conquests, in verse, to the Khalif of Bagdad, with a variety of costly presents; in return for which, the Commander of the Faithful, having made a great festival on the occasion, conferred upon the Sultan titles of the highest honour, and ordered the poetic gazette of his victories to be publicly read to the delighted populace. In the year 1021, this virtuous champion of Islam despatched a con-

* Such was the multitude of captives, we are told, that, though the value of a slave was set at no more than 10 *dirhems* (about 4*s.* 7*d.*), they could find no purchasers even at that price.—Price, vol. ii. p. 288.

siderable force to open the road to Mekka, which had long been obstructed by Arab banditti, who were accustomed to plunder the caravans and to murder the pilgrims. Under protection of this escort, a numerous caffila performed the pilgrimage from Ghizni to Mekka, and returned in safety.

For three years, Mahmoud appears to have found sufficient gratification and employment in the display of his grandeur and the embellishment of his capital; but he was roused from this repose by intelligence, that his vassal, the Rajah of Kanouje, had been attacked and slain by a confederacy of the neighbouring chiefs, at the head of whom was Nunda, the Rajah of Kalinjur. Again he advanced to the Jumna, and crossing that river, entered the mountainous region of the Bandelkhand; but the wary rajah retired before him, and Mahmoud was obliged to content himself with laying waste the country by fire and sword, and carrying off some hundreds of elephants. The next year, he entered Cashmeer, in order to reduce the strong hold of Lecote; but, finding it impregnable, he wreaked his revenge on the city of Lahore, which he sacked, and appointed one of his omrahs to the government. The year following, he marched through Lahore into Allahabad, and successively invested the cities of Gwalior and Kalinjur; but those mountain-fortresses might safely defy any force that an Asiatic general could employ against them;* and Mahmoud was, without

* Kalinjur is a strong hill-fort in the Bandelkhand district of Allahabad. Here, in 1545, Aboolfazel states, was a famous idol named Kalleshroop, 18 cubits high. Mr. Maurice has confounded this place with the Calligæ of Pliny.—See note at p. 140. Mahmoud is stated to have employed a year in the unsuccessful attempt to reduce Gwalior and Kalinjur, which, from their natural strength, have, in modern times, resisted the science and discipline of a European army.—See Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. i. p. 134.

much difficulty, induced to withdraw his troops, and to consent to a treaty of pacification, on receiving some valuable presents and a number of elephants. On his return to Ghizni, he is stated to have mustered all his forces; and he found them, exclusive of his garrisons, to consist of 55,000 chosen horse, 1,200 elephants, and 100,000 infantry.

In the 416th year of the *Hejira* (A.D. 1025), Mahmoud once more engaged in a war of extermination against the Hindoo idolaters. This expedition (his twelfth) had for its object to destroy the famous temple of Somnauth,* in the Kattiwar district of Gujerat. The priests of this establishment had boasted, that the sins of the people of Delhi and Kanouje had led to their being abandoned to the vengeance of the Musulmans, whereas their god would have blasted the whole army of Mahmoud in the twinkling of an eye. On the 10th day of Shahán, A.H. 415 (Oct. 16, 1024), according to Ferishta, Mahmoud set off from Ghizni, attended by 30,000 cavalry; and he arrived at Moultan in the middle of the month Ramzán (Nov. 20). From Moultaun, he appears to have skirted the desert to Ajmeer, which he sacked, and thence to have proceeded by Neherwála, the *Puttun* or ancient

* Somnauth means the lord Soma, to whom the Hindoo mythologists assigned the province of adjudging to departed souls, according to the doctrine of transmigration, the bodies appropriated for their future habitation. Mr. Maurice supposes Soma, the moon, to be the deity intended; but the description seems to identify the idol with Yama or Yama, the Indian Pluto, one of whose names is *Somaraja*. "I have heard of some Hindoos," says Mr. Ward, "who, rejecting the worship of other gods, worship only Yoma." The idol at Somnauth is stated to have also borne the appellation of Laat. Ferishta adds, that, in the time of an eclipse, there used to be forty or fifty thousand worshippers at this temple. This renders it probable that the worship had some affinity to the Sabian idolatry.

capital of Gujerat, to the object of his zeal or warfare. For two days, the Hindoo garrison sustained and repelled the furious attack of their assailants, who suffered a severe loss; and on the third day, a Hindoo army arrived to succour the besieged. A battle ensued, and the victory seemed doubtful, when two Indian princes, Byramdeo and Dabiselima, joined their countrymen with reinforcements which seemed to make the defeat of the Moslems inevitable. Mahmoud perceived that the exertions of his troops became faint, and that a desperate effort could alone save them from destruction. Springing from his horse, he prostrated himself on the ground, and invoked the aid of the True God against the infatuated worshippers of the idol. Then, taking one of his bravest generals by the hand, he invited him to join in a charge which should secure to them either victory or the palm of martyrdom. The example of their monarch rekindled the enthusiasm of his soldiers; and before their desperate valour, 5000 of the infidels were soon laid prostrate. The Hindoos gave way in every direction; and the garrison of Somnauth, who beheld with dismay the unexpected issue of the contest, abandoned the place they had so courageously defended, and took to their boats. The conqueror instantly seized upon his prize. On advancing to the temple, he discovered a spacious hall, its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, covered with plates of gold, and inlaid with precious stones. One pendent lamp, reflected from the innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent light over the temple, round which were arranged some thousands of small images in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. In the centre stood the gigantic idol, composed of one immense block of marble, partly sunk beneath the flooring of the tem-

ple.* Indignant at the sight, the zealous Moslem, with one blow of his mace, struck off his god-ship's nose; and he gave orders that it should be broken to pieces. In vain the priests offered crores of gold to redeem their god from further indignities; Mahmoud spurned at the idea of selling an idol, and his iconoclastic zeal was amply rewarded by the discovery of an immense quantity of precious stones concealed in the inside of the image, which sufficiently explained the interested offers of the Brahmins. Among the other spoils was a chain of gold weighing 40 mounds, which hung from the top of the building, and supported a great bell to summon the worshippers. Besides 2000 Brahmins who officiated as priests, there belonged to the establishment, 500 dancing-girls, 300 musicians, and 300 barbers. The treasure withdrawn from this celebrated sanctuary is computed altogether at 20,000,000 dinars of gold, equal to at least nine millions sterling.† Of the infatuated votaries of the idol, above 50,000 are supposed to have perished under the swords of the Moslem soldiery.

From Somnauth, Mahmoud proceeded to the strong fort of Gundia, distant forty parasangs, on the coast, which he took by storm; and then returned to Neherwala (or Narwalla), the capital of Gujerat. Here, according to Ferishta, he was so much delighted with the salubrity of the air, the fertility of the soil, and

* According to Mr. Maurice, the idol was 50 cubits in height, 42 of which were buried in the ground. Mr. Dow says, five yards, two of which were sunk beneath the floor; and Major Price agrees with him in this rendering of the statement of Ferishta. Three guz, or cubits of 22 inches, would give the idol the stature of an ordinary man.

† "At the lowest computation, of 9s. 2d. to the dinar, this would amount to the sum of 9,150,000l. 13s. 4d."—Price, vol. ii. p. 295.

the pleasantness of the situation, that he proposed to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghiznì upon his son Mussaood. He is stated to have been the more strongly inclined to transfer the seat of empire to this city, as he meditated fitting out a fleet to attempt the conquest of Ceylon and the distant country of Pegu. But his chieftains were averse to the abandonment of their native kingdom; and Mahmoud, yielding to their counsels, left the country in the hands of a Brahmin of royal lineage as his viceroy. In his return, having learned that the Rajah of Ajmeer, with the fugitive prince of Nehervala, had collected a great army to intercept him in the desert, he took the route of the Indus and Moultan; but his army had nearly fallen victims to the treachery of a pretended guide, who proved to be a priest of Somnauth, and by whom they were led astray for three days and three nights in a sandy desert which afforded neither pasture nor water. At length, with much toil and difficulty, Mahmoud led back his troops to Ghiznì, after an absence of two years and a half.

His last Indian expedition was undertaken in the year 1027, and was directed against the Jauts of Moultan, who had annoyed the army in their return from Somnauth. The country of this tribe is stated to have bordered upon the river* which runs by the mountains of Jehud, or Jood; and in order to subdue them, it was necessary to have the command of the streams by which their territory was defended. On arriving at Moultan, Mahmoud ordered 1400 warboats to be immediately equipped, each of which was furnished with *rooïen*, or beaks of iron, on the prow and on each beam, and manned with twenty archers,

* The Jelum or Behoot.

who were provided also with fire-works of naphtha. The Jauts, having intelligence of this formidable armament, sent their wives and children, with their most valuable effects, to a place of security among the islands of the Indus, and prepared with 4000 boats (some authorities double the number), strongly armed, to receive the attack. A terrible conflict and carnage ensued. The boats of the Jauts, on coming in contact with the iron beaks of the Ghiznian, the shock of which they were unprepared to resist, were pierced and sunk, or run down; others were set on fire, and the flames soon spread through the fleet; numbers fell beneath the arrows of the enemy, and those who escaped by swimming, were ultimately put to the sword, or, with their families, led into captivity by their ruthless conquerors.

After this naval victory, Mahmood returned in triumph to Ghizni. In the same year, he defeated an army of Seljookian Turkomans, who had invaded his Persian territories. Then marching to Rhey, he took possession of that part of Irak Ajem which had belonged to the Dilamee princes, and bestowed the government of Rhey and Isfahan upon his son Massood. Soon after his return to his capital, he was seized with an attack of the complaint which proved fatal. In this state of health, he paid a visit to Balkh, to arrange some state affairs; and in the spring of 1030, once more turned his face to Ghizni, where he expired on the 29th of April, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign.*

Mahmood may certainly claim to rank very high among Mohammedan heroes; and it is not surprising

* Prim. ii. 293—294. Dow, i. 23—24. Maurice's Hindostan, iii. 228—298. Mod. Univ., Persia, i. 128—27.

that his splendid atrocities should be the subject of pompous eulogy with Moslem historians. He possessed a greater empire than any Mohammedan prince before his time in Asia; extending from the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, westward to the kingdoms of Georgia and Bagdad, and eastward to the Ganges. His court was splendid beyond example, and scholars and poets from all parts of Asia there met with munificent encouragement. His treatment of Ferdousi, however, is cited as a stain upon his generosity. When the Persian Homer presented his *Shah Nemah*, composed by the Sultan's command, he obtained no other reward than a cold applause of his diligence; and when he complained of this neglect in epigrams, he at length received as many small pieces of money as there were couplets in his volume, namely 60,000.* This paltry remuneration, the poet resented as an insult. Leaving behind him an animated invective, he fled from Ghizni, and took refuge under the protection of the khalif at Bagdad. Yet, Mahmoud shewed himself on other occasions a liberal patron;† and several instances are recorded of the power of elegant poetry to attract and mollify him. He was himself a poet, and early in life, translated into verse a treatise on government composed by some Indian Brahmin. Did he envy the genius of the Persian poet? Or was Ferdousi too little of the courtier? It matters not. Mahmoud was certainly, as Ferishta styles him, "a great man," if not "an excellent prince;" and we may, perhaps,

* The poem is said to have been the labour of thirty years; and the author estimated his labours at 60,000 dinars, or pieces of gold; instead of which he received 60,000 dirhems, being about 1/6 the couplet, and amounting to about 1?5l.

† A fixed sum of 400,000 dirhems (about 9166.) was annually applied to the patronage of learning and learned men.

admit, with some qualification, the justice of the remark, that "he did many bad things from a good principle." Among his "great and princely virtues," says Mr. Maurice, "predominated a dauntless fortitude, profound political wisdom, and, on some occasions, inflexible justice; but they were all darkened by his execrable bigotry and his insatiable avarice." * It is not his bigotry, however, but his cruelty, that is to be execrated. His abhorrence of idolatry approached to a virtue, and his enthusiasm might sometimes seem to border on devotion; but it was the devotion of a moslem, grafted on the savage and phlegmatic character of the Tatar; devotion without religion, and zeal without piety or benevolence.

Long before his death, Mahmood had declared his favourite son Mahommed heir to the throne of Ghizni, the territories of Irak and Tabristaun being assigned to his elder brother. But Massood, who is styled by Ferishta a second Roostam, was not of a temper to submit to an arrangement which deprived him of the honours of primogeniture; and the unfortunate Mahommed, betrayed by his own courtiers, lost his throne and his eyes. The first part of the reign of Massood was prosperous; and the unfortunate Hindoos were doomed to suffer from fresh incursions of the Ghiznian troops.† In the mean time, the

* Maurice, ii. 200.

† In the year 1033-4, he entered India by the route of Cashmere, and took the fort of Sarsuti, where were found a number of Mussulman captives. This year was remarkable for a great drought and famine throughout the East, followed by a calamitous pestilence, which is said to have depopulated whole districts in Hindostan. In a subsequent expedition, Massood reduced the strong city of Hansi, in the Sirsuttie district of the province of Delhi, and the fort of Sunput. He then proceeded to Lahore, where he left his son Mugdood as governor.—Dow, i. 85—89. In

Seljouks, having passed the Jyhoon, had taken possession of the territories of Nisa and Abiverd, and were gaining strength in Khorasan. Contrary to the representations of his ministers, who urged the expediency of checking at the outset the usurpations of these formidable adventurers, Mussaood had been too intent upon extending his Indian conquests, to take timely measures for the security of his native dominions. He was now roused by intelligence from Khorasan, that "his enemies, who were once but ants, were become little snakes, and if not soon destroyed, might soon grow into serpents." But "the star of the king's fortune," says Ferishta, "had now reached the house of adversity." While Mussaood was marching to the relief of Balkh, which was threatened by one party of the enemy, another body penetrated to Ghizni, and committed depredations on the capital, though eventually repulsed. In the war which ensued, Mussaood displayed great personal valour, and the Seljouks suffered repeated defeats; but at length, at Dindaka, those warlike Tatars gained a complete victory, to which the cowardly or perfidious desertion of several Ghiznian generals is said to have contributed, and the Sultan was compelled to return with disgrace to his capital. There, he discharged his vengeance on some of those chiefs and ministers to whose misconduct he ascribed the disastrous issue of the war. Then, despatching his son Mudud with a fresh armament to Balkh, he hastened to withdraw, with all his treasure, from Ghizni, and to take up his winter-quarters in Hindostan. In

A letter which Mussaood wrote from Hindostan to his courts at Ghizni, he boasted of having sacrificed 50,000 infidels, taken captive 10,000, and acquired a booty of a million of dinars.—Malcolm, Hist. 313.

crossing the Jehun, however, he imprudently suffered himself to be separated from his baggage and equipage; and a body of the imperial slaves availed themselves of the opportunity to plunder the treasure. The troops, on perceiving this, resolved to share in the spoil. A general tumult ensued; and to secure themselves against the vengeance of the Sultan, the Moslim raised the blind Mahommed a second time to a precarious throne. Mussood, ungratefully deserted at once by all his subjects, was conducted a prisoner to the fortress of Kurri, where he was shortly after put to death by his nephew Ahmed, A.D. 1041, in the tenth year of his reign.

As soon as intelligence of his father's death was conveyed to Modood, he broke up his camp before Balkh, and directed his march to Ghizni, whither Mahommed also, with his three sons, hastened from the banks of the Indus. The armies of the uncle and the nephew met in the desert of Deyshr; and in the battle which ensued, victory declared for Modood. The blind king, with two of his sons, and all who had been concerned in the murder of Mussood, were immediately put to death, Alsberrahin being exempted in consideration of the humanity he had shewn to his unfortunate uncle. On the field of victory, Modood founded the city of Fatte-abad (city of victory). He now entered Ghizni in triumph, and the death of Mugdood shortly after, left him undisputed master of the Indian provinces. But the long-oppressed inhabitants of that devoted country appear, during the reign of this sultan, to have made a successful effort to shake off the yoke. The prince of Delhi, in alliance with some of the neighbouring rajahs, raised a powerful army, and recovered Hassi, Tanassar, and their

dependencies from the Ghiznian governors. The fort of Nagracot, after a siege of four months, was also obliged to capitulate; and the idol was formally reinstated in his temple with great pomp and festivity. Encouraged by the success of the Delhi rajah, the Indian chiefs of the Punjaub took the field, and invaded Lahore. For seven months, according to Ferishta, the Mohammedans maintained themselves in this city, defending it street by street; but at length, the besieged, issuing forth in a desperate sally, defeated the Hindoos in their camp, and put them to flight with great slaughter.*

On the side of Khorassan, the Ghiznian empire was continually contracting its limits before the progress of the Seljookian power. An army sent against these invaders by Modood, in the year 1043, was driven back with disgrace and loss by the superior valour and good fortune of Alp Arslan. Balkh was repeatedly lost and retaken, but eventually remained in possession of the enemy; and Candahar appears to have been occupied by a horde of Turkomans. Modood at length took the field in person at the head of an immense army, intending to march by way of Canbt into Seistan, which had been entered by these bold invaders; but he had proceeded no further than the fort of Sánkoot, when he was attacked by a fit of the cholic, which compelled him to return to Ghizni, where he expired in December 1049, after a reign of eight years.

The obscure annals of the Ghiznian dynasty now exhibit only a disgusting series of petty contests, revo-

* All the conquered places, except Nagracot, were eventually retaken by the troops of Modood, and the rebellious rajahs were reduced to submission.—D'Herbelot in Mahmud, iii. 333.

hitions, and massacres. The infant son of Mosood was deposed, a few days after his nominal accession, in favour of his uncle Ally; who abandoned the throne, only two years after, to Abdul Rashid, the son of Sultan Mahmood. His power was of brief duration. Toghrel Haujeb, the Turkish general of Sultan Mosood, who had been entrusted by that monarch with the government of Seistan, throwing off his allegiance to the family of his master, marched to Ghizni, of which he soon gained possession, and the sultan, with nine of the blood royal, fell into his hands. They were immediately put to death, and the usurper, having forcibly espoused the sister of Mosood, assumed the royal authority. At the end of forty days, he was assassinated by some of the principal *ameers* of Ghizni, who raised to the throne Furrukzaad, a son of Sultan Mussood. During his reign, which lasted six years, the Seljookian Turkomans were twice defeated with great slaughter, by his general, Noushtekein. In a third battle, the better fortune of the renowned Alp Arslan prevailed; and an amicable exchange of prisoners was followed by a truce of hostilities. Sultan Ibrahim, who succeeded his brother in the year 1050, concluded a peace with the Turkish sovereign of Persia, whose power now extended from the Arabian desert to the banks of the Oxus; and a still closer alliance was formed with the house of Seljook by his son and successor, Mussood III., who married the daughter of Malek Shah.

To return to the affairs of India. In the reign of Sultan Ibrahim, two successful expeditions were conducted into the Gangetic countries. The second, which the zealous monarch commanded in person, was undertaken in the year 1079; and so illustrious were

his conquests, that they procured him the surnames of *Al Muthaffer* and *Al Mansoor*, the conqueror and the triumphant. Yet, the only details given, relate to the taking of the forts of Ajodin and Rupal, and of a city not far from the latter place, situated in a valley encircled with almost impassable mountains, the inhabitants of which were a distinct and independent tribe, whose original seat was Khorasan. The Ghiznian army suffered greatly in the march, being overtaken by the rains; and for three months they remained idle before the town. After a siege of some weeks, it was at length taken by assault, and according to the usual exaggeration of the Moslem historians, a hundred thousand prisoners were led captive to Ghizni. Ibrahim is panegyrized as a very charitable, just, and religious prince, a patron of learning, and an accomplished scribe.* He was the father of thirty-six sons and forty daughters, and after having reigned in tranquillity and happiness forty years, he died in the year 1088, and left an undisputed throne to his son, Mussaood III. To this sultan is attributed a character not less estimable for justice and benevolence towards his subjects; and his alliance to the sister of the reigning Shah of Persia, secured him a peaceful reign of sixteen years. His lieutenant, Hanjeh Togha-tekein (Tigha Tiggi), led a body of troops from Lahore across the Ganges, and carried his inroads further than any former Moslem general, Sultan Mahmood excepted; renewing the scenes of pillage and desolation extended through the country by this remorseless conqueror, but without making, so far as appears, any permanent conquests. After plundering

* Two copies of the Koran, written with the Sultan's own hand, were sent as presents to the Khalif.

many cities and temples of their wealth, the Ghiznian general returned in triumph to Lahore, which now came to be considered as the second capital of the empire.

On the death of Shah Mussood, in the year 1114, Arslan Shah (Arsilla) mounted the throne of his father, having imbrued his hands in the blood of the rightful heir, Sheirzad, and imprisoned all his other brothers whom he could lay hands on. One of these, however, Behram Shah, escaped to the court of his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, who then held the government of Khorasan. By his powerful aid, the fugitive prince was thrice seated upon the throne of his father, Arslan being as often defeated and expelled; and the third time, he was taken and put to death. During his turbulent and interrupted reign, Ghizni was partly consumed by lightning. Behram is said to have been a just and generous prince, the liberal patron of learning. Under his auspices, the *Kalela Dumna* (the Fables of Beidpái) was first translated into Persian.* In the days of his prosperity, this Sultan twice visited India; the first time to reduce to obedience Mahommed Bahlim, who held the viceroyalty of Lahore on behalf of Arslan Shah, and who resisted the authority of Behram, but was defeated, and, after a short imprisonment, again entrusted with the lieutenancy. On the monarch's return to Ghizni, Bahlim proceeded to erect the fortress of Nagoor, in the moun-

* A translation from the original Sanscrit into Pehlvi, had been executed by the enlightened minister of Noosherwan; and from the Pehlvi, it had been rendered into Arabic in the reign of Haroun-al-Rashid. The latter is supposed to have been the version used in the Persian translation executed by order of Behram Shah. And this again was rendered into more familiar and modern Persian in the reign of Sultan Hossein Mirza.—Prince, vol. ii. p. 37.

ulnous district of Sewâlik, where, as in an impregnable asylum, he secured his family and most valuable effects. Then, raising a numerous force of Arabs, Persians, Khiljian Turks, and Afghans, he began to aggrandize himself by depredations in the territories of the neighbouring rajahs; and becoming elated with his successes, he aspired at length to independent sovereignty. This revolt occasioned the second expedition of Behram Shah. The armies met near Moultan, and after an obstinate contest, Bahlim, with his ten sons, was put to flight. In their precipitate retreat, they plunged into a deep quagmire, and were all, together with their horses, entirely swallowed up.

On his return to Ghizni, Behram Shah caused to be publicly executed, Mahommed, prince of Ghaur, son-in-law of the rebel Bahlim. This arbitrary action led to the ruin of the family of Ghizni. The brother of the murdered prince, Seyf-ul-deen Souri, immediately marched at the head of a considerable force to Ghizni, which Behram evacuated at his approach, taking refuge in the fort of Kirma, in the mountains. Seyf-ul-deen entered Ghizni without resistance, and relying on the tractable temper of the citizens, ventured to send back his brother Allah-ul-deen and the greater part of his army. No sooner, however, had winter set in, and the communication through the mountains of Ghaur become suspended by the snow, than Behram Shah, with whom some of the citizens had opened a secret correspondence, suddenly appeared before Ghizni at the head of a considerable force. Seyf-ul-deen, betrayed by his treacherous counsellors, ventured forth to meet him, when he was surrounded by the conspirators and delivered up to his mortal enemy. The treatment which the unhappy captive

met with, appears to have been as undeserved as it was inhuman. Mounted upon a sorry bullock, his face blackened, and turned towards the animal's tail, he was paraded through the streets of Ghizni amid the insults of the mob, and was then put to death with every circumstance of indignity and torture, his head being sent to Sultan Sanjar.

Dreadful was the retribution which this deed of wanton cruelty drew down upon the Ghiznians. Allah-ul-deen, burning with rage and indignation at the horrible treatment inflicted upon his brother, advanced with all the forces he could raise towards the city. Behram Shah went forth to meet him with a far more numerous army, supported by elephants; he was, nevertheless, defeated, and saved himself only by a precipitate flight. He did not, however, survive his overthrow, but died, it is supposed of grief and vexation, either at Ghizni or on his way to Lahore, immediately after the battle, A. D. 1152, having reigned over Ghizni and Lahore five-and-thirty years. He was succeeded by his son, Khosrou, who immediately withdrew, with all his court, beyond the Indus, abandoning the kingdom of Ghizni to his enemies.

The Ghourian prince now entered without opposition the forsaken and devoted city, which was given up to the accumulated horrors of rapine, slaughter, and conflagration. For seven days, the work of vengeance was carried on, during which every structure of this once noble city that had belonged to the hated race of Sebektegein, was burned or razed to the ground. When the barbarous conqueror at length withdrew towards his native country, he carried captive a number of the *seyuds* or chief citizens to Feroukoh, each having a bag of clay suspended to his neck, which, with an oriental refinement of cruelty, was afterwards

mixed with the blood of the bearer, and used as mortar, to construct the towers of a castle at that place.

Ghizni, thus ruined, was subsequently taken possession of by the Turkoman tribe of Ghuz, who, about this time, overran the whole of Khorasan, and took prisoner Sultan Sanjar.* They held it for two (some authorities say ten) years, when it was wrested from them by the Ghourians. During this interval, the sons of Behram Shah terminated at Lahore, an inglorious but undisturbed reign of seven years over the Indian provinces of the now contracted empire. The throne of Lahore was, on his death, ascended by his son Khosrou II., the last of his race. In his reign, the Ghourian general, having previously reduced Peishawer, Afghanistan, Moultan, and Sind, appeared under the walls of Lahore. The strength of that city baffled his attempt to take it by attack; and he was twice induced to raise the siege, accepting a tribute and hostages from Khosrou as the price of this respite. In his third expedition, A.D. 1186, the invader, proceeding by a circuitous route, took the city by surprise; and the honours of the house of Sebektegin were finally transferred, without a blow, to the princes of Ghour, after that dynasty had subsisted two hundred and eleven years. The unfortunate Khosrou was, with all his family, shortly after put to death.

Mahomed Ghouri, the conqueror of Lahore, acted in these transactions as the general and lieutenant of his elder brother, Yeas-ul-deen, who held the nominal sovereignty of the Ghourian dominions. He did not long remain at Lahore, but, confiding the government of that city to the viceroy of Moultan, returned to

* See Malc. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 147. Mr. Malcolm calls this tribe Gaian Turks; Major Price, the Ghozalians; Dow, the Turks of Ghiza.

Ghizni, which appears to have regained the honours of a capital. Thence, in the year 1191, he proceeded to invade Ajmeer; but, on the banks of the Surautty (Saraswati), he encountered a powerful Hindoo army, headed by the confederate rajahs of Ajmeer and Delhi, from whom he sustained a complete overthrow. The enemy pursued the routed Moslems forty miles, and Mahommed escaped, with the wreck of his army, to Ghour. In a few months, however, he was in a condition to invade India a second time, at the head of a hundred thousand cavalry, Turks, Persians, and Afghans. He was met by the confederates with an army three times as numerous; but his superior manœuvring obtained him this time a complete victory. The king of Delhi was, with many other princes, slain in the field, and the rajah of Ajmeer was taken and put to death. The forts of Surautty, Sarsa, Koram, and Hassi, surrendered to the conqueror; and Ajmeer was taken by storm, all the inhabitants being barbarously massacred or led into captivity. Delhi saved itself for the time by a prompt submission and large tribute.

Mahommed returned to Ghizni, laden with immense spoil, leaving his favourite mamlouk general, Kuttub, in the town of Koram, with a considerable detachment, as his viceroy.* By this fortunate slave, the city of Delhi was taken shortly after (A.D. 1193), and made the seat of his viceroyalty. In the following year, he crossed the Jumna, took by assault the fort of Kole, and thence advanced to join his forces to those of

* No such place as Koram is mentioned in the Gazetteer, and its situation is doubtful, as is that of some of the other forts mentioned by Ferishta. In Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery, Mahommed, who is styled Sultan Moiseddeen, is said to have left his viceroy, Mulick Koutubdeen, at Gehrum.

Mahommed, who was marching upon Kanouje. The Maha-rajah of Kanouje and Benares, who opposed them, was totally defeated; and the fort of Hassi, in which he had laid up his treasure, fell into the hands of the invaders. Mahommed then entered the city of Benares, where he demolished the idols of a thousand temples, and loaded four thousand camels with his spoil. Having confirmed Kuttub in the viceroyalty of India, he returned to Ghizni.

In the Ayeen Akbery, a different and highly romantic account is given of the circumstances which led to the Ghiznian conquests, and the foundation of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi. The reigning monarch at the time of the invasion, is stated to have been Rajah Pithowra, of the race of Chowhan. In the Hindoo histories, it is asserted, that this Rajah had gained over the Ghourian Sultan, Moiz-ud-deen-Sam, seven pitched battles; but, in the eighth, fought near Tanneasar, in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1191), with Sultan Shahab-uddeen, he lost his kingdom and his liberty, and eventually his life. His overthrow is attributed to the following circumstances. The Maha-rajah or emperor of India at that time, was Jychund (Jya Chandra) Rathore, whose capital was Kanouje. "All the other rajahs paid him homage, and he was of so tolerant a disposition, that many natives of Persia and Tatary were engaged in his service." He at length resolved to perform the *raj-soo-yug*, the great sacrifice which should seal his supremacy;* and all the rajahs of the surrounding country repaired to his court, to assist at the ceremonial, except Rajah Pithowra, who considered himself as having a superior claim to the honours

* See p. 114. The war between Yudhishthir, sovereign of Delhi, and Jara Sandha, king of Magadha, seems to have had a similar origin.

of the supremacy. "Jychund was preparing to lead an army against him; but the courtiers represented, that such an undertaking would require a long time for execution, while the hour appointed for the sacrifice was near at hand. Their remonstrances prevailed with Jychund; and in order to make the festival as little incomplete as possible by the absence of Pithowra, they made an effigy of him in gold, and gave it the office of porter at the gate.* Pithowra, enraged at this affront, went to the sacrifice in disguise, accompanied by five hundred men of great valour; and, after having committed great slaughter, seized the golden effigy, and returned with speed. The daughter of Jychund, who was to have been married to another rajah, upon hearing the relation of Pithowra's intrepid valour, became enamoured of him, and refused her consent to the marriage. Jychund, enraged at her conduct, expelled her from his haram, and confined her in a separate palace. When Pithowra received intelligence of this, he was almost distracted with love and rage, and determined to set her at liberty. For this purpose he engaged Chands, a musician, to go to the court of Jychund, to sing his celebrations; and Pithowra, with a few chosen men, accompanied him as his attendants. By this stratagem, Pithowra contrived to carry on a correspondence with the princess, who was easily induced to make her escape with him." Pithowra succeeded in carrying her off in safety to Delhi, though not, it seems, without a conflict which deprived him of some of his bravest warriors. To revenge himself for this insult, Jychund is stated to have invited the assistance of their cou-

* In this ceremony, every part of the service, down to the most menial, must be performed by rajahs.

mon enemy, the monarch of Ghuzneen (Ghizni,) Shihab-ud-deen, who accordingly entered with a powerful army the dominions of Pithowra, while that monarch was giving himself up to love and indolence, his attention wholly engrossed with his beautiful bride. He was roused at length by the approach of the enemy; but his bravest heroes had been slain in the previous affray, and Jychund, who had been his ally, was now in league with the foe. In the battle which ensued in the plains of Tanassar, victory deserted him, and, according to the Hindoo accounts, he was taken prisoner, while the Persian historians assert that he was slain. The same year that the Sultan returned by way of the northern mountains to Ghizni, his viceroy, Kotebehdeen (Cuttub-ul-deen), possessed himself of Delhi and many of its dependencies. Very shortly afterwards, in conjunction with the Sultan, he overthrew Jychund (or Jya Chandra) himself, and thus made himself master of the richest provinces in Hindostan.*

The disturbed state of Khorasan left the Ghiznian monarch little leisure, after this, to renew his inroads into India. He was engaged in an expedition against Toos, when the death of his brother, Yeas- (or Ghias-) ul-deen, recalled him to assume the honours of royalty. These, he did not long enjoy. Being shortly after involved in hostilities with the monarchs of Khaurizm and Samarcand, he was defeated, and, as the natural consequence, deserted by his soldiers, his own slave shutting against him the gates of Ghizni. He retrieved his affairs, however, with the aid of Kuttub, and returned from India to Ghizni, where he concluded a peace with

* Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. pp. 106—109. In Brewster's Ency., art. India, a somewhat different account of these transactions is given, but the authority is not mentioned.

the Tatar sovereign of Khaurism. He was on his return from a successful inroad against the refractory mountaineers of Kohjood, when, at a place called Deybek (Debeik or Rimeik), on the banks of the Nilab, he was assassinated by some Gickers, March 13, 1206; and his death may be said to have put an end to the empire of Ghiani.* His nephew, Mahmood, indeed, succeeded to some portion of his ancestral dominions; and subsequently to his assassination in 1210, two other princes of this race made a feeble effort to sustain the grandeur of their house; but both the Ghourian and the Khaurizmian sultanries, together with the various petty dynasties of Persia, fell before the all-conquering armies of Chenghis Khan.

Kuttub-ul-deen (the Cothbeddin Ibek of D'Herbelot) continued, during the life of his master, to acknowledge himself his viceroy or tributary. In the meantime, he extended his dominions in Gujerat and Ajmeer. On the assassination of Mahommed, he assumed the ensigns of royalty as monarch of Lahore

* The preceding account of the career of Mahammed Ghoury, is given on the authority of Maurice and Dow, who have followed Ferishta. In Major Price's narrative, however, taken from the *Khoolasset-ul-Ekbar*, both names and events appear with considerable variation. There seem to have been, in fact, several Mahommeds of the Ghourian dynasty. The first succeeded his father Allah-ud-deen, and was slain, at the expiration of little more than a year, in a conflict with the Turkomans. To him succeeded his cousin, Sultan Abdl-Futtah Gheyauth-ud-deen Mahammed, the Yous-ul-Dein of Dow, whose Mahammed Ghoury is there styled Sultan Shahaub-ud-deen. This was the conqueror of Delhi. "He was preparing for an expedition of three years into Turkestaun, when some hostile indications among the natives of Kofgkul, between the Indus and the Behaut, drew his attention to that quarter; and he was on his return from a successful inroad against those refractory mountaineers, when he was assassinated at a place called Deybek, by one of the *Fedayee*, or zealots of Ahmowut (Allahamout)."—Price, ii. 455.

and Ghizni. The latter kingdom, however, he eventually abandoned to Eldeuz (or Eldoze),* another favourite slave of the Sultan's, who had made himself master of the city.

On the death of Kuttub, occasioned by a fall from his horse in the year 1210, his son, Aram Shah, mounted the throne of Delhi and Lahore; but in the same year, he was compelled to resign the sovereignty to Altumah, the adopted son of Kuttub, and who had married his daughter. In the hands of this more able chief, the empire, which had fallen to pieces on the death of Kuttub, was again united; the governors, who had availed themselves of that event to seize on different portions of the conquered territory, being successively defeated. Among these was Eldeuz, who, on being driven out of Ghizni by the Sultan of Khaurism, had endeavoured to indemnify himself by seizing on the city and territory of Tanassar, whence he advanced towards Delhi; but he was defeated and taken prisoner, and died in the fortress of Budayoon. Having established his authority, Altumsh found himself at liberty to prosecute his schemes of conquest. The principalities of Bahar and Bengal, which appear to have been already in the hands of Mohammedan governors, were reduced to subjection, the currency being struck in the name of the monarch of Delhi. The provinces on the Indus were next brought into subjection; and this was followed by the conquest of the Sewaulik country. In the year 1233, Altumsh entered Malwah, and took the city of Oojein, where he destroyed the magnificent temple of Maha Kali, carrying off the idol, as well as the image of King Vicramaditya its founder, which he ordered to be carried to Delhi, and broken at

* The Tajeddin Eldiz or Taje-ud-deen of D'Herbelot and Dow.

the door of the great mosque.* After this, he engaged in an expedition to Moultan, which was in a disturbed state; but, falling sick on his march, he returned to Delhi, and expired there, A.D. 1235, after a signally prosperous reign of twenty-five years.

It was in the thirteenth year of the reign of this able monarch (according to Ferishta), that Chenghiz Khan overthrew the Khuarizmian empire; and pursuing his career of conquest, during the succeeding twelve years, that savage destroyer of the human race changed the face of Asia, extending his sway from the sea of China to Syria, and from the Arctic circle to the Indus.† Intent upon the subjugation of China, he suffered India to escape an invasion which, in all probability, would have forced it to share the same fate with the rest of Asia.

Altumsh was succeeded by his son Feroze Shah, an effeminate and dissipated prince, who, having made himself alike odious and contemptible to his subjects, was, at the end of less than seven months, deposed and imprisoned; and his masculine sister, Mallekeh Doran, Sultana Rizia, was then raised to the throne. This able woman had been, on one occasion, appointed regent by Altumsh himself, during his temporary

* See p. 128. Ferishta tells us, that this temple was formed upon the same plan as that at Somnauth; that it had been building for three hundred years, and was surrounded with a wall one hundred cubits high.

† Chenghiz Khan died in 1226. Altumsh was, therefore, during part of his reign, contemporary with Hulakoo Khan, who died at Maragha, in 1264. At the time of the irruption of the Moguls, Louis VIII. of France was employed in exterminating the Albigenses; (he died the same year as Chenghiz Khan;) Henry III. had begun his reign in England; Frederick II. was Emperor of Germany; and the son of Saladin was master of Egypt.

absence from the seat of government;* and on her accession, she justified the choice of the omrahs by assuming the imperial robes, and giving public audience every day from the throne, revising and enforcing the laws of her father. Her reign was prosperous, and she appears to have conducted the administration of government with singular ability, till, unfortunately, the nobles took disgust at the promotion of an Abyssinian slave to the head of the army. The first demonstrations of discontent were suppressed, but a general revolt took place shortly after; and Behram Shah, her brother, was set up by the Turkish omrahs in her stead. The Sultana, after maintaining for some time the struggle for the throne, was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death, after a reign of three years and a half.

Behram Shah, though nominally emperor, found himself a mere puppet in the hands of the chief of the omrahs and the vizier, by whom, at the end of two years, he was dethroned and murdered. During his brief reign, the Moguls advanced from Ghizni to Lahore, and plundered that city; and in the troubled reigns of his successors, they repeatedly made predatory incursions into the Punjaub with various success. Turmeshirin Khan is reported by Sheref-ed-deen, to have carried his arms into the Doab, and to have penetrated even to the confines of Delhi.

On the fall and death of Behram Shah, Massood,

* "When asked by the omrahs, why he appointed his daughter to such an office, in preference to so many of his sons, he replied, that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine, women, gaming, and the worship of the wind (flattery); and that Razia, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons."—Dow, i. 161.

a son of Feroze Shah, was raised from a prison to a precarious throne; but his despicable character soon led to his being stripped of the robes of royalty, and his uncle, Mahmood, was, in 1244, made king in his stead, under the title of Nassir-ul-deen. He appears to have been a man of great energy, enterprise, and prudence, as well as of considerable literary attainments. During the time of his imprisonment, he supported himself by writing, despising the emperor's allowance; and often said, that he who could not work for his bread, did not deserve to eat. After he had ascended the throne, he continued the same frugal and laborious habits, supplying his private wants by the use of his pen. His table was that of a hermit, rather than of a king; and contrary, Ferishta remarks, to the custom of all princes, he had but one wife, and kept no concubines. He was the "patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor." He was moreover successful in all his wars, and astonished his subjects by the moderation and clemency with which he pursued his conquests. He behaved with the most severity to the Gickers of Mount Jood. Their country being reduced, the emperor avenged himself upon those turbulent mountaineers for their continual incursions, and for guiding the Moguls through their country into Hindostan, by carrying into captivity some thousands of both sexes. Towards his own subjects, he behaved with rare magnanimity for an oriental sovereign; repeatedly pardoning, upon submission, those who had swerved from their allegiance. Towards the close of his reign, he was honoured with an embassy from Hulakoo Khan, the grandson of Chenghiz Khan, and sovereign of Persia. Balben, his vizier, went out to meet the ambassador, attended, we are told, "by 50,000 foreign horse in the imperial

service, 2000 chain-elephants of war, and 3000 carriages of fire-works. He drew up in order of battle, formed in columns of twenty deep, with the artillery and cavalry properly disposed. Having then exhibited some feats of horsemanship in mock battles, and fully displayed his pomp to the ambassador, he conducted him to the city and royal palace. There the court was very splendid, every thing being set out in the most gorgeous and magnificent manner. All the omrahs, officers of state, judges, priests, and great men of the city were present, besides five princes of Persian Irak, Khorasan, and Maver-ul-nahr, with their retinues, who had taken protection at Delhi from the arms of Chenghis Khan. Many Indian princes also, subject to the empire, stood next to the throne."* This was the last occurrence of importance in this reign. Shortly after, the emperor fell sick, and after lingering for some months, expired in the year 1266, much regretted by his subjects.

Mahmood left no sons, and his able vizier Balern, who was related to the emperor Altumsh, ascended the throne, with the unanimous concurrence of the nobles.† Ferishta states, that, in the reign of Altumsh, forty of his Turkish slaves who were high in favour, entered into a solemn mutual engagement to support one another, and, upon their master's death, to divide the empire among themselves. Balern was one of this number, and as several of his confederates had

* Dow, i. 178.

† Like Altumsh himself, he was by origin a Turk of Chinta, who had been sold into slavery. Altumsh made him his Grand Falconer; in the reign of Mussaood, he was made "lord of requests," and in that of Mahmood, he was raised to the vizareet, which high office he exercised towards the last in such a manner as to leave the sovereign the mere title of royalty.

raised themselves to great power, his first step after his accession was, to rid himself of all who survived of these dangerous rivals, either by sword or by poison, including his own brave nephew Sheer. This act of dreadful policy, he followed up by a vigorous reform of the government, expelling from his court all gamblers, parasites, usurers, and licentious persons; and he became so famous for his wise and just government and for his generosity, that his alliance was courted by the sovereigns of Persia and Tatary, and his capital was the refuge of the fugitive princes who had been despoiled of their territories by the Moguls. Upwards of twenty of these unfortunate ex-sovereigns, we are told, repaired to the court of Delhi, from Turkestaun, Maver-ul-nahr, Khorasan, Irak Ajem, Azerbijan, Fars, Room (Asia Minor), and Syria. They had a princely allowance and palaces assigned them; and upon public occasions, took their stations, according to their dignity, to the right and left of the throne; all standing, except two princes of the house of Abbas, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. In the retinue of these princes were many of the persons most renowned in the East for learning and genius; so that the court of Delhi came to be reckoned the most polite and magnificent in the world. All the philosophers, poets, and divines, assembled every night at the house of Prince Sheheid, the heir apparent; while at that of Prince Kera, the Emperor's second son, who was given to pleasure and levity, were convened a number of musicians, dancers, buffoons, and story-tellers. The Emperor himself, having a great passion for magnificence, set his omrahs the example of great pomp and display in his palaces and equipages. His state elephants were caparisoned in purple and gold. His horse-guards, consisting of a thousand noble

Tatars in splendid armour, were mounted upon the finest Persian steeds, with bridles of silver and saddles richly embroidered. Five hundred attendants in rich livery with drawn swords, ran before to proclaim the monarch's approach, and to clear the way. That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the city, and he established laws for the preservation of the game. The festivals of Nurooz and Idr, as also the anniversary of his own birth, were held with wonderful pomp and splendour. He was, nevertheless, a great enemy to debauchery and licentiousness, and prohibited the drinking of wine under the severest penalties.

Unlike most of his predecessors, this monarch was less solicitous to extend his dominions, than to strengthen his empire. When advised by his council to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of Gujerat and Malwah, which had been annexed to the empire by Kuttub-ul-deen, but had subsequently shaken off the yoke, Baleen would by no means consent; giving as his reason, that the Moguls were become so powerful in the north, that he thought it much wiser to secure his possessions against those invaders, than to weaken himself, and to leave his country unguarded, by engaging in foreign wars. The military transactions of this reign, therefore, were confined to measures of police and defence, and the suppression of rebellion. On some occasions, the inhabitants of the disturbed districts were punished by extermination. A certain tribe of banditti called *Meenas*, who had possessed themselves of an extensive wilderness, about eighty miles S. E. of the capital, towards the hills, had, during the preceding reigns, carried their predatory incursions to the very gates of

Delhi. In an expedition sent against these marauders by Balen, above 100,000 are stated to have been put to the sword; and the woods being cleared away for a circuit of a hundred miles, a line of forts was erected along the foot of the mountains, to protect the settlers on the cleared lands. An insurrection in Budayoon and Kuttore, suppressed by the monarch in person, was punished with an indiscriminate massacre of several thousands of the unfortunate inhabitants. The army were engaged for two years in reducing to obedience the wild inhabitants of the Jood mountains. About the year 1282, a more formidable rebellion broke out. Toghrul, who had been entrusted with the government of Bengal, was emboldened, by a report of the emperor's death, to assume the red umbrella and the other insignia of independent royalty; and when he found that Balen was still living, he refused to obey his mandate and return to his allegiance. Two imperial armies sent against him, were successively defeated; and Balen found himself at length compelled to take the field in person. Crossing the Ganges, without waiting for the dry season, he proceeded to Bengal by forced marches, while Toghrul, having tidings of his approach, retired with all his treasure into Orissa, where he had been pushing his conquests.* He was fallen in with, however, by an

* He is stated to have led an army against some Indian princes in the neighbourhood of Jagenagur, a town near Cuttak, and, having defeated them, to have carried off some hundreds of elephants and much wealth, out of which he made no acknowledgement to the emperor. Jagepoor or Jehanpoor is probably the town referred to. This principality was first invaded by the Mohammedans in 1243, when Toghan Khan, governor of Bengal, was not only defeated by the native rajah, but was pursued to Gour, his metropolis. The Mohammedans were defeated a second time by the Rajah of Jagepoor in 1253.—Hamilton's Gazetteer.

advanced detachment of the Imperial forces, who were scouring the country in search of the fugitives; and was surprised in his tent by one of Baleen's officers, who, at the head of only forty men, succeeded in penetrating, undiscovered, to the centre of the enemy's encampment. The greatest confusion and a general panic ensued; and Toghrul was shot with an arrow in crossing a river. His whole family and principal adherents were put to death, and Baleen was withheld from impaling all the prisoners taken in this expedition, on his return to Delhi, only by the united intercessions of the mufties, kadies, and learned men, who approached the throne in a body. Baleen was absent on this expedition three years. He left his son, Kera, viceroy of Bengal, bestowing upon him all the ensigns of royalty; and on the death of his eldest son, the accomplished Mahommed, he sent for him to Delhi, appointing him his successor. Kera, however, appears to have preferred the peaceful possession of his kingdom to the reversion of a precarious empire; and he declined to remain at his father's court, much to the displeasure and grief of the now aged monarch, who expired not long after, in the year 1288, after a reign of twenty-two years.

The grandson of Baleen, Moez-ul-deen Kai-Kobad, was now raised to the throne; a weak and dissolute prince, who suffered himself to be entirely ruled by an artful vizier. His father, the King of Bengal, made an effort to reclaim him by his advice, and by cautioning him against the arts of his minister; but he too late resolved to attempt to retrace his steps. Being seized with a paralytic stroke, he was dethroned, and afterwards murdered, having reigned little more than three years. His infant son, after being made a pageant king for a short time, shared his father's fate;

and the throne was usurped by Zeinig, an Afghaun of the Ghilligi or Khilji tribe, under the title of Jelal-ul-deen.

This monarch was seventy years of age when he mounted the *masnud*. From his love of plainness, he changed the royal umbrella from red to white. Having no great confidence in the loyalty of the citizens of Delhi, he fixed his residence at Kilogurry, which he strengthened with works and adorned with gardens; and the omrahs, following the emperor's example, built palaces around, so that Kilogurry became known as the new city. The wisdom, justice, and lenity of Feroze, gradually procured him the estimation of all his subjects, except the omrahs of his tribe, to whom his conduct, in pardoning some rebel chiefs, gave great umbrage. "I am now an old man," said the emperor, on being urged to take vengeance on the traitors, "and wish to go down to the grave without shedding blood." As the consequence, however, of his humane, but feeble policy, insurrections were multiplied, gangs of robbers infested all the roads, and every species of crime became common; public security was at an end, and the provincial governors withheld their revenues from the imperial treasury. Although a usurper, he was worthy, however, of a better fate. In the eighth year of his reign, Allah, his nephew and son-in-law, on his return from a predatory inroad into the Deccan, basely conspired against his aged benefactor and sovereign, and having murdered him, mounted the throne, A.D. 1295.

The reign of this able but execrable monarch, which lasted twenty years, forms a brilliant period in the annals of the Delhi monarchy, as he was the first who extended the Mohammedan conquests into the kingdoms of the Deccan. In his first expedition, (the one

above referred to, undertaken about the year 1292, with the consent of the Arab emperor,) he took by surprise the city of Deoghur* (in Aurungabad), the capital of Ram-deo Rajah, and led back his troops laden with incalculable wealth, through hostile territories, to Delhi, where he consummated his daring exploit by the murder of the emperor and the usurpation of the throne. The account given of this extraordinary inroad wears the character of romance. Allah, we are told by a native writer, left Gurrah, the seat of his government, with 8000 chosen horse, on pretence of a hunting excursion; and taking a route through the territories of several petty rajahs, he evaded all hostilities by giving out, that he had left the emperor's court in disgust, and was proceeding to offer his services to the Rajah of Telingana, at that time the most powerful monarch in the Deccan. After two months' march, he arrived, without meeting with any serious opposition, at Elichpoor; whence, changing all at once his course, he decamped by night, and in two days surprised Ram-deo in his capital, which, after a short contest, he entered, the rajah retiring into the citadel. Allah immediately invested the place, giving out that his forces formed only the vanguard of the emperor's army, who were in full march to the place. This struck universal terror into the rajahs of the surrounding country, who thought only of securing their own possessions, and Allah was left at liberty to prosecute the work of pillage. Having at length come to advantageous terms with the rajah, who remained shut up in the citadel, he was preparing to evacuate the city with his treasure, when the son of Ram-deo advanced to the relief of the place,

* Afterwards named Dowletabad; the ancient Tagara.

at the head of a numerous army. The young prince disdained to observe the treaty imposed upon his father, and demanded of the invader the restitution of all the plunder as the price of his safety. A battle ensued, and the troops of Allah began to give way before superior numbers, when, by one of those critical occurrences which have so often decided the issue of conflicts and the fate of empires in the East, the tide of fortune was turned. Allah had left a detachment of 1000 horse to maintain the investment of the citadel; but, learning by his scouts, the situation of affairs, the commander galloped to the field of battle; and the dust they raised concealing the smallness of the reinforcement, the alarm was given, that the Tatar army had arrived. A panic flight took place; and Allah returned to the city as a conqueror, where a scene of carnage ensued, as the punishment of the alleged breach of treaty. Allah at length consented to evacuate the country, on receiving 600 *mounds* of pure gold, seven *mounds* of pearl, two of diamonds and other precious stones, one thousand *mounds* of silver, four thousand pieces of silk, and other precious commodities, surpassing in value all belief. In his retreat, he opened his way through Berar, Gundwana, Khandeish, and Malwah, though watched by hostile armies, and occasionally exposed to their desultory and irresolute attacks. History presents but few exploits that can be compared with this, as to either the boldness of the enterprise or the good fortune with which it was crowned.*

Soon after Allah's usurpation of the throne, intelligence was brought him, that the sovereign of Transoxiana had sent an army of a hundred thousand Mo-

* Dow, i. pp. 158—30.

guls to take possession of the Punjaub and Moultan, and that they were carrying all before them with fire and sword. He immediately despatched his brother, Elich, with a great force to expel them. The two armies met in the district of Lahore, and the Moguls were defeated with the loss of upwards of 12,000 men. In the following year, they again entered India in still greater numbers, and driving all before them, advanced to the plains of Delhi. Allah now took the field in person, at the head of 300,000 horse, 2700 elephants, and infantry without number. "From the time that first the spears of Islam were exalted in Hindostan, two such mighty armies," says Ferishta, "had not joined in fight." The victory on the part of the imperial army was most complete; for which Allah was chiefly indebted to the general who commanded his right, and who, pursuing the enemy too far in advance of the main body, was surrounded and slain. He is said to have continued the slaughter thirty miles.

In the year 1300, Allah's generals reduced the kingdom of Gujerat, laying waste the country, and taking Neherwala, the capital. The rajah, abandoning it at their approach, took refuge in the dominions of the monarch of Deoghur; but his wives and family, his elephants and treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. The viziers, with part of the army, then marched to Cambaut (Cambay), which, being "full of merchants, yielded a prodigious treasure to these sons of cruelty and rapine."

About two years after this, Allah besieged, and at length took, the fortified city of Rantampore, in Ajmeer,* putting to the sword Ameer Deo, the rajah,

* This fort, Ferishta says, is esteemed the strongest in Hindostan. The siege occupied a year.

his family, and the garrison. In 1303, after a siege of six months, he took the strong fort of Chitore, the government of which he conferred upon his son, Khyzer, with regal dignities, as the capital of his territory.* About the same time, he sent an army by the way of Bengal, to reduce the fort of Arinkil (or Warangol, in Hyderabad), in the possession (if not the capital) of the Rajah of Telingana or Andhra; but this expedition was unsuccessful, and the invaders were eventually obliged to retreat in distress. While the army were thus engaged, the Moguls again advanced to Delhi, and remained encamped for two months in face of the very inferior force which was left to guard the capital; when suddenly, from some unknown cause, (ascribed by some authors to supernatural intervention,) they made a precipitate retreat to their own country. The following year, they renewed their inroad, but were defeated in the Punjaub, with the loss of 7000 men; and their chiefs, being sent in chains to Delhi, were thrown under the feet of an elephant. To avenge their death, in 1305, the monarch of *Mauer-ul-nahr* sent a powerful army, which, after ravaging Moultan, penetrated to Sewwalik; but they were at length met with by Allah's viceroy, and defeated with great slaughter, those who escaped the sword perishing in the desert, or being led captive to Delhi, to undergo a more painful death. These repeated losses did not, however, discourage the Moguls, who, shortly after, again invaded Hindostan in great force, and were again defeated by Toghlik, viceroy of Punjaub; and some thousands of prisoners were sent to Delhi, to be trodden to death by elephants. After this, Hindostan enjoyed a respite from their

* This was the first time Chitore had been taken possession of by the Moslems. It is one of the strongest Rajpoot strongholds.

incursions for many years; and Tughlik retaliated by annual inroads into the provinces of Cabul, Ghilzi, and Candahar, laying them under heavy contributions.

In the beginning of 1306, Ram-deo, Rajah of Deoghur, having neglected to remit the tribute agreed upon, Allah despatched a powerful army under his favourite general, Kafoor, to enforce his observance of the treaty. Ram-deo, being in no condition to oppose this great army, prudently left his son, Sinjel-deo in the fort, while he advanced with rich presents to propitiate the invader and to obtain a peace. An amicable treaty being concluded, the Indian monarch accompanied Cafoor to Delhi, to pay his allegiance to the emperor, by whom he was received with the highest marks of favour and distinction. Besides being confirmed in his own dominions, he was invested with the government of other districts, for which he did homage, and had conferred upon him the title of *Raj-rajan*, prince of princes. A lak of rupees, moreover, was given to him, "to bear his expenses home;" an act of humiliating generosity.

In the year 1309, Cafoor was again despatched into the Deccan for the purpose of subjugating the kingdom of Telingana. He took the route of Deoghur, where Ram-deo entertained the general with great hospitality.* On his approaching the frontier, Lidder-deo, Prince of Arinkil, shut himself up in his fortress, not having had time to make adequate preparations to oppose him in the field; and the other rajahs, his allies, also took possession of the strongholds round the country. After a siege of some

* In his way to the Deoghur country, he is said to have reduced Ragiana, in the Mahratta territory; but it was a conquest the Mohammedans were unable to retain, and it has always remained in possession of Mahratta chiefs.

months, Arinkil was taken by assault, except the citadel; and the rajah was glad to purchase peace with the sacrifice of 300 elephants, 7000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount, agreeing at the same time to pay an annual tribute. In the following year, Cafoor returned to prosecute his conquests, having orders to subdue Dhoor, Sumaund, and Maber.* After three months' march from Delhi, he arrived in the territories which they were commanded to reduce, and began to lay waste the country. Here, the Moslems were encountered by Bellal-deo, sovereign of the Carnatic, whom they defeated and took prisoner. In the temples of his kingdom, they found a prodigious spoil in idols of gold, adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects. In the capital, the conqueror built a small mosque, in which he ordered divine worship to be performed according to the Mahammedan faith, and the *khutba* to be pronounced in the emperor's name.† Wearied at length with the work of plunder and desolation, Cafoor turned the points of his spears towards Delhi, where he presented to his master, 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 mauuds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and other precious things, of value inestimable. It is said that, during this expedition, the soldiers threw away the silver as too cumbersome, such was the abundance of gold. According to the reports of these adventurers, it is added, no person wore, in those countries, bracelets, chains, or rings of any other metal; all the plate in

* The situation of these countries is doubtful. Dhoor is, perhaps, Dwarsyburg in Mysore. By Maber, Major Rennell understands the southern part of the Peninsula. It seems to comprehend the Coromandel coast.—See p. 4, note.

† This mosque, Ferishta says, remained entire to his day, the infidels having respected it as a house consecrated to the Deity: but he does not tell us where it stood.

the houses of the great, as well as in the temples, was of beaten gold; nor was silver money at all current.* Allah, upon seeing this treasure, was so delighted, that he "opened the doors of his bounty to all," and distributed largely of his wealth to the emirahs of his court, his servants, and the learned men, according to their rank and quality.

Soon after this accession of wealth, the monarch, elevated by his good fortune, gave himself over to pride, and made himself odious by his tyranny. Some of the Mogul converts in his army having incurred his displeasure, he ordered them all to be discharged, and they remained in great numbers about the capital in a state of wretched poverty. Driven at length to desperation, some of them entered into a conspiracy to murder the king; which being discovered, Allah ordered the whole body, without distinction or exception, to be put to the sword; so that fifteen thousand of these unhappy men lay slaughtered in one day in the streets of Delhi, and all their wives and children were enslaved.†

* "This treasure," remarks Mr. Dow, "may exceed all belief in the eyes of Europeans; but, if we consider the Hindoos as a mercantile people, and not disturbed, perhaps, by wars for thousands of years, our wonder will cease, and the credit of our author remain entire. The gold alone amounts to about one hundred millions of our money."

† In the reign of Feroze II. (A.D. 1290), "Allagbu, grandson to the great Zingis, joined Feroze with 2000 men. They all became Mussulmans, and their chief was honoured with one of Feroze's daughters in marriage. . . . To these Moguls was allotted a certain district near the city, where they raised a considerable town, known by the name of Mogulpoora."—Dow, vol. ii. p. 214. "The reader will not forget," remarks Major Rennell, "the similar conduct of the Roman Emperor Valens, with respect to the Goths, who were permitted to cross the Danube, and settle in Thrace; and the similarity is more striking, in that the Hindostan empire was afterwards conquered by the assistance of the descendants of those

Up to this time, notwithstanding the atrocities which marked the beginning of his career, Allah had conducted himself with sagacity and moderation. There seem, indeed, to have been three distinct stages of character in the history of this extraordinary man; and it is almost difficult to reconcile the opposite qualities and actions which are attributed to him, as belonging to the same individual. Prior to his elevation, he appears only as a reckless adventurer, a bold, unprincipled, and fortunate marauder, a base and ungrateful traitor. To reconcile the people of Delhi to his usurpation, he is said to have given splendid festivals, and to have encouraged every species of riot and debauchery. He then proceeded to extirpate the descendants of his predecessor. His character at this period seemed compounded of cruelty, unnatural licentiousness, and the most insane ambition. Although so illiterate that he did not possess the common knowledge of reading and writing, one of his projects over his cups was, to form a new system of religion, that, like Mohammed, he might be held in veneration by posterity. Another was, to commit India to the government of a viceroy, and, like the Great Secunder (Alexander), to undertake the conquest of the world. Full of this idea, he assumed the title of Secunder Sani (Alexander the Second), which was struck upon the currency of the empire. These wild projects, he is represented as laying for ever aside, in consequence of the sage and faithful advice of the chief magistrate of Delhi, who resolved to risk

Mogols."—Memoirs ii. It would seem that their increasing numbers at length excited the jealous apprehension of Allah; but the massacre appears to have been confined to the Mogul soldiery. The extermination of the Mamlouks at Cairo by Mohammed Ali, affords the nearest parallel to this atrocious stroke of policy.

his life in the attempt to reclaim the monarch to a sense of his duty. Contrary to the old counsellor's expectation, the emperor took his advice in good part, and munificently rewarded him for his fidelity.

Not long after this, while on a hunting expedition, Allah was reposing with a few attendants, when Akit, his brother-in-law, formed the sudden resolution to cut him off, as the emperor had cut off his predecessor, and to step into the throne. He had no difficulty in obtaining the assistance of a few adherents; and Allah, being suddenly saluted with a shower of arrows, was left for dead. Akit was about to cut off his head, when one of the attendants assured him, that it was quite unnecessary, as his master had breathed his last. The army was thrown into great confusion by the intelligence; but Akit assumed without opposition the ensigns of royalty, and his name was proclaimed accordingly in the *khutba*. In the mean time, Allah recovered his senses, and having his wounds bound up, with difficulty mounted his horse. Following the wise counsel of one of his officers, he spread the white umbrella, which Akit had neglected to secure, and appeared on an eminence in sight of the whole army. Immediately, the court of the usurper was abandoned. Distracted with fear, Akit took to flight; but a party of horse soon brought back his head to the emperor.

When Allah had recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Runtampore, and commenced the siege of that place. Availing themselves of his absence, the governors of Eulayoon and Oude, both nephews to the emperor, revolted; but they were successively defeated, and sent prisoners to the royal camp, where they were put to death by torture. A third conspiracy was formed in the capital, and a re-

lation of the Emperor Altumsh was set upon the throne. This was also suppressed, and all who had taken part in the revolt, or whose wealth made it convenient to involve them in the guilt of abetting it, were put to death.

These repeated conspiracies and insurrections, however, seem to have had a salutary effect upon the conduct of Allah, who, in a council of his omrahs, demanded their advice as to the best means of preventing a recurrence of these disorders. After listening to their representations, he resolved upon the adoption of a new line of policy; and we now seem to be introduced to a new character. "He first applied himself," says the Translator of Ferishta, "to a strict inquiry into the administration of justice; to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men of rank in the empire. He laid himself out to procure intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces. He executed justice with such rigour and severity, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure upon the public highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the Sea of Bengal to the mountains of Caubul, and from Telingana to Cashmeer. He published an edict against the use of wine and strong liquors upon pain of death. He himself set the example to his subjects, and emptied his cellars into the street. In this, he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine....Other monarchs left all but state affairs to the common course of justice; Allah descended to all the inferior departments of government. It was

with him a common saying, that religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the business or solace of private life, and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men. He was so sensible of the disadvantages which he laboured under by his ignorance of letters, that he applied himself privately to study; and notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of the Persian manner of writing, he soon read all addresses, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had proceeded so far as to be able to hold part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and shewed particular favour to all the eminent men of the age.

"The empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice travelled to the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as if by power of enchantment; neither did there, in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities." Such, in fact, was Allah's "fortunate perseverance in all that he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed his success to supernatural power."*

Some of his fiscal regulations and sumptuary laws were as remote from enlightened policy as from justice. Under the rigid system of police which he established in the capital, the common intercourse of society was subjected to rude and irksome restraints. Wealth was treated as a crime; fines and confiscations were levied alike upon Mussulmans and Hindoos, at the imperia-

* Dow, vol. i. pp. 242, 243, 251, 255.

pleasure; the prices of commodities were fixed by arbitrary regulations; and law resolved itself into the emperor's will. Yet, making due allowance for the difficult circumstances in which Allah was placed, the darkness of the times, the Mohammedan notions of government, and the necessities of despotism, these tyrannical and impolitic measures do not materially detract from the character of Allah-ul-deen as an able ruler, and as one who, in some points of view, approached to mental greatness.

In the latter part of his reign, however, he is represented as fatuitously adopting every measure that tended to subvert the great fabric that he had raised. He resigned the reins of government entirely into the hands of Cafoor, whom he blindly supported in his most impolitic and tyrannical actions. This gave great disgust to the omrahs, and excited the jealousy of Prince Khyzer, the heir apparent. Allah's health also began to fail, owing to the effects of intemperance; and he became a prey to those gloomy and unnatural suspicions which haunt the last days of despots. Cafoor, in 1312, had proceeded for the fourth time to the Deccan, to receive the tribute of the sovereign of Telingana, and to punish the new rajah of Deoghur, who had shewn a disposition to assert his independence. Cafoor put him to death, and overran all the neighbouring territories; but he was recalled to counteract the intrigues which Allah suspected to be carrying on against him. At his instigation, Prince Khyzer, his brother, and their mother, were imprisoned, and Alip Khan, governor of Gujerat, was put to death. The consequence seems to have been, that that province revolted; the governor of Chitore in Ajmeer, at the same time, assumed independence; and Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ram-deo, stirred up the Deccan

to arms, and took a number of the imperial garrisons. Rage and grief at these misfortunes, hastened the progress of disease in the enfeebled constitution of Allah; and in the year 1316, he expired, "not without suspicion of being poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to power."*

On the death of Allah-ul-deen, Omar, his youngest son, then in his seventh year, was placed upon the throne, (with the title of Shahab-ul-deen,) Cafoor declaring himself regent. His first step was to deprive of their sight, the legitimate heir and his brother †; and he gave orders for the assassination of Prince Mubarik, another son of the late emperor. The commission was frustrated by a timely bribe to the assassins, and Cafoor became himself the victim of conspiracy, thirty-five days after the death of his master. The name and reign of Mubarik (Kuttub-ul-deen Mubarik Shah), who now mounted the throne, are too infamous, Ferishta says, to deserve a record.† His character was stained by every vice that can debase human nature, and he met, at length, his deserts, being assassinated by the detestable minion who had gained an-

* Of Ferishta's veracity and fairness as an historian, there is reason to think very highly: but his account of this monarch seems combined of opposite representations, such as might be expected from his panegyrists and his enemies, neither, perhaps, being strictly just. "It is to be regretted," remarks Major Rennell, "that Col. Dow did not give a literal translation of Ferishta as a text, and add his own matter, or explanations, in the form of notes. We should then have been able to distinguish the one from the other." (Memoir, III. note.) Maurice has, in this part of his work, servilely transcribed from Dow; and Major Price falls us; so that we have no better authority to guide us than the translation of Ferishta.

† To gain popularity at his accession, Mubarik ordered all the princes to be opened, "by which means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day: and all the exiles were, by proclamation, recalled."

undisputed ascendancy over India, after a reign of less than five years. The traitor (whose original name, Hassan, had been exchanged for that of Khassah or Khosroo Khan) then mounted the throne, under the title of Nassir-uddeen, and extirpated all the surviving family of Allah. Upon this, Ghazi-ul-Mulk, governor of Lahore, revolted, and having put to death the usurper, was raised to the throne by the unanimous voice of the omrahs, with the title of Ghias-ud-deen Toghlik Shah. He is characterised as a great and virtuous prince; but his reign was cut short, in the fifth year, by the falling in of the roof of a temporary palace prepared for him by his son, who is supposed to have taken this means of making way for his own elevation, without incurring the odium of parricide.

Sultan Mahoomed III. reigned twenty-seven years; during which time, says Dow, "he seems to have laboured, with no contemptible abilities, to make himself detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men." The Patan empire (as that of Delhi under these Mohammedan dynasties is called*) declined greatly under his impolitic government. The southern and eastern provinces, after undergoing repeated transitions from subjugation to temporary independence, were once more lost, and the territories of the Delhi sovereign were reduced to the same limits that bounded them previously to the conquests of Allah-uddeen.† The early part of his reign promised better

* Patan is the name given in India to the Afghauns. It is, probably, a corruption of the native name, Pooktoon, pronounced by the Berdoorannee Pooktaun. The name of Afghaun is known to the natives, only through the medium of the Persian language. ELPHINSTONE, I. 328.

† In the first year of Mobarik's reign, Gujerat was again reduced by his general Moultani; and the Deccan was subsequently re-

things. His generals not only put down revolt in the conquered provinces, but carried the Mohammedan arms still further south, extending the Emperor's dominion across the Deccan, from sea to sea. But during the convulsions that soon shook the empire, all these countries threw off the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these: the heavy imposts, which were tripled, during this reign, in some provinces; the imposing of copper money for silver, by public decree;* the raising of 370,000 horse for the conquest of Khorasan and Maver-ul-nahr; the sending an army of 100,000 horse to subdue the mountainous country between India and China, almost the whole of which fell a sacrifice to the sword, disease, and famine; and the cruel massacre of numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Hindoos, on different occasions, in various parts of the empire.

The most remarkable circumstance in this miserable reign, was the temporary abandonment of Delhi,

conquered. Hirpal-deo, being taken prisoner, was flayed alive, and his head was fixed above the gate of his capital. The emperor ordered his garrisons to be re-established as far as the sea, and built a mosque in Deoghur, which remained in the time of Ferishta. In the disordered state of the government which preceded the elevation of Toghlik Shah, the rajahs of Deoghur and Warangol again revolted, but were reduced to obedience by an army sent against them by that emperor, under his son Juwah, afterwards Mahommed III.

* "The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper, upon the Emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, for ready money. Mahommed, instead of paper, struck a copper coin, which, being issued at an imaginary value, by made regent by a decree throughout Hindostan." Public credit was at an end, and the Emperor found himself compelled, by the general murmurs and confusion, to call it in. A similar attempt to impose a paper currency cost Key Khatoo, sovereign of Persia, his throne and his life.—See Mod. Univ. Hist. Persia, i. 357.

Mahommed had taken the field in 1338, to chastise the insurgents in the Deccan; and on arriving at Deoghur, he was so much pleased with the situation and strength of the place, that he determined to make it his capital. The majority of his nobles, we are told, recommended Oojein as the preferable place. The Emperor, however, bent on his project, gave orders that the population of Delhi should immediately transfer themselves, with all their effects and cattle, to Deoghur, which now received the name of Dowlatabad, the fortunate city. Those who had not money to defray the charges of migration from their old habitations, a distance of 750 miles, were to be maintained, during the journey, at the public expense. This arbitrary measure greatly affected the prosperity of the empire; but the Emperor's mandate was strictly complied with, and the ancient capital was left desolate. Two years after, a rebellion in Moultan called the Emperor to march into the neighbourhood of Delhi; when, at sight of their native plains, all the troops who had been forced to emigrate to Dowlatabad, began to desert the army, and to disperse in the woods. To prevent the consequences of this desertion, Mahommed took up his residence at Delhi for two years. He then removed a second time, carrying off all the city in his train, to the Deccan, leaving his noble metropolis a habitation for owls and the wild beasts of the desert. The colony of Dowlatabad, without houses, without employment, were soon reduced to the utmost distress; and the Emperor was finally compelled to abandon his absurd scheme, giving permission to all who chose, to follow him to Delhi. Many thousands returned; some perished for want of food in the way, and those who reached the city, were doomed to experience a dreadful visitation of famine,

occasioned by unusual drought; which, at length, compelled the starving population, with the court, to abandon Delhi a third time for the fertile banks of the Ganges.

In the mean time, a report had been spread in the southern provinces, that the Mohammedans, who were now very numerous in that part of the empire, had formed a design to extirpate all the Hindoos. A general rising of the native population, under the confederate rajahs of Telingana and the Carnatic, was the consequence of this impression; and, in a few months, Dowlatabad was the only possession in the Deccan, that remained to the sovereign of Delhi.* Other disasters ensued, and the chagrined monarch began too late to repent of his tyranny, when, in the year 1351, he was carried off by a fever, in his way to Tatta on the Indus. Ferose III., nephew to the Emperor Ghias-ud-deen (Toghlik), was then raised by the omrahs to the throne.

The long reign of this pacific yet public-spirited monarch restored to some degree of prosperity the exhausted and distracted country. Although no great warrior, he had many qualities that fitted him to rule his people in peace; and he left numerous memorials of his wise munificence. He is said to have built forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, five hospitals, a hundred palaces, ten baths, a hundred tombs, and a hundred bridges; also, to have constructed fifty great sluices or canals, one hundred and

* It was at this period, according to Scrishta, that Bellal-deo, prince of the Carnatic, with a view to the expulsion of the Mahammedans, fixed his capital in a pass among the mountains, on the frontier of his dominions; giving the city the name of Bijee-nagur, in honour of his son. A different account of the origin of Bijeenagur, and of the meaning of the name, is given by other writers.

fifty wells, and pleasure-gardens without number. He built the city of Ferozabad, adjacent to Delhi. In 1349, he made a canal one hundred miles in length, to connect the Sutlej with the Jidjer; and in 1351, he cut a canal from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams, one of which he brought to Hansi (or Hansi) and thence to Hissar-Ferozabad. About 1357, he employed 50,000 labourers in cutting through a hill, for the purpose of bringing a stream by an artificial channel, to water the arid districts of Sirhind and Munsurpour;* and he afterwards drew another canal from the Caggar to the Kerah.† These public works were of the greatest advantage to the country, as affording both the means of fertilizing barren tracts, and, in many cases, commodious water-carriage.

Bengal and Bahar became, in a great measure, independent of the empire during this reign, paying only a small annual tribute. Feroze exacted no other

* While the workmen were digging for this purpose to a great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and in another, "those of a gigantic human form."

† The text of Ferishta (or that of his Translator) is very obscure in this part, and it is difficult to make out, from the account given, the course of these canals. Major Rennell has treated the subject with his usual ingenuity, Memoir, pp. 74—78. Besides the main canals, others were cut, which united them in different directions; and the banks both of the main canals and their branches were covered with towns. "Feroze, by sanction of a decree of the canon assembled for the purpose, levied a tenth of the produce of the lands fertilised by the canals, which he applied, together with the revenue yielded by the lands newly brought into cultivation, to charitable uses. The lands of Feroze, which before had produced but one scanty harvest, now produced two abundant ones. This circar (Hissar-Feroze) ever since the conquest of Hindostan by the Moguls, has constituted the personal estate of the heir apparent of the empire."—Khanzaman's MS. in Rennell, 78. The greater part of these canals, however, and the fort at Sirhind built by Feroze, have long been in ruins, owing to the dreadful ravages committed by the Sikhs.

terms of the princes of the Deccan, so that these two great branches were lopped off from the body of the empire. The greatest blot on the character of this monarch is his inhumanity to the inhabitants of Kumaon. The princes of that country having given shelter to a criminal, who had murdered the governor of Bedayoon, Feroze sent a detachment of his army against them, and thirty thousand of the unhappy mountaineers were brought back and condemned to slavery. He afterwards made an annual hunting expedition into those parts; and by degrees, the inhabitants of whole districts were cut off or expelled, and the country changed to a wilderness. Finding the infirmities of age pressing hard upon him, Feroze, in 1395, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Mahommed; but he lived to resume the reins of authority on the expulsion of that prince by the dissatisfied omrahs, and, at their advice, to place his grandson, Toghlik, upon the throne. Shortly after this, in 1387, he expired, at the age of ninety, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign.

Toghlik II., a weak and dissolute prince, after a reign of only five months, was removed by assassination. Abubeker, his brother, then enjoyed the honours of royalty for a year and a half, but was compelled to surrender them to his uncle, Mahommed, who, after an obstinate contest, was restored to the throne he had occupied during the life-time of his father. After a troubled reign of six years and a half, he was succeeded by his son, Humaioon (Allah-ud-dein Secunder), who was taken off by illness at the end of forty-five days, and Mamood III., another son of Mahommed, was placed upon the throne. Shortly after, a hostile faction set up a rival claimant in the person of Prince Nusrit, a grandson of Feroze III.,

and a civil war ensued. The whole empire now fell into a state of anarchy and confusion. For some time, the two kings, in arms against one another, resided in different quarters of the same capital, and thousands perished in the daily affrays between the two parties. Ekbal Khan, the vizier, at length contrived to expel the one, and to get into his power the other; and things were in this state of hopeless disorder, when, to consummate the miseries of the people, news was brought, that Timour, at the head of 90,000 Mogals, had crossed the Indus (A.D. 1398).

The invasion of India by this ruthless exterminator was an inroad, rather than a conquest; for, after overrunning the country to the banks of the Ganges, in a single campaign, he withdrew his legions as suddenly as he had appeared with them, leaving nothing to mark his course or to perpetuate his conquests, but the silence of depopulation and the terrors of his name. The primary object of his invasion, apparently, was to support his grandson, Peer Mahommed, who, after taking Moultan, had met with reverses, being closely pressed by the Patan governor of Batneir (Bhatnir, the Battenire of Dow). Timour crossed the Indus* in September, and proceeded to attack a strong post on an island of the Behut. Intimidated at his approach, the governor embarked by night in his flotilla, and the garrison surrendered. Timour then descended that river for five or six days, to its confluence with the Chunaub, opposite the fort of Yelmeny, which submitted at once to the conqueror. Crossing the Chunaub, he reached, on the same day, another river,

* "On the exact spot where, about 177 years before, it had been crossed by Sultan Jellal-ul-deen, the Khaurasmian, in his disastrous flight from the vengeance of Jenguiz."—Price, iii. 324. See Rennell, 116.

(which must be the Ravee,) and encamped on the plains of Tolumbah;* summoning the inhabitants of that town to contribute the sum of two laks, as the price of their safety. Nearly the whole of this had been levied, when the soldiers tumultuously entered the town to search for provisions, and, not content with this, began a general plunder. The inhabitants, in opposing this outrage, were massacred without mercy, and their houses set on fire, those of the *seyuds* being, however, *religiously* exempted. The next day, Timour marched to the banks of the Beyah, where he was opposed by a detachment of Ghickers (or Gougres), who had taken up a strong position in the marshes. They were almost all cut off. The conqueror then took possession of Shahnawaaz, where the army found an abundant supply of corn, of which they carried off as much as they required, burning the remainder. Proceeding along the right bank of the Beyah, he again encamped on the same river, opposite to the town of Jenjaun, about sixty miles N.E. of Moultan, where he was met by Peer Mahommed. Thence, crossing the Sutlej (about Oct. 31), he marched forty miles to Jehwaal. Here, placing the heavy baggage in charge of two of his officers, he directed them to proceed with the main body by the route of Dehalpore, on the Upper Sutlej, so as to join him at Samanah, while he hastened in person, with 10,000 chosen cavalry, by a more southern route, to Adjooden (about twenty miles), and thence, marching by day and night, upwards of 100 miles across the desert, to Batneir.†

* "It was in the neighbourhood of this place, that Alexander made war on the Malli, or people of ancient Moultan."—Rennell, p. 118.

† We give the details of this march, interesting in a geographical

The fortress of Batneir, which is described as a place of almost impregnable strength, is incorrectly asserted to have been, up to this period, never taken by foreign invaders.* Its almost inaccessible situation, near the eastern extremity of the sandy desert which extends south of the Sutlej, may have contributed to its supposed security. It had now become the asylum to which the inhabitants of Adjooden and Debalpore, and of all the adjacent districts, fled for protection; and so great was the multitude which thronged its gates under the terrors of invasion, that the compass of the walls was too narrow for their reception. Numbers of the unhappy fugitives, with a prodigious assemblage of cattle, were obliged to take shelter under the walls and in the suburbs; and they became the immediate prey of these formidable and unexpected visitants. The outer city (or fortified suburbs) was soon carried by assault, although Timour had only a body of horse with him, unsupported by artillery. Rão Doultchund (or Raw Chillig!), the governor, shewed some disposition to defend the interior fort; but he was at length induced to seek safety by capitulation, which was granted. All those who had borne arms against Peer Mahommed, and had taken refuge in this place, were, however, excepted from the benefit of the treaty; and five hundred inhabitants of Debalpoor and Adjooden were immediately put to

point of view, on the authority of Major Price's translation of the *Rozut-ul-Safa*. Adjooden stands on the Deema river, called by Dow, the river of Adjodin, and supposed by Major Rennell to be one of the four branches of the Sutlej, ["or possibly the Ilood,"] two *kose* from a range of hills called *Khawja-Kozah* (Chalk Kole). After a short halt here, Timour is stated to have continued his march without intermission, to Batneir, performing this extraordinary march of 50 *kose* (about 87 miles) in less than 24 hours.

* It was taken by Mahmood. See p. 165.

death, their wives and children being condemned to slavery. It is probable that the vengeance of Timour might have been satisfied with this sacrifice; but, whether led by this massacre to expect a similar fate, or driven to desperation by the oppressive exactions of the enemy, the inhabitants closed their gates against the ferocious conqueror, upon which the order for their extermination was issued. When the soldiers of Timour again approached to scale the ramparts, the infidel Rajpoots (as they are styled) set fire to the town, and having murdered their wives and children, prepared, in the *frenzy of despair*, to sell their lives to their assailants at the point of the sword. In the midst of the conflagration, a deadly conflict ensued. Some thousands of the Moguls perished; and Timour, exasperated, left nothing to indicate the site of this once populous town, but a few melancholy heaps of ashes.

On the third day after the destruction of Batneir, Timour marched to *Kinaar-e-aub-e-Asaun* (the side of the tank); and thence, on the day following, to Sursutty (or Sareswatty), on the river of that name. The inhabitants evacuated the town at his approach, but were pursued, and a great number cut to pieces. A similar fate awaited the fugitives from Futtehabad, Timour's next station, eighteen *kose* in a northerly direction. Ahrouny, a fortified town, was next sacked and reduced to ashes, the greater part of the inhabitants being put to the sword, and the rest led captive, "because there was no individual among them of sufficient good sense or prudence to come forward with an appeal to the clemency of the conqueror." *

* The adjacent towns of Rahdi, Anbrani (perhaps Ahrouny), and Jonah, are mentioned by Ferishta, as sharing the fate of Futtehabad.

Timour then entered the jungles, in search of the Jatts (or Jauts) who infested these parts, and who at his approach had retired into the forests: no fewer than two thousand of these proscribed barbarians were hunted up and slain, their families falling into the hands of their exterminators. At the bridge of Koupelah (probably over the Surmutty)* Timour rejoined the other divisions of his army, which had in the mean time carried fire and sword through the province of Lahore; and the whole body now moved towards Delhi, which was still distant about a hundred miles to the S.E. Every where, the inhabitants fled at their approach, leaving their houses and property a prey to the merciless invaders, who left nothing living behind them. Assendy, Toghlûkpour,† and Panipat were thus successively occupied and desolated. In order to provide forage for his vast army, Timour crossed the Jumna, and took by storm the fortified town of Leoni, the inhabitants of which were all put to the sword, except the Mahummedans; and the town, after being pillaged, was laid in ruins. He then marched down the river, and encamped opposite Delhi.‡

It was during the short suspension of active hostilities which now took place before commencing the siege of the capital, that this execrable barbarian, ap-

* Ferishta states, that the general rendezvous was at Kelûl or Keytohl, a town within ten miles of Surmuth; but in the *Rouzat-ul-safa*, this is mentioned as the next station after the junction of the two divisions.

† Major Price supposes this to be the same place as the Sughoor of the maps, about twenty miles west of Panipat.

‡ Timour's march from Surmuth to Delhi, about 55 koss, according to Rennell, appears to have taken up twelve days; "whence we may collect, that the common marches of his grand army were about seven common *koss* each day, or about thirteen miles and a half by the road."—Rennell, p. 126.

prehensive that, on the slightest reverse, his prisoners would join their countrymen, issued the mandate for the massacre of all the male idolaters above the age of fifteen. According to the lowest computation, no fewer than a hundred thousand of the natives of India perished in this horrible butchery. Before the gates of Delhi, Sultan Mahmoud made one brave and desperate effort to defend his throne and people. The whole force of his army does not appear to have exceeded 12,000 horse and 40,000 foot; and their chief dependence rested upon a formidable line of armed elephants, a hundred and twenty in number, each bearing a wooden turret filled with archers and slingers. The Jagatay soldiers, unused to this formidable spectacle, were at first appalled by their appearance; and Timour found it necessary to fortify his camp by a breastwork of hurdles, strengthened by a ditch, with a number of buffaloes picketed in front. The attack was commenced by Mahmoud, and the battle is admitted to have been fought with the bravery of desperation on the part of the Indians: but at length, the elephant line was broken, and the routed natives were pursued with great slaughter to the gates of the city. In the night, the Sultan made his escape to Gujerat, and Delhi submitted on the promise of protection to the inhabitants in their lives and property. These conditions, Timour was, perhaps, unable to enforce.* His savage and undisciplined troops rushed by thousands into the city; and the Hindoos, seeing their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and their wives and daughters the

* It is credible, that Timour might, as his apologists argue, wish to save the capital from general pillage, by which his soldiers only were enriched, and he was deprived of the immense amount that would otherwise have come into the imperial treasury.

victims of brutal violence, rose upon their insolent oppressors. Great numbers set fire to their habitations, and, with their wives and children, cast themselves into the flames. The horrors of pillage and massacre were soon extended throughout the city. "The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians," says the Translator of Ferishta, "was at length cooled in their own blood. Throwing down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive that cowardice is the mother of despair."* In the city, the Hindoos were at least ten to one superior in number to the enemy; and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault."† All who escaped the sword of the spoiler, were driven into slavery. The meanest soldier had twenty slaves in his possession; others found themselves masters of fifty and sixty; and not a few led out of the town a hundred captives, including women and children. Of the booty, in jewels, particularly diamonds and rubies, in rich furniture and utensils of gold and silver, with other valuable effects, it would be scarcely possible, we are told, to estimate the almost incalculable aggregate. The most skilful workmen, mechanics, and artificers were distributed as slaves among the princes of the blood and "the ladies of the imperial family who accompanied the expedition;" others were sent to the younger branches

* In the massacre of the Infidesses by the Afghans, the same effects of despondency were exhibited, though not to an equal degree.—See Mod. Trav., Persia, vol. i. p. 186.

† Dow, vol. ii. p. 7.

and the royal dames of Samarcand; but all the artificers in stone and marble were reserved, by order of Timour, to erect a *Jumma-mesjid* (grand mosque) on his return to his capital, on the plan of that at Delhi.*

Timour remained only a fortnight in the environs of the capital, and then removed to Ferozabad, on the Jumna, about six miles below Delhi, where he received, in token of submission, from the chief of Kotelah (or Mewat), two white parrots, which had been transferred from one Indian sovereign to another, from the time of Sultan Toghluk (A.D. 1321-5), and which must therefore have been at this time upwards of seventy-four years old.† He then entered the Doab, and proceeded to invest the fortress of Meirta (or Merat), about fifty miles N.N.E. of Delhi, which, under an Afghan chief, made a determined resistance. It was taken by storm, and the garrison, as usual, were put to the sword, the women and children being carried into captivity. Continuing his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewaulik, his way being marked by fire and sword, Timour reached, at Peyzeepoor, the banks of the Ganges. He crossed that river with a detachment of his army, about six miles

* Of the three towns composing this *celebrated city*, at the time of the invasion, we have the following brief description. "The town of Sirí, situated to the east inclining to north, which appears to have stood on the same ground with the ancient city of Indrapat, and of the still more ancient one of Hustnapoor, was enclosed with an oval wall; and that of old Dehly, lying to the opposite direction of west inclining to the south, was inclosed with a similar rampart, but of much greater compass. Between these two towns, and connecting them together, were two long walls, giving protection to the Jahaunpunnah; an intermediate suburb, far more extensive than either of the former two divisions. The three towns communicated with the country and with each other by thirty gates."—PRICE, vol. iii. p. 566.

† Price, iii. 568.

higher up, and prosecuted his march to Toghlukpoor. Near that place, he was attacked from the river by a flotilla of boats; and it was not till after a severe contest that the Indians were defeated. After this, Timour found himself opposed by Mubarik Khan, at the head of a numerous force, which he put to flight, taking considerable booty. Scarcely had he removed from the field, when information was brought, that another large body of Hindoos were collected at the foot of the pass of Kimpelah. At the head of only five hundred horse, Timour had the rashness to advance towards this formidable host; and for once, he turned his back upon the enemy, and fled from his pursuer.* He was relieved from his hazardous position by the unexpected arrival of a large body of troops under Peer Mahommed, his grandson, with whose aid the Hindoos were defeated with severe loss. He then advanced to one of the *prayags*, or junctions of the head-streams of the sacred river, where he found the Hindoos again strongly posted. They were instantly attacked, and, according to the Mohammedan historians, put to the sword. It is certain, nevertheless, that Timour's zeal to exterminate the worshippers of Ganges, suddenly gave way to considerations of prudence. "Recollecting all at once, that the country was now effectually relieved from the polluted sway of the enemies of the true faith, and that his victorious legions were incumbered, beyond measure, by the immensity of the booty which had fallen into their

* The Author of the Rozut-ul-sufa pretends, that Timour was called off from engaging sword to sword with the Indian Chief who advanced to meet him, by an attendant calling out, that it was one of the imperial vessels. "Misled by this false information, Timour turned short towards the neighbouring range of hills;" and he was not undeceived till an arrow had brought down his pursuer.—Price, iii. 573.

hands, this mild reformer conceived the sudden resolution of returning upon his steps; and accordingly, repassing the Ganges, on the very same day, by the hour of noon, he proceeded along the western bank of the river downwards, making a march of five kose before he found it convenient to encamp for the evening....Satisfied with having purged the empire of Delhi from the pollutions of infidelity and idolatry, he now adopted the final resolution of withdrawing, without further delay, into his native dominions; and for that purpose, on the 13th of January, 1399, he quitted the banks of the Ganges, his operations on that celebrated river being confined to the short period of four days." *

The course of his march now took him in a north-westerly direction towards the Upper Jumna. On entering the defiles of the Sewaulik mountains, he was again encountered by a native rajah, who had taken up a strong position at the head of a powerful body of troops. The conflict was fierce and sanguinary; and the natives, though beaten, seem not to have been dispirited. They took up a new position in a thick

* Price, iii. 370. There is some difficulty in determining the position of the places mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Tughlukpoor and the straits of Kooplah, from Sherefeddin's account of the march, cannot, Major Rennell remarks, be far from Lolldong (fifteen miles S.E. from Hardwar), where the British army completed their campaign in 1774, 110 British miles from Calcutta. "At the time of Timour's conquest (1398), the British nation had scarcely been announced to the people of Hindostan; nor was it till 200 years afterwards, that they found their way thither. Who could have believed, that the British conquests would meet those of Tamerlane, in a point equidistant from the mouths of the Ganges and the Indus, in 1774?"—Rennell, p. 121, note. In some MS. maps in the learned Author's possession, two small rivers, named Gash and Pooly, descend from the hills on the east of Hardwar; and the confluent streams, he suggests, may be the Coupelo or Coah-Pooly of the history.

forest, impervious to the Mogul cavalry; and Timour's soldiers had to cut their way by torch-light, through the jungle, for the distance of twelve kose (about eighteen miles), by which means they at length reached the valley lying between the mountains of Kookch and Sewaulik. The natives seem to have contented themselves with harassing their retreat, without attempting to make head against them in the open plain. In the course of the month which was thus occupied among the mountains and forests of this wild tract of country, Timour is stated to have fought twenty-seven battles, and reduced seven castles of singular strength. At length, he emerged into a rich district of corn-land, and entering the valley of the Jumnoo, arrived at the town of Menoo. The inhabitants of this district are described as a tall, robust, and athletic people, whose country, from its hills and forests, was generally deemed unassailable. "Encouraged by such a belief, after having conveyed their women and children to the tops of the remotest hills, the native chiefs, with the bravest of the men, took post on one of the most inaccessible ranges, whence they continually assailed the invaders with volleys of arrows and other missiles, insulting them at the same time with the most barbarous and savage outcries. For doubtless competent reasons, Timour conceived it advisable to confine his vengeance to the pillage of the town of Menoo; after which, on their return, the imperial troops entered that of Jumnoo, where they found such prodigious magazines of grain and other articles of sustenance, as to furnish an abundant supply for all their wants."* On the 27th of February,

* Price, iii. 397, 4. The Rajah of Jumnoo (the Jinnaugar of Dow) afterwards falling into the hands of Timour, in a skirmish with the rear of his army, "it was thought advisable that the

having crossed the Jummoo for the last time, and continued his march about eight miles, Timour encamped on the left bank of the Chunaub. On the 7th of March, while the army were encamped at Jehlun, on the frontiers of Cashmeer, Timour left the army, to hasten in person to Samarcand; and on the 9th, he reached the left bank of the Indus; "being the fifty-seventh day since his departure from the vicinity of the Ganges, and just five months and seventeen days from the period at which he crossed the Indus to the eastward, at the commencement of this memorable expedition."*

The manner in which Timour withdrew from India, was certainly very unlike that of a conqueror; and there is reason to suspect, that the partiality of the Mohammedan historians has led them to throw a false colouring over this unglorious termination of his expedition: "We do not find," remarks Mr. Dow, "that Timour appointed any king to govern Hindostan. He confirmed the *zemlahs* who had submitted to him, in their governments; and from this circumstance, we may suppose that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to secure it from further depredations." All that he appears to have reserved for himself, was the possession of the Punjaub; and this, his successors did not long retain. What is still more remarkable, it does not appear from either Sherefeddin, Timour's partial biographer and panegyrist, or from Ferishta, that Timour carried much treasure with him out of Hindostan. Dur-

tajah's wounds should be made the object of peculiar care, and he was finally prevailed upon to make profession of the Mohammedan creed." By this means, he secured the favour of Timour.

* Price, iii. 397.

ing his life, which terminated in 1405, he was prayed for in the mosques of Hindostan; and the coin was struck in his name; but this, Major Rennell remarks, might be more the effect of policy in the usurpers of Mahmood's throne, than the act of Timour himself.* Notwithstanding the hundreds of thousands whom he is represented as having sacrificed in the fury of his religious zeal, or on the cooler calculations of policy, and the still greater number led into captivity, the waste of life seems hardly to have left a void in the populous country. Things speedily reverted to their old course, and were involved, under the nominal reign of Mahmood, in the same anarchy.

The city of Delhi had remained in disorder and desolation for two months after the departure of Timour, when it was taken possession of by Nusrit. He was subsequently expelled by Ekbal, who resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had escaped by flight, began to assemble again; and the place, in a short time, Ferishta states, especially the quarter called the New City, put on the appearance of populousness. Lahore, Debalpoor, and Moultan remained in the possession of Khyzir (or Khizr) Khan, who had been confirmed in his government by Timour; Kanouje, Oude, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, were held by Khaja Jehan, who assumed the title of royalty; Gujerat and Malwah were also in the hands of independent chieftains; and,

* Rennell, p. lv. Timour's views, the learned Writer observes, "were, at this time, directed towards the Turkish empire; and this made him neglect India, which did not promise so plentiful a harvest of glory as the other." This appears hardly a sufficient explanation of his conduct. It is very probable, however, that intelligence of the insubordinate state of Georgia and Azerbijan, hastened his departure from India.—See Mod. Univ. Persia, b. 3d.

in fact, all the provincial governors laid claims to the style of sovereignty. Some of these were brought into subjection by the restless Ekbal; at whose invitation, in 1401, the ex-emperor Mahmoud returned from Gujerat to Delhi, and accepted of a pension. He afterwards escaped from this ignoble bondage; but, on the death of Ekbal, who was slain in a combat with Khyzir Khan, he was recalled to occupy the throne. His death, in 1413, terminated a reign marked by singular vicissitudes and unparalleled disasters; and with him ended the Khuljean (Chilligi) or second Patan dynasty.* The omrahs, indeed, raised to the throne Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation; but, after a nominal reign of little more than a year, he was obliged to surrender to Khyzir Khan, who thus became lord of Lahore, Moultan, and Delhi.

Khyzir was by birth a *seyud*, or of the race of the Prophet; and his father had been governor of Moultan, in the reign of Ferose III. "Out of gratitude to his benefactor Timour," we are told, "he did not assume the title of Sultan, but continued to have the *khutbah* read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled *Ayaut-Aala* (Most High in Dignity). On the death of Timour, the *khutbah* was read in the name of his son Shah Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khyzir Khan."† Khyzir had even the policy to send sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. At his death in 1421, he was succeeded, according to his expressed will, by his son Mubarik

* Including the interruptions, this inglorious reign lasted rather more than twenty years. "He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived," says Ferishta, "as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindoostan, and he gave them Mahmood." He might have added, he sent them Timour.

† Ayeen Akbery, ii. 114.

Shah, who, after a reign of thirteen years, was assassinated by his vizier; and, in pursuance of previous arrangements, the traitor placed on the throne one of the grandsons of Khyzir, Sultan Mahommed V. This weak and dissolute prince, after a troubled reign of twelve years, was succeeded by his son Alla II., who, conscious of his incompetency, and wearied of the toils of empire, at length surrendered the reins of government to Bhelóli, an Afghan of the Lodi tribe, on condition of being permitted to end his days quietly at Budayoon.* Bhelóli, who was already in possession of the city, and had associated his name with that of Allah in the *khutbah*, immediately dropped the recognition of his sovereignty, and "spread the umbrella of empire over his own head."

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Bhelóli, had raised himself by his wealth† to the government of Moultan, in the reign of Feroze; and his uncle, Islam Khan, had been subsequently made governor of Sirhind. At his death, he was so powerful, that he retained in his service 12,000 Afghans, mostly of his own tribe. Bhelóli had been appointed his heir, and his party ultimately acquiring the ascendancy, he secured the governments of Sirhind, to which he afterwards added Punjaub and Dehlyeer, and at last the sovereignty of Delhi. He was esteemed for those days, says Ferishta, a mild and virtuous prince; was brave, though cautious, temperate and liberal, and fond of the company of learned men. He died a natural death, in the 80th year of his reign. His son and successor, Secunder I., recovered a consi-

* He survived his abdication twenty-eight years, and died at Budayoon.

† The tribe of Lodi, "forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Perth and Hindostan." This explains the source of their wealth.

durable part of the empire, and, in 1501, made Agra the royal residence. It was during his reign that the Portuguese first accomplished the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope; but, as their connections were entirely with the maritime parts of the Deccan, no notice of this event is taken by Ferishta. Under his son, Ibrahim II., the empire again fell to pieces; and after a reign of twenty years, this "proud and wicked prince" lost his kingdom and his life in the field of Paniput, A. D. 1525, to the illustrious Mahommed Baber, in whose person the sovereignty was transferred from the Lodi family to the race of Timour.

The life of this extraordinary man would deserve to be given much more in detail, than the limits of an historical outline will admit of. He has left us a singularly interesting auto-biographical memoir, which not only lets us into the knowledge of his own character, but throws great light on the manners of his countrymen; forming, in fact, a very lively and graphic illustration of oriental history.*

Zohir-ed-din Muhammed,† surnamed Baber (the Tiger), was born on the 14th of Feb., 1483. On his father's side, he traced up his descent in a direct line to the great Timour Beg, while, by his mother's side, he was sprung from Chenghiz Khan. In the twelfth

* These memoirs, originally written by Baber in the Jaghatái Turkí dialect, and translated into Persian in the reign of Akber, have been rendered accessible to the English reader, by the united labours of the late Dr. Leyden and William Erskine, Esq. This volume, so honourable to the learning and diligence of the Editor, forms a most important accession to our historical and geographical literature.

† We find it impossible to adhere to a uniform orthography, and have, therefore, generally followed that of our authority. This will explain the variations that occur in our pages. Thus, the word din (دين), with the article prefixed, is written by different orientalists, ed-dein, ed-deen, eddeen, eddin, e-deen, el-din, &c.

year of his age, on the death of his father, Sultan Omer-shiekh Mirza, he became king of Ferghâna. At that period, one of his uncles was king of Samarcand and Beâkhâra; another was sovereign of Hissar, Termiz, Kunduz, Badakshan, and Khutlân; a third was king of Caubul and Ghizni; and his maternal uncle, a Mogul prince, held the fertile provinces of Tashkend and Shahrokhia along the Jaxartes. Sultan Hussein Mirza Baikra, a descendant of the great Timour, and the most powerful prince of his age, was sovereign of Khorassan. His contemporaries in Europe were, Henry VII. and Henry VIII. of England; Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I.; the Emperors Maximilian and Charles V.; and in Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella.

Baber's father had left his dominions in considerable disorder. Immediately before his death, his relatives and neighbours, the Sultan of Samarcand and the Khan of Tashkend, having taken offence at his conduct (his inroads into their territories seem referred to), had entered into an alliance to invade his dominions from opposite points. Baber was, at that time, in Andejân; and young as he was, he promptly determined to secure the citadel. In the mean time, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, having made himself master of the districts of Uratippa, Khojend, and Marghinan, had encamped within four *farsangs* of the capital, when Baber sent an embassy to him with a message to this effect: "It is plain that you must place some one of your servants in charge of this country; I am at once your servant and your son: if you intrust me with this employment, your purpose will be attained in the most satisfactory and easy way." A harsh answer was returned to this politic overture; but accidental circumstances subsequently disposed the

invader to patch up a peace. A fatal disease had attacked the horses of his army; added to which, the troops were already dispirited by the loss of many animals in crossing the Kuba river, and by finding themselves opposed by a resolute enemy. Sultan Ahmed died on his way back to Samarcand. Mahmood Khan, at the same time, after an ineffectual attempt to take Akhsi, fell sick, and disgusted with the war, returned to his own country. The King of Kashgar and Khoten, seized, like the rest, with the desire of conquest, shortly after entered the territories of Baber[9]; but he, too, was glad to extricate himself from his situation, by an amicable negotiation.

Ferghâna (the modern Kokaun), is a country of small extent, consisting of a valley or plain, surrounded with hills on all sides, except on the west, (towards Khojend and Samarcand,) and intersected by the river Sirr or Seihoon (the ancient *Jaxartes*). On the east, it has Kâshgar; on the south, the hill-country bordering on Badakshân; and on the north, a desolate tract, at that time overun by the Uzbegs. This his hereditary territory, Baber did not, however, long retain. In 1497, he gained possession of Samarcand, but was compelled to evacuate it soon after, by rebellion in his own kingdom. His army deserted him; and he was left without territory, at the head of a mere handful of devoted followers. A severe illness, at this crisis, had nearly terminated his career, and he speaks of his distress and suffering as extreme. A counter revolution restored him to the possession of Andejân in the following year; and a second time, he made himself master of Samarcand by surprise, and lost his hereditary states while engaged in the enterprise. The invader, Sheibani Khan, a powerful Uzbeg chieftain, after defeating Baber in the field, blockaded him in

Samarcand; and he was again compelled to evacuate it with a few attendants. Assisted by two of his maternal uncles, he subsequently endeavoured to recover Ferghâna, but he was completely defeated, the two Khans being taken prisoners; and during nearly a year, he was a fugitive, concealing himself in the hill-country to the south of his native kingdom, and often reduced to the greatest exigencies. At length, finding his partisans completely dispersed, and all hopes gone of recovering his hereditary possessions, after consulting with his few remaining adherents, he resolved to try his fortune in Khorasan. With this view, in the summer of 1504, he descended from the hills of Ferghâna, at the head of between two and three hundred ragged and ill armed followers. Badakshan was, at that time, under the dominion of Khosrou Shah, an unpopular chief; and Baber avows, that he was not without hopes of effecting something there among his territories. On crossing the Amu, he found himself joined by fresh adherents, who assured him that the Moguls in Khosrou Shah's service, were all attached to his interests; and he seems to have regarded it as an act of fair hostility, to avail himself of this state of things for the purpose of dethroning and expelling Khosrou, and seating himself in his stead. This was accomplished without drawing a sword, the Shah, on finding himself deserted by all the Mogul clans, tendering to Baber his own submission.*

At this period, the territory of Caubul was in a state of anarchy, and the capital in the hands of a usurper. Baber resolved to march against it; and by

* Ferishta accuses Baber of bringing about this revolution by his intrigues, notwithstanding that he had been treated by Khosrou Shah with great hospitality; but Baber himself expressly disavows any such obligation to the Shah.

the latter end of October, he had gained possession of Caubul and Ghizni, with the dependent territories, without battle or contest. He was now in a condition to extend his conquests in a new direction. Having mustered his army and assembled the persons best acquainted with the situation of the country, he made particular inquiries, he tells us, regarding the state of the different districts on every hand. Some were for marching against Damaun; others preferred Bangash; while others proposed to advance against Hindostan; and it was at last determined in council to make an irruption into the latter country. "I had never before," says Baber, "seen the warm countries, nor the country of Hindostan. Immediately on reaching them, I beheld a new world. The grass was different, the trees different, the wild animals of a different sort, the birds of a different plumage, the manners and customs of the wandering tribes (*ils or eels* and *ulooses*) of a different kind. I was struck with astonishment; and, indeed, there was room for wonder."* In this expedition, however, Baber did not cross the Indus, but confined his inroad to the countries on the western side. He afterwards made incursions upon the Afghans and Uzbegs of Candahar and Khorasan. During one of these expeditions, the Mogul garrison of Caubul, taking advantage of his absence, revolted, and raised to the throne his cousin Ryzik. No sooner had intelligence of this revolution reached the army, than the greater part of the troops hastened back to protect their families; so that, on

* Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, p. 137. The road taken by Baber in this incursion, was by Ashnapoor and Attok. Mr. Fraser, in travelling the same road in an opposite direction, was similarly struck with the sudden change of climate immediately perceptible on crossing a small stream three miles E. of Gundamuck.

of upwards of 10,000 horse, Baber had scarcely 500 remaining in his camp. With this small force, he boldly returned to Caubul, where he was met by Ryzik at the head of a force ten or twelve thousand strong. Riding up close to the rebel army, Baber challenged his rival to single combat; but, as he seemed to decline it, five omrahs successively engaged him, and fell by his hand. This heroic behaviour struck the rebels with so much admiration, that they refused to fight, and the usurper found himself a prisoner. Baber pardoned him; but soon after, being detected in attempting to raise fresh disturbances, he was put to death.*

On the death of Shelbani Khan, who fell in a war which he had wantonly provoked with Shah Ismael, now sovereign of Persia, attachment to his native soil led Baber to make another attempt at recovering Samarcand. It failed, owing to the mismanagement of his Persian allies, and the unpopularity he incurred from his confederacy with the Shiahs; and from that period, he confined himself in his enterprises to an eastern direction. He made several demonstrations in that quarter, before he finally marched upon Hindostan with the view of permanent conquest. Soon after the death of Iskander (Secunder,) he had sent an

* It is remarkable, that we do not learn this chivalrous achievement from Baber himself, there occurring in this part of his Memoirs a hiatus, common to all the MSS., and wholly unaccountable. The account of the transactions of his life from 1508 to 1519, is supplied chiefly by Ferishta, whom we have followed. It would appear, however, from Baber's own account, that he was at Caubul when this revolt exploded, and that he was obliged to seek security by flight. See Dow, ii. 86—95. Erskine's Mem. of Baber, 236. This was the second time that the Moguls had conspired against him. On the former occasion (A.D. 1508), they had placed his cousin, Khan Mirza, on the throne of Caubul, who fled at his approach.

envoy to Sultan Ibrahim, demanding the cession of the countries of Behreh (Bhira), Khushab, Chenib, and Chanlut, which, from the days of Timour, had belonged to the Tooks. No answer was returned to this civil demand; but Baber proceeded to take possession of part of the territory. In 1524, at the invitation of the Afghan governors of the Punjaub, Baber entered that province, and after subduing the country of the Gakers (or Gickers), and defeating some forces in the interest of Ibrahim, plundered and burned Lahore. He then advanced to Dehalpoor, which he took by storm, and a general massacre ensued. Crossing the Sutlej, he had proceeded as far as Sirhind, when the treacherous defection of one of the Punjaub chieftains rendered it expedient to fall back on Lahore, and to abandon, for that year, the further prosecution of his enterprise. In the course of this invasion, he had been joined by Sultan Allah-uddeen,* a brother of the Emperor Ibrahim, on whom he bestowed Dehalpoor; and he probably flattered him with the hope of succeeding to the throne of Delhi. Allah afterwards entered into a separate treaty with Doulet Lodi Khan, by which he ceded to him all the Punjaub, on condition of being put in possession of Delhi and Agra. These confederates then marched upon Delhi; and Allah, being joined in his advance by several nobles of rank, found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, with which he laid siege to the capital, but without success. Soon after, in an attempt to surprise Sultan Ibrahim's camp by night, he was defeated, and his whole army dispersed.

Baber had advanced as far as Sialkot on his fifth and final invasion of India, (December 1525,) when

* This was his royal title. Baber always calls him Allee Khan.

news of this defeat were brought to him.* On the 1st of January, he crossed the Beyah, and on the third day after, invested Milwat, which was surrendered to him by Dowlet Khan. Babef now, to use his own language, placed his foot in the stirrup of resolution, and his hand on the reins of confidence in God, and marched against Sultan Ibrahim. On the 12th of March, he crossed the Jumna, opposite to Sikwah; and on the 12th of April, (a skirmish with the enemy's advanced guard having occurred in the interval,) he encamped before Panipat. The army of Ibrahim consisted by this time of 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants; while that of Baber, according to Ferishta, numbered not more than 13,000. On the 21st, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber, having divided his troops into two lines and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front, took post himself in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim, on the other hand, unskilled in the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, vainly imagining that he could bear down his enemy by force of superior numbers. He soon found himself fatally deceived. The known courage and steady order of the Mogul troops soon broke the unwieldy column which advanced upon them, while Baber's two bodies of reserve, wheeling with speed round the flanks of the enemy, attacked them in rear. Between five and six thousand men were found lying slain in one spot, near the Sultan; and more than three times that number, according to

* Dow says: "When Baber heard of the defeat of Allah, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring of A.H. 933, marched the 8th time towards Hindostan." This is in direct variance with Baber's own statement.

the lowest computation, were left on the field. Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory, sending forward detachments by forced marches, to occupy Agra and Delhi, and to secure the treasuries, while he followed with the rear. On the 10th of May, he entered Agra, and took up his residence in the palace of the slain monarch.

Thus was the Patan empire of Hindostan finally overthrown, and this devoted country transferred, for the third time, to a foreign invader. Baber might justly boast, that the achievement which made him master of Hindostan, was far bolder and more extraordinary in every respect, than the conquest effected by Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni, or that of Shahab-ud-deen Ghouri. "This success," he says, in that singular strain of devout acknowledgement which pervades his Memoirs, "I do not ascribe to my own strength, nor did this good fortune flow from my own efforts, but from the fountain of the favour and mercy of God."*

The internal state of India at this era, is thus described by the Emperor himself.

"At the period when I conquered the country, five Mussulman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable rais and rajas in the hills and woody country, yet, these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose government included the capital, and extended

* Erskine's Mem. p. 310. Only a few years before, a conquest still more extraordinary had transferred the empire of Mexico to a Spanish adventurer. Mexico was finally taken in 1521. In Europe, the taking of Belgrade and Rhodes by Soliman the Magnificent, and the battle of Pavia, were events nearly contemporaneous.

from Behrúch to Bahar. Jumpúr, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Sultan Hussein Sherki. This dynasty they call the Púrebi (Eastern).* The second prince was Sultan Muhammed Muzeffer, in Gujrát. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat. They call this race Tang. The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhan; but at the present time, the Sultans of the Dekhan have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs any thing, he is obliged to ask it of his own amirs. The fourth king was Sultan Mahmúd, who reigned in the country of Málwá, which they likewise call Mándu. This dynasty was called the Kilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them, and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. The fifth prince was Nusrat Shah in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a syed of the name of Sultan Alaeddin. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is a throne allotted for the king; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the amirs, vazirs, and mansabdárs. It is that throne and these stations alone, which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of de-

* *Purebi*, in Hindostanee, answers to *Sherki* or *Sharki*, in Arabic or Persian, and appears to be the same word as *Purab* and *Purub*. See p. 107. Khaja Jehan, vizier to Mahmood III., was the first who, having established himself in the independent sovereignty of Bahar, fixed his residence at Jionpoor, and assumed the title of Sultan Sherki (King of the East). Dow, i. 322. This transitory kingdom seems to have answered, both in name and locality, to the ancient Prachi.

pendants, servants, and attendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the king wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whosoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed, is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants, and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies: nay, this rule obtains even as to the royal throne itself. Whoever kills the king, and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king: all the amirs, vazirs, soldiers, and peasants instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their sovereign as they did their former prince, and obey his orders as implicitly.* The people of Bengal say: 'We are faithful to the throne: whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to it.' There is another usage in Bengal: it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction.†

* "Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one once prevailed, down to a very late period, in Malabar. There was a jubilee, every twelve years, in the Samorin's country; and any one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samorin's guards, and slew him, reigned in his stead. (Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 309.) The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success."—Note in Elphinstone. In the Birman empire, the possession of the royal fort appears almost to confer the regal power on its occupant.—See Mem. Tartar-Birmah, p. 36. Whatever may be the historical origin of the custom referred to, the sentiment ascribed to the natives of Bengal seems the natural effect of the perpetual revolutions which they were accustomed to witness, on their passive, timid character.

† Supposing this custom to have prevailed in the Deccan, it will serve to explain the immense treasure which its monarchs had accumulated in the lapse of ages.

"The five kings who have been mentioned, are great princes, and are all Musulmans, and possessed of formidable armies. The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijnagar. Another is the Rana Sanka. His original principality was Chitôr. During the confusions that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized on a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpôr (Rantampore), Sarangpûr, Bhilsân, and Chanderi.....There were a number of other rais and rajahs on the borders and within the territory of Hindustân, many of whom, on account of their remoteness or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Musulman kings.

"The country and towns of Hindustân are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places, the plain is covered with a thorny brushwood to such a degree, that the people of the pergunnas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustân, if you except the rivers, there is little running water. Now and then, some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustân, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have

been inhabited for a series of years, (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight,) in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population. And if, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, as they do not need to run water-courses, or to build flood-mounds, their crops being produced without irrigation, and the population of Hindustán being unlimited, inhabitants swarm in in every direction. They make a tank, or dig a well. There is no need of building a strong house or erecting a firm wall: they have abundance of strong grass and plenty of timber, of which they run up hovels, and a village or town is constructed in an instant.*

"Hindustán is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, or of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good

* This will explain the sudden resurrection of cities and capitals after their complete destruction; an event of such frequent occurrence in oriental history. The following passage from Col. Wilks's Historical Sketches of the South of India, will throw further light upon the subject. "On the approach of a hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects; and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age, (the infant children being carried by their mothers,) with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, leave their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond

horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons,* no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle or torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows called *dénás*, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, and in their right hand a gourd to supply it with oil. Besides their rivers and standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows: they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings, they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and the lower classes all go about naked.

"The chief excellency of Hindustán is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate, during the rains, is very pleasant. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, insomuch that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season, you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. The coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses too suffer from not being substantially built.....The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustán is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable. For any work or employment, there is always a set ready, to

the time for which they have provided food, a large proportion of them necessarily die of hunger."—WILKS, vol. i. p. 303, note.

* Grapes and musk-melons, particularly the latter, are now common all over India.

whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.

"The countries from Behreh to Behár, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two *krors* (about 1,300,000*l.* sterling). Of this amount, *pergunnas* to the value of eight or nine *krors*, are in the possession of some rais and rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *pergunnas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience." *

The opinions which Baber here expresses regarding India, were so fully participated by most of his boys and principal men, that they now clamoured to be led back to Caubul, and even began to make preparations for their return. There was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between Baber's people and the natives, both peasantry and soldiers. The Patans, who were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, refused to submit, and appeared everywhere in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in the several provinces. Even the peasantry about Agra avoided and fled from his men, and, cutting off his foraging parties, rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or to supply his troops with provisions. The roads became impassable. Add to this, when Baber entered Agra, it was the hot season; and the heats, that year, were uncommonly oppressive, insomuch that a great many Moguls, not being

* Erskine's Baber, pp. 330—334. A very minute and curious account is given by the royal Author, of the natural history and vegetable productions of India, which will be found of great value to the naturalist. It appears that the wild elephant was then found in districts where it is now unknown; a proof that the improvement of the country has been considerable since Baber's time.

accustomed to such a climate, dropped down as if they had been smitten by the simoom, and expired on the spot. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the discontent became general and alarming. Baber had, however, formed his resolution not to suffer his brilliant conquest to be wrested from him but by death alone. Summoning all his boys to a council, he told them, that he should consider no one as his friend, who should henceforward make a proposal to retreat; but that if any of them could not bring themselves to stay, they were at liberty to depart. The only one who accepted this proposal, was Khwájeh Kilán, whom Baber appointed to the government of Ghizni and Cauboul.*

When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor, Timour, had done, several omrahs, willing to be first in favour, began to come over to him. In the eastern provinces, the Patan omrahs were in considerable force, and having crossed the Ganges, had advanced beyond Kanouje. Baber sent an army against them under his son Humáiun, at whose approach the rebels fell back and dispersed without coming to action. Leaving a garrison in Jionpore, Humáiun now hastened back to rejoin his father, who was preparing to take the field against the infidels. Rana Sanka, after taking the fort of Kandar in Ajmeer, had pushed on as far as Bikna, on his march towards Agra; and had even defeated a detachment of Baber's vanguard, which

* Ferishta tells us, that "Chaja Callin was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health." Baber says nothing of his illness, but states, that being heartily tired of Hindostan, he had the effrontery to leave the following verses in Turki, on the walls of some houses in Delhi:

"If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind."

struck unusual terror in the king's small army. Nor was the alarm wholly unreasonable. The Emperor himself appears to have felt that his situation was highly critical; and at no period had he had to contend against a powerful enemy under so great disadvantages. In alliance with the brave Rajpoot leader, were several Patan omrahs, together with Mahmoud, the son of the Emperor Secunder, whose pretensions to the throne alone rendered him formidable; but the united force exceeded a hundred thousand men. Baber confesses, that he had no great reliance upon the men of Hindustan who were in his interest; and the panic spread in his army by the bold and unexpected advance of the Pagans, joined to the repulse of his troops at Bilsna, was greatly augmented by the sinister and ill-timed prediction of a rascally astrologer. "Instead of giving me any assistance," says the Emperor, "that evil-minded wretch loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage, coming from the opposite quarter, would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villanous soothsayer, was consequently still further depressed." Ferishta tells us, that, in a council of war, the greater part of the officers concurred in advising a retreat to the Punjaub, leaving a strong garrison only in Agra. Baber at length broke silence, and appealing to them as soldiers and true believers, set before them, how much better it was to die with honour, than to live with infamy.* Should they fall in the field, they would die the death of martyrs; and should they survive, they would rise

* In this highly characteristic oration, given in his Memoirs, Baber cited, from the Shah-nameh, the subjoined couplet:

"With fame, even if I die, I am contented:
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's."

victorious. He therefore proposed, that they should all bind themselves by a solemn oath on the Koran, not even to think of turning their face from this warfare, or to desert the field, till the soul should be separated from the body. "Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation seizing the Koran, swore," says Baber, "in the form that I had given. My plan had succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe."

In thus summoning to his aid the counter-spell of religious fanaticism, Baber availed himself of the only master principle that could have overpowered the effects of superstition acting upon fear. Perhaps it was the only principle that could have sustained his own mind; and what may be regarded as the weakness of his character, now constituted his strength. There is no reason to doubt that the enthusiast was blended with the politician. On the day preceding the council, he was seriously struck, he says, in the course of his ride to survey his posts, with the reflection, that he had always resolved one time or another to make an effectual repentance, by renouncing all forbidden works; and he now made a solemn vow never more to drink wine. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, he ordered them to be broken to pieces, and the fragments to be divided among dervishes and the poor. That night and the following, numbers of amеers and courtiers, soldiers and others, to the number of three hundred, made vows of similar reformation. Baber had, previously, made a vow, that, in case of gaining the victory over Rana Sanka, he would remit the *tamgha* (stamp-tax) levied from Mussulmans; and being now reminded of his promise, he directed it to be formally announced in an imperial firmaun. By this

step, he prepared the minds of his followers for the appeal made to their enthusiasm.

The danger and confusion were now at their height. The forts of Râberi, Chandwar, and Koel in the Doáb, had been taken by different detachments of the enemy; the governor of Sambal had evacuated that place, and rejoined Baber; Gwalior was blockaded by the Pagans, and many Hindustanis began to desert. "Without minding the fugitives," says the Emperor, "we continued to regard only our own force. I advanced my guns and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared,* and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre, in battle order. I set forward in front the guns and tripods placed on wheel-carriages. Behind them was stationed a body of matchlock-men, to prevent the communication between the artillery and the infantry from being cut off. After the ranks were formed, I galloped along the line, animating the Begs and troops of the centre, right, and left; giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself, and in what manner he was to engage. Having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a *kos*, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on getting notice of our motions, were on the alert;

* Mustafa Rûmi had disposed the guns "according to the Rûm (Ottoman) fashion." The tripods were a sort of moveable breastwork, consisting of bull's hides twisted into ropes, and attached to wooden frames. Their design was to reassure the troops, and add to the apparent strength of their position. Baber, evidently, did not place much confidence in their intrinsic strength. Twenty-twenty-five days were occupied in the construction of these machines. Dow speaks of rockets as forming part of Baber's artillery.

and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns and ditch. After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front, as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of Pagans, and cut off their heads, which they brought away. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively, and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves."

On Saturday, March 16 (1527), having dragged forward the guns, the army advanced to the village of Kanu, and took up a position previously entrenched. While occupied in pitching the tents, tidings were brought that the enemy was in sight. In a few minutes Baber had formed his line in the manner previously arranged and practised, and was ready for the encounter. The army was chiefly drawn up, Ferishta says, by Nizam Khalifa, Baber's ablest general; and the order of battle is thus described.

"The line, which, upon this occasion, was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life-guards in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery* were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and centre. The brigade immediately to the right of the centre, was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe and

* Dow says, "the artillery and rocket-waggons." The "brigade" already described must be what Ferishta refers to. The guns also were chained together, so as to form a barrier against the enemy's cavalry.

the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the Emperor Beleli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by Prince Humáioon; and of these, the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim, Hussein, and other chiefs of family, and experience in war. The left hand battalion of Prince Humáioon's division, was made up of the troops of Seid-Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race. The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Khajs.

"About ten o'clock, A.M., the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in, hand to hand, with the battalions of Kukultash and Mallek Casim, and made them give ground. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light-horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position, he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans, till three o'clock; Alla Kouli, of Rúmi, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them. Baber, finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, now determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of

the brigades of Timur and Alkas, and charging them like a lion rushing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance, put their whole army to flight.

"The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi (victorious); and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built on an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lak of rupees, and banished from the kingdom."*

This was the last engagement on a large scale, in which Baber commanded. He wished to pursue the Pagans into their own country; but this plan he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the want of water on the road, and the excessive heat of the season. After reducing the country of Mewát, Baber returned to Agra, and disbanded his army for the rainy season. Early in the following year (1528), he undertook an expedition against Chánderí, a strong hill-fort, in which a Rajpoot chief had shut himself up with a garrison of five thousand men. It was taken by escalade. When the Hindoos found that they could no longer defend it against their enemy, they, "according to their dreadful custom," put to death their wives and children. Then, "shrowding a yellow powder over their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, they issued forth with

* Dow, ii. 113—114. In Baber's Memoirs, the genuine account of this victory, composed by Sheikh Zein, is given at length; and "soothing," Mr. Erskine remarks, "can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly, and intelligent style of Baber himself, than the pompous, laboured periods of his secretary."

their swords and shields, and sought after that death which they all obtained." *

Advices were about this time received, that a detachment sent against the Patan chiefs of the Lodi tribes, who were still in arms in the Eastern provinces, had been defeated. Baber immediately marched in person to Kanouje, and having thrown a bridge of boats across the Ganges, passed that river in pursuit of the enemy, who, after a faint resistance, took to flight. In the following year, Sultan Mahmood Lodi again took the field, and possessed himself of Behar. Baber advanced as far as Kurrah, on the Ganges, where Sultan Jilâleddin, of the Purub dynasty of Patans, prepared a grand entertainment for his imperial guest. Again Mahmood's army was broken up at his approach. Baber afterwards made an extensive circuit through Behar and Oude, and after receiving the submission of these provinces, and an embassy of peace from the Bengalese, once more returned to his capital. A few months after (Sept. 1529), his own Journal abruptly terminates. Whether he composed memoirs of the remaining fifteen months of his life, is uncertain. The state of his health, which was now rapidly declining, probably diminished his usual activity. Hûmâûn, anxious, apparently, to be near the seat of empire, left his government of Badakshan in the charge of his brother, and set out for Agra; where, though he was neither sent for nor expected, the affections of his father and the influence of his mother procured him a good reception. After remaining for some time at court, he went to his govern-

* Dow, ii. 115. Baber describes them as rushing out in a state of complete nudity, and engaging his troops with unquenchable desperation.

ment at Sanbal, where about six months after, he fell dangerously ill. Baber, deeply affected at the tidings, gave directions that he should be conveyed to Agra by water, where he safely arrived, but his life was despaired of. The sequel, as given by the Mohammedan historians, is too extraordinary to be omitted.

"When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the Emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Baka, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Baber, that in such a case, the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Baber, exclaiming that, of all things, his life was dearest to Hûmâûn, as Hûmâûn's was to him, and that, next to the life of Hûmâûn, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to heaven as a sacrifice for his son's. The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of the first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth; (urging,) that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone, that was to be offered to heaven. But he persisted in his resolution, declaring that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in competition with his life. He three times walked round the dying prince; a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices* and heave offerings; * and retiring, prayed earnestly to God. After some time, he was heard to

* "It is customary among the Musulmans, as it was among the Jews, to waive presents of money or jewels thrice round the head of the person to whom they are offered, on particular occasions, as on his birthday, marriage, &c. There is supposed to be something sacred in this rite, which averts misfortune."

exclaim, 'I have borne it away! I have borne it away!' The Mussulman historians assure us, that Hûmâîûn almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Baber visibly decayed. .....With that unvarying affection for his family which he shewed in all the circumstances of his life, he strongly besought Hûmâîûn to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Hûmâîûn promised, and, what in such circumstances is rare, kept his promise." * Baber expired at the Charbagh palace, near Agra, Dec. 26, 1530, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign as a sovereign prince. He had reigned over part of Hindustan five years. His remains were, in conformity to his own wish, carried to Caubul, and interred in a hill that still bears his name. His character is thus summed up by Mr. Erskine, the accomplished Editor of the Memoirs.

"Zahîr-ed-dîn Muhammed Baber was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnated ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm, and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received

* Erskine's Mem. of Baber, p. 457.

their full development. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve; and before he had attained his twentieth year, the young prince had skated every variety of fortune. He had not only been the ruler of subject provinces, but had been in thraldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart. He had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of his own native kingdom as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him the strong feelings of an affection for his early friends and early enjoyments, rarely seen among princes. Perhaps the free manners of the Turki tribes had combined with the events of his early life, in cherishing these amiable feelings. He had betimes been taught, by the voice of events that could not lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association, whose general safety and success depended on the result of their mutual exertions in a common cause. The native benevolence and gayety of his disposition seems ever to overflow on all around him; and he talks of his mothers, his grandmothers, and sisters with some garrulity indeed, but the garrulity of a good son and a good brother. Of his companions in arms, he always speaks with the frank gayety of a soldier; and it is a relief to the reader, in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood. Indeed, an uncommon portion of good nature and good humour runs through all his character; and, even to political

offences, he will be found, in a remarkable degree, indulgent and forgiving.

"In the character of the founder of a new dynasty in one of the richest and most powerful empires on earth, we may expect to find a union of the great qualities of a statesman and a general; and Baber possessed the leading qualifications of both in a high degree. But we are not, in that age, to look for any deeply-laid or regular plans of civil polity, even in the most accomplished princes. Baber's superiority over the chiefs to whom he was opposed, arose chiefly from his active disposition and lively good sense. Ambitious as he was, and fond of conquest and of glory in all its shapes, the enterprise in which he was for the season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it, whatever it was, to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture; and few princes who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life; but it may be doubted, whether, in spite of his final success, he was so much entitled to the character of a great captain as of a successful partisan, and a bold adventurer. In the earlier part of his career, his armies were very small. Most of his expeditions were rather successful inroads, than skilful campaigns. But he displayed a genius and a power of observation, which, in other circumstances, would have raised him to the rank of the most accomplished commanders. As he had the sense to perceive the errors which he committed in his earlier years, so, with the superiority that belongs to a great mind, conscious of its powers, he always readily acknowledges them. His conduct during the rebellion of the Moguls at Kábul, and the

alarm of his army in the war with Rana Sanka, bears the indications of the most heroic magnanimity. The latter period of his life is one uninterrupted series of success.

"But we are not to expect in Baber, that perfect and refined character which belongs only to modern times and Christian countries. We sometimes see him order what, according to the practice of modern war, and the maxims of a refined morality, we should consider as cruel executions. We find him occasionally the slave of vices which, even though they belonged to his age and country, it is not possible to regard in such a man without feelings of regret. We are disappointed to find one possessed of so refined an understanding and so polished a taste, degrading both, by an obtrusive and almost ridiculous display of his propensity to intoxication. It may palliate, though it cannot excuse this offence, that it appears to have led him to no cruelty or harshness to his servants or those around him; that it made him neglect no business, and that it seems to have been produced solely by the ebullition of high spirits in his gay and social temper. We turn from Baber, the slave of such vices, which, probably, hastened on a premature old age, and tended to bring him to an early grave, and view him with more complacency, encouraging in his dominions the useful arts and polite literature, by his countenance and his example. We delight to see him describe his success in rearing a new plant, in introducing a new fruit-tree, or in repairing a decayed aqueduct, with the same pride and complacency that he relates his most splendid victories. No region of art or nature seems to have escaped the activity of his research. He had cultivated the art of poetry from his early years; and his *Diwan*, or collection of Turki poems, is men-

tioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his country. He also wrote a work on Prosody and some smaller productions, which he sometimes alludes to in his memoirs. He was skilful in the science of music, on which he wrote a treatise. But his most remarkable work is, undoubtedly, the memoirs of his own life. No history, perhaps, contains so lively a picture of the life and opinions of an eastern prince.

"A striking feature in Baber's character is, his unlikeness to other Asiatic princes. Instead of the stately, systematic, artificial character that seems to belong to the throne in Asia, we find him natural, lively, affectionate, simple; retaining on the throne all the best feelings and affections of common life. Change a few circumstances arising from his religion and country, and, in reading the transactions of his life, we might imagine that we had got among the adventurous knights of Froissart. This, as well as the simplicity of his language, he owed to his being a Türk. That style which wraps up a worthless meaning in a mist of words, and the etiquette which annihilates the courtier in the presence of his prince, were still, fortunately for Baber, foreign to the Türki race, among whom he was born and educated.*

"Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history of Asia, we shall find few princes who are entitled to rank higher than Baber in genius and accomplishments. His grandson, Akber, may, per-

* Baber, though his family were of Mogul origin, always speaks of himself as being a Türk; all his affections were with the Türks, whose language and manners were hereditary to him; and he often speaks of the Moguls with mingled hatred and contempt. Yet, through that loose application of the words Mogul and Tatar, which has become so general, the dynasty which he founded in India, is known as the Mogul dynasty; and even Ferishta speaks of his having written his Commentaries in the Mogul language.

hope, be placed above him for profound and benevolent policy. The crooked artifice of Aurungzib is not entitled to the same distinction. The merit of Chengis Khan, and of Tamerlane, terminates in their splendid banquets, which far excelled the achievements of Baber. It is, in activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, so seldom the portion of princes, in his love of letters, and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him." *

Through the influence of Khalifeh, Baber's prime-minister, who possessed the chief authority among the Türki nobles, Hümaioon ascended the throne without opposition; but he was soon called to defend it against powerful insurgents and domestic competitors. The designs of his brother Kamrán on the Punjaub were turned aside, by bestowing upon him the government of all the provinces from the most southern branch of the Indus to Persia. Sultan Mahmood, who again seized upon Jionpore, was defeated and put to flight. A still more formidable enemy then took the field, Bahadur, "king of Gujerat," over whom also Humaioon's good fortune prevailed; but while engaged in the complete reduction of that province, news was brought that Shere Khan, the Patan governor of Bahar, had declared his independence. While engaged in putting down this formidable insurrection, Hümaioon was basely deserted by his two brothers, Hindal and Kamrán, who took that opportunity to endeavour, severally, to seize the throne. The Emperor, whose conduct towards his ungenerous brothers,

* Erskine's Memoirs of Baber, pp. 429—432.

appears to have been singularly exemplary, endeavoured in vain to bring about a coalition of interests against their common enemy, by representing that their family quarrels would certainly issue in the loss of that mighty empire which it had cost their father so much pains to conquer. The result was, that the house of Baber, thus divided, fell. In 1541, Sheer Khan succeeded in driving Humaloon and his brothers from the empire, and took possession of the throne. Humaloon, after being reduced to the greatest extremities and perils, through the treachery of his adherents,* made his escape to the court of Persia, where Shah Tamasp gave the royal fugitive a generous reception; and by his powerful aid, in 1545, Humáioon recovered Caubul from his brother Kamrán. That restless and unprincipled prince, though repeatedly pardoned by Humaloon, never gave up the contest, till he was deprived of his eyes. He died a pilgrim at Mecca.†

Shere, the Afghan conqueror, did not long enjoy the throne, for which he was indebted as much to his perfidy as to his valour. He was killed whilst besieging Chitore in 1545, and was buried at Saseram in

* His flight and sojourn among the Rajpoot princes of Ajmeer, Major Rennell remarks, "furnish a striking picture of royal distress." The generous fidelity of the rajah of Amercote to his fallen sovereign, deserves to be recorded for the honour of his nation. While at Amercote, "the prince Akbar was brought forth by the Sultana Hamida."

† The Mogul chiefs, to a man, Ferishta says, insisted upon the necessity of his being put to death, and Humaloon was threatened with an insurrection for refusing to imbrue his hands in the blood of his brother. With reluctance he gave orders for his being deprived of sight by means of antimony; and on subsequently visiting the unhappy prince, he is stated to have wept very bitterly, while Kamrán confessed the justice of his punishment. Hindal fell in action

Bahar, his original estate, in a magnificent mausoleum which he had constructed during his lifetime in the middle of an artificial lake. At his death, his empire extended from Bengal to the Indus. He left many monuments of his magnificence. "From Bengal and Sennargaum to that branch of the Indus called the Nilab, which is 1500 *krores* (about 3000 miles), he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every *krore*. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and priests. He ordered that, at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit-trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Horse-posts were placed at proper distances for forwarding quick intelligence to Government, and for the advantages of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. Shere divided his time into four equal parts: one he appropriated to the distribution of public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation." According to Ferishta's account, the character of this monarch would have left little to wish for, had he not stained his honour by a repeated breach of faith; and had he won the throne by fairer means, the only matter of regret would have been, that he obtained it "in the evening," when his beard was already turning white.

Selim (Islam Shah) succeeded his father. He maintained his throne against his enemies, and emulated the magnificence of his predecessor.* He died in 1552, after a reign of nine years. His son Feroze, in his twelfth year, was then placed upon the throne; but, after three days, was assassinated by his uncle Mubarik, who assumed the title of Mohammed Adil. This worthless usurper was expelled by his cousin Ibrahim III., who was, in his turn, compelled to surrender his throne to a nephew of the Emperor Shere, Secunder Shah. This period of general anarchy and confusion terminated in the victorious return of Humaioon, who, invited by a strong party to take advantage of the divisions among the Patan omrahs, met with little resistance in repossessing himself of the empire of his father. He died in consequence of a fall, in the following year, at the age of forty-eight; but his return was a fortunate circumstance for the country, as it was the means of seating his illustrious son quietly on the throne of Agra.†

Akbar was only in his fourteenth year, when, on his father's death, in 1556, he commenced a splendid

* Ferishta states, that, "from Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai between each of those which his father had erected on the great road." In this reign, an impostor made some noise in the assumed character of Imaum Mehdi, whose second coming is looked for by a numerous division of Moslems. He converted some thousands, and, after being twice banished by Selim, was strangled to death at Agra, A.D. 1547.

† In this brief account of the reign of Humaioon, we have adhered to Dow, except as to the age at which he died, which is given on the authority of Major Price. The last volume of his valuable work, which is brought down only to the accession of Akbar, contains a detailed account (from Abul Fazel) of the singular vicissitudes in the life of Humaioon, whose mild and benevolent character, and love of science, give interest to his misfortunes. He was buried at Delhi. Akbar ascended the throne Feb. 14, 1556, and died Oct. 13, 1605.

and busy reign of nearly fifty years. His titles were, Shah Jumja Abúl Muzuffer, Jellál-uddeen, Mahommed Akbar, Padishá Ghazi. The celebrated Abul Fezzel, "the most elegant writer of India," has given to the world the history of this renowned monarch in three volumes, called *Akber-nameh*. A very brief notice of the principal events, is all that our purpose requires. The first years of Akbar's reign were employed in the reduction of the revolted provinces; in which the regent Byram, who had a great share in recovering the empire for Humaioun, was a principal actor. Himá, the vizier of Mahommed, the Patan emperor of the eastern provinces, had succeeded in taking Agra and Delhi; and of all his Indian dominions, the provinces towards the heads of the Indus alone were left to Akbar, when, in the plains of Panipat, the Patans were defeated by Byram at the head of a much inferior force; and Himá being slain, the empire reverted to its previous tranquillity. The violence and presumption of Byram at length occasioned a breach between him and Akbar; and the all-powerful minister made a feeble effort at rebellion, for which he obtained the pardon of his grateful sovereign, but met his death on his way to Mecca, from the hand of a man whose father he had slain. This took place in 1560.

Akbar now took the reins of government into his own hands, and by his judicious choice of governors, his wise regulations, and his tolerant policy, he secured the permanence of his conquests. The Hindoos still formed the bulk of the population, even in those provinces which had been the most frequently overrun by their conquerors; and experience had taught the Mohammedan sovereigns, that the passive temper of the infidels would prevent them, if left to themselves, from disturbing the government. The

recovery of the Deccan provinces, however, was an object which deeply concerned the honour of the Emperor; and Akbar resolved on carrying his arms into that quarter. In 1563, he had marched to Oujein, to chastise the insubordination of the Usbeg governor of Malwah; and while in that city, Mubarik, King of Khandeish, paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. That part of the Deccan, therefore, had, at this period, a Mohammedan sovereign. In the province of Gundwana, however, it seems, there existed a small, independent kingdom, which had for its capital Gurrah, and which had never yet fallen under the dominion of foreign invaders. The sovereign, at this time, was a queen celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, and her flourishing country was in perfect peace.* Tempted by the report of the unplundered wealth which it contained, Asaph, the governor of Kurrah in Malwah, after having made several predatory inroads, obtained permission of Akbar to subdue the country. Having raised 6000 horse and about double that number of infantry, he marched against the unoffending natives, but was met by the royal amazon at the head of a powerful army, including 1500 elephants; from whom he received a severe repulse, 600 Mogul horsemen being left on the field. In a second battle, the valorous queen was severely wounded; and when she found that the day was lost, and that she must be taken prisoner, she plunged her dagger into her bosom. Asaph now laid siege to the royal fort, where

* Her dominions are stated to have been about 360 miles in length, and 160 in breadth, and to have comprised 70,000 towns and villages! Dow calls it "the country of Gurrah or Katire, now part of Orissa and Bundelcund;" but it seems to have been rather the Gurrah district of Gundwana.

all the treasures of the reigning family had been for ten generations deposited. It was taken by storm, and the unfortunate garrison had recourse to the barbarous custom of the *jour*,—the general massacre of their wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The spoil was immense; and Asaph, to secure his plunder, took up his residence in the country, transmitting to Akbar only 200 elephants, and no part of the treasure; but he was ultimately compelled to account for it.

Akbar was unable to follow up this conquest, owing to the constant field furnished for his military enterprise by insurrectionary movements in Gujerat and Bengal, and the turbulence of the Rajpoots of Ajmeer. At the time of his death, no further progress had been made in the reduction of the Deccan, than taking possession of the western part of Berar, Khandeish, Tellingana, and the northern part of Ahmednuggar, the capital of which was taken in 1601, after a long and bloody siege. These acquisitions, the government of which, as a distinct province, Akbar conferred upon his son, were deemed of sufficient consequence to be annexed to the imperial titles, in a proclamation, on the Emperor's triumphant return to Agra. Cashmeer also was reduced in this reign, the civil dissensions raging among the chieftains of that country rendering it an easy conquest.

In the year 1603, Prince Daniel, Akbar's favourite son, was carried off by a debauch at Burhampoor in the Deccan. His death, and the manner of it, so much affected the Emperor, who was in a declining state of health, that from that moment he became rapidly worse; and he died in the following year, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

"Hindostan Proper had never," Major Rennell

remarks, experienced so much tranquillity as during the latter part of Akbar's reign; but this tranquillity could hardly be deemed such in any other quarter of the world, and must, therefore, be understood to mean a state short of actual rebellion, or, at least, commotion." While his sons were employed in carrying on the wars on the frontiers, the Emperor himself, with his learned minister, the celebrated Abul Fazel, was employed in regulating the internal management and economy of his kingdom. Inquiries were set on foot, by means of which the revenue, population, produce, religion, arts, and commerce of each district were ascertained; and the results were embodied in the work known under the title of *Ayeen Akbery*, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akber.* The empire was at this time distributed into *soubahs* (governments or vice-royalties) which were divided into *circars* (provinces), and these again were subdivided into *perguunahs* (districts or hundreds). The names of the original soubahs were, Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajmeer, Ahmedabad (or Gujerat), Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Cabul (and Cashmeer), Lahore, Moultan, and Malwah; to which were afterwards added, the conquered territories of Berar, Khandeish, and Ahmednagur; forming altogether fifteen.†

After Akbar had ascertained the condition, wants, and resources of the several provinces of his vast empire, he applied himself most diligently and wisely

* Translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, esq., 2 vols. 4to. London, 1800. The *Ayeen Akbery* forms the third volume of the *Akber-namah*.

† Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 1. Dow makes them twenty-four; adding to the enumeration, Kandahar, Ghilzi, and Cashmir (included by Abul Fazel in Cabul), Orich, Sinde, Sirhind, Deab, and Orissa. He omits Ahmednagur. See vol. iii. p. 2.

to their improvement. Schools were established, in which both the Indian and Arabic languages and sciences were taught. Translations of works, both of instruction and taste, were made at his express desire, and under the direction and superintendence of Abul Fazel. Under his mild and equitable government, agriculture flourished, commerce revived, the arts prospered, and his subjects enjoyed the fruits of their increased industry, free from those apprehensions of insecurity to which they had been so long exposed. Akbar participated in the prosperity of his people. His regular annual revenue amounted to nearly 30,000,000*l.* sterling; and from sources less regular and permanent, he frequently derived, in the course of the year, about twenty millions more. His armies were not less remarkable for their numerical strength, than for their excellent equipment and discipline. They consisted of about 300,000 horse, and an equal number of foot. They were composed principally of detached tribes under independent chiefs; and, from this circumstance, it required all his vigilance and rigour to prevent rebellions and insurrections from being much more frequent and dangerous than they actually were.

The character of Akbar is thus summed up by the pen of Ferishta. "Mahomaned Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds. This latter virtue he often carried beyond the line of prudence, and, in many instances, past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind. His character as a warrior was that of an intrepid partisan, rather than of a great general; he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and

often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed. But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once, by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall of disciplined valour against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his omrahs with enterprise.

"He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valour. He encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is, in truth, the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse. In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man. His name lives, and will for ever live, the glory of the house of Timur, and an example of renown to the kings of the world."*

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim, the next to Prince Daniel in right of primogeniture, ascended the throne, under the title of Nour-ed-deen Mahommed Jehanghire (lord or conqueror of the world). "Scarcely was he seated on the throne, when his nephew, Khosrou, engaged in open rebellion. To this step he seems to have been led by the advice and intrigues of the nobility, rather than by his own wishes or judgement. The rebellion, however, was soon quelled,

* Dow, vol. ii. p. 274, 8.

and Khosrou thrown into prison. As soon as Jehanghire had restored internal tranquillity to his kingdom, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of the Deccan. He seems, however, from some cause not very apparent, to have pursued this object with little perseverance or zeal. War was also made on the Rajpoots, and the Rana, or chief prince, was compelled to sue for peace, on terms most favourable to the Emperor.

"Jehanghire was a man of talents, and would have proved himself such by his conduct, had not his councils been rendered vacillating and weak, and his government been constrained, by the influence of his mistress Noor-jean. She was the daughter of Aiass, a Tatar, and was born in the wilderness, to which the poverty of her father had obliged him to fly. Aiass afterwards came to the court of Jehanghire, and being a man of considerable abilities and of probity, he was soon noticed and patronized. His daughter was educated with the greatest attention and care, and she soon became one of the most accomplished women in Asia. As she was also greatly distinguished for her beauty and her wit, she was not long in attracting the particular notice, and exciting the warm affections, of the young prince Selim. He requested his father, Akbar, to demand her in marriage for him; but as she was betrothed to Sheré Afghan, son of the most accomplished and bravest nobles in India, Akbar refused to interfere. Selim therefore was obliged to wait till he ascended the throne, when, his passion still being as ardent as before, he resolved, by whatever means, to gratify it. Noor-jean was by this time married; but this circumstance possessed no weight in the mind of the new sovereign. He caused

her husband to be assassinated, and the widow to be conducted to the royal zenana. She soon proved that she did not bear implacable resentment against the murderer of her husband, and that ambition was more powerful in her breast than affection. She became the queen of Jehanghire; and shortly afterwards, her influence over him became almost without limits. Her father and brothers were raised to the first office in the empire; and her relations, to the most remote degree, came from Tatary to the Mogul court, where she heaped upon them wealth, rank, and power.

"In one respect, however, her influence and the situation to which she was raised, were beneficial not only to the Emperor, but also to the kingdom at large. Her father was appointed prime-minister; and as his talents and his probity remained unimpaired, he did great service to the state. Under the name of Acteemad-ul-Dowlah, he exercised the office of prime-minister till his death, in such a manner that his name is to this day revered by the people of Hindostan. The principles upon which he administered the government, were similar to those upon which Akbar had conducted it. He regarded the industry of the people, not only as the sole source of wealth and prosperity, but also as the surest defence against foreign foes, and the best preservative of internal quiet. Forests were cut down, and towns and villages were built; manufactures flourished under his auspices: but it was to the improvement of agriculture that he especially directed his attention and his measures. Those provinces which, during war, had been desolated, were repeopled and cultivated. Religious persecution was unknown: the Hindoo and the Mahommedan were equally the objects of his care, and placed equally under the protection of the laws.

"It was in this reign that Sir Thomas Roe was sent as the first English ambassador to the Emperor of Hindostan. He presented a coach to Jehanghire from James I.; and, in spite of the opposition of the Prince Royal, obtained the object of his mission, which was permission to establish a factory at Surat. The Portuguese had by this time acquired considerable settlements both in Bengal and in Gujerat; but only those at Gujerat, where they possessed some extent of territory, had attracted the notice of the court. It is curious to observe, in what terms the Author of the *Ayeen Akbaree* mentions them. Speaking of the lands of Gujerat, he says; 'By the *neglect* of the king's governors, several of these districts are in the hands of Europeans.' Ferishta also, mentioning the site of an ancient Hindoo temple near Din, says, that it was situated in the districts that were subject to the 'idolaters of Europe.

"The rebellions of his son, Shah Jehan, embittered the latter part of Jehanghire's reign. These rebellions were sometimes fostered and strengthened by the nobles, whose martial habits rendered a life of peace irksome to them, and sometimes excited by the intrigues of the empress.

"Jehanghire died in 1628. At the time of his death, he was on a journey to Cashmere, to the cool and beautiful valleys of which he was accustomed to reside during the sultry months of summer. This monarch had the character of being a Deist, because he protected the followers of Brahma and Zoroaster, and even tolerated Christians as well as Mahomedans. He was most rigorous in administering justice, punishing even those he loved, without regard

to rank, station, or office. He was completely free from avarice; and his disposition was forgiving. In private, his temper was capricious; so much so, indeed, as to bear occasionally the character of insanity, with which malady his unfortunate son, Khosrou, was certainly afflicted. He was naturally indolent, and indulged much in wine and opium; but he was fond of literature, and has left a well-written life of himself. So well known and so well beloved was he, that he frequently left his palace in a simple habit, and mixed with the evening parties of every rank: his person was too well known to be disguised; but he never had reason to repent of his familiarity with his people.

"On the death of Jehanghire, the nobility pursued their intrigues, in the hope of preventing the succession of his son, Shah Jehan; but as there were several parties among them, each having a different view, though all hostile to Shah Jehan, their schemes were defeated by their own want of concord. It is probable, however, that they might not have been defeated so soon or so easily, had not the Emperor received the valuable assistance of the talents of Asiph Jah. This person was the son of Aizas, and consequently a brother of Noor-Jean; but he was still more closely connected with the Emperor, by the latter having married his daughter. By means of this man, Shah Jehan was seated peaceably and firmly on the throne; and he at once rewarded his services, and secured the tranquillity and prosperity of his own kingdom, by raising him to the rank of vizier. As soon as the intrigues of the nobility were quelled, Shah Jehan caused the male descendants of Baber to be put to death; and, in order to make the people

forget this cruelty, he held a festival which surpassed in magnificence every thing of the kind that had ever been celebrated in the East.

"During the first years of his reign, Shah Jehan was prosperous and happy; his kingdom flourished; his conquests were extensive; and in his domestic concerns, there prevailed concord and affection. His father-in-law continued vizier till his death, which happened in his seventy-second year; and though his measures were sometimes despotic, yet they were generally wise and prudent, and productive of beneficial results. The empress was a woman of an amiable and gentle disposition, and of great virtue as well as beauty. She conducted herself with so much prudence and propriety, and with such strict and regular regard to her husband's wishes and views, that she obtained unlimited influence over him. During her life, he had no other wife; and when she died, he raised to her memory a beautiful tomb, of the finest marble, inlaid with precious stones, which cost 750,000*l.*

"The Mogul dominions were considerably enlarged during the reign of Shah Jehan. The conquest of the Deccan was pursued with great vigour, and the plunders and devastations perpetrated there, occasioned most of its princes to make submission and acknowledge the Emperor as their sovereign. The whole of Bengal was entirely subdued, and the states of Tibet and Assam were kept in awe; Candahar was recovered from the Persians; Cashmere was governed by a viceroy from Delhi; and Gujerat was reduced to obedience. Part of Golconda was actually taken possession of; but Bejapoor and the Carnatic, together with the region of the Ghauts, remained in the power of their ancient possessors. In the wars during which these conquests were achieved, Shah Jehan was

principally indebted for his success to his general Mohabet, to his son, Khan Zimun, and, on their death, to the military talents of his own sons. There were four of them, Dara; Sujah, Aurengzebe, and Morad. Their characters and talents were distinctly marked; and though, in some respects, they resembled one another, yet, in many material points, there were great and striking differences. Dara was undoubtedly most richly gifted by nature of all the sons, both in the qualities of his mind, and in the virtues of his heart. Like all the princes of the house of Baber, he was well versed in the learning of Persia and Arabia; and he caused himself to be instructed in the ancient learning of Hindostan by some Hindoo pundits, whom he liberally paid for that purpose. He was even anxious to acquire some insight into the literature and the customs of Europe; and in order to gratify his desire in this respect, he protected and encouraged the Jesuits, who had a college at Agra. In his temper, he was frank far beyond what the manners and habits of the East require or sanction; and his generosity was unbounded, and not always under the guidance of a discriminating prudence. In his person he was remarkably handsome, and his address was elegant and insinuating. Possessed of these qualifications, he was deservedly a favourite with almost all classes and descriptions of his father's subjects.

"Sujah, the second son, was distinguished for his prudence, which directed or restrained the openness of his temper and the generosity of his disposition, much more than Dara was inclined or could be induced to do; but his prudence, though a guard against the excess of those qualities, was but a feeble barrier, when the attainment of pleasure was Sujah's object: in this respect he was weak and unrestrained,

Both these sons were distinguished, and nearly in an equal degree, for their talents and success as warriors; but the third son, Aurengzebe, was superior to either of his brothers, in the politics, the skill, and the bravery which a state of warfare demands. As he was inferior to his brothers in the advantages of person and address, he endeavoured, and but too successfully, to compensate for these deficiencies by dissimulation and intrigue. Wrapt up within himself, though apparently open and artless, he threw his adversaries off their guard, and succeeded, at the same time, in concealing his own sentiments and plans, and in developing those of others. When it was necessary to gain over his opponents, or to make use of them as instruments in his own hands, he displayed wonderful powers of address, and exquisite knowledge of the weak parts of the human character. It is evident that a disposition and habits such as Aurengzebe possessed, aided by no mean talents, and by the happy and not common art of having those talents always at command, were capable of producing much good or much evil, according as they were directed. Unfortunately, ambition of no low standard, was the ruling passion of his heart; and this ambition he was resolved to gratify, without the smallest compunction of conscience regarding the measures, which it might prompt him to execute. But he well knew, that as he was not the eldest son, it would be indispensably necessary to keep his ambition concealed from every eye; he therefore affected the habits of a fakir, and used religion as a mask to cover his designs.

"The distinguishing features in the disposition of the fourth son, were violence and impatience, but they were not the violence and impatience

of a bad heart or of an unfeeling temper; they were constitutional, rather than the result of thoughtlessness or vice, and were accompanied, as is often the case, by a great share of openness and sincerity: in courage he surpassed all his brothers. Of the daughters of Shah Jehan, two only require particular notice. The eldest, Jehanara, resembled Dara, in almost every respect; and these two were, of all the Emperor's children, the most remarkable for filial piety and for mutual affection. Roshenara resembled her brother Aurengzebe in disposition; and this similarity induced her always to support his interest and plans as far as lay in her power.

"Shah Jehan, who had a clear insight into the characters of his sons, was very apprehensive that, on his death, disputes might arise among them. Partial to Dara, not more, perhaps, because he was the eldest, than on account of his excellent qualities, he made him the associate of his throne, and commanded respect to be paid to the signet of Dara, equal to that which was paid to his own. In order, however, that this might not rouse the jealousy of his brothers, he at the same time made Sujah governor of Bengal, Aurengzebe governor of the southern provinces, and Morad governor of Gujerat. But this very measure, in one respect, defeated the object which the Emperor had in contemplation; for Dara being necessarily near his father, while his brothers were at a distance, they were disposed to regard their appointments as given them, not so much to place them on a footing with Dara, as to remove them from the seat of government, and consequently to deprive them of the chance of contesting the throne with him, in the event of their father's death.

"As long as Shah Jehan continued in health and

vigour, the authority of Dara was not questioned by his brothers; but in the year 1657, the Emperor, having been seized with a stroke of the palsy, was obliged to give up the entire government to his eldest son. As soon as the other brothers heard of their father's illness, they immediately anticipated a fatal issue; and apprehending the destruction of their power as soon as Dara should ascend the throne, they each, without communicating with the other two, resolved to march with the utmost expedition to Delhi. The intelligence of the approach of Sujah first reached the seat of government; and as Dara did not deem it prudent to leave Delhi himself, he despatched his son to oppose Sujah. The hostile armies met near Benares; and a battle was fought, which terminated in the defeat of the invader, who retraced his steps into Bengal, for the purpose of raising new forces. But the danger with which Dara was surrounded, was very little lessened by this defeat. Sujah, from the position of his government, had been obliged to commence hostilities without aid from his brothers; but they had it in their power to unite their armies. This they actually did; Aurengzebe, on his march from the Deccan, being joined at Burhampoor by Morad, with his troops from Gujerat. While Aurengzebe possessed the government of the Deccan, his ambition had not been asleep; nor had it been unaided by those talents and habits which were so well calculated to attain its gratification in the most unsuspicious and certain manner. Meer Jumla, a man of low origin, but of an enterprising spirit, had raised himself to great power, and acquired immense wealth at the court of the princes of Golconda; but, in consequence of some affront which he received, he fled to Aurengzebe, bringing along with him all his treasures. To make this man his

friend, Aurengzebe was incited, not less by the consideration of his riches and forces, than of his abilities. Accordingly, he received him in the most kind and flattering manner, and soon gained such an ascendancy over him, that he found no difficulty in persuading him to join in the attempt to deprive Dara of the throne of Delhi.

"As the united forces of Aurengzebe, Morad, and Meer Jumla were very numerous, Dara resolved to oppose their progress by every means in his power. Accordingly, an army, under a general whom he could depend upon, was stationed on the banks of the Nerbuddah, to contest the passage of that river. But the attempt was in vain; the army of Dara was defeated, and Dara then deemed it necessary to advance in person against his enemies. The brothers met near Agra, and a battle ensued. The victory seemed doubtful for a considerable time, and turned in favour of the invaders only in consequence of an apparently trifling circumstance. Dara had occasion to dismount from his elephant; and the soldiers, no longer seeing him at his station, were panic-struck and fled. Aurengzebe and Morad thus gained a decided victory.

"The next object which Aurengzebe had in view, was the capture of his father and his brother Dara. To accomplish this, he marched without loss of time after the battle to Agra; and that city presenting the prospect of a resistance which he had not leisure or means to overcome, he had recourse to stratagem, and thus gained possession of it. His father consequently fell into his power; and he imprisoned him, with his daughter Jehanara, and the infant daughter of Dara, in the fortress. In the mean time, Dara had fled to Delhi; and against that city Aurengzebe now directed his march. Hitherto, he had succeeded in persuading

his brother Morad, that it was for his sake alone he was anxious to deprive their father and brother of the throne; and that the only reward he sought for himself, was a hermitage, in which he might spend the remainder of his life, at a distance from the cares and vanities of the world. But his real projects now became apparent, and Morad regarded him with suspicion and alarm. As Morad was the favourite of the troops, and had besides a great number of personal friends, Aurengzebe resolved to remove him; and this he did, not in his accustomed dark and crafty manner, but openly; having invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, he caused him to be seized and murdered. It does not appear that this most violent measure created any disturbance; for, after its perpetration, Aurengzebe immediately marched to Delhi. He did not, however, assume the sovereignty, without the mockery of appearing to have it forced upon him by the urgent representations and entreaties of his friends. As soon as he became emperor, he took the appellation of Alumghire, or conqueror of the world.

"When Sujah heard of the death of one of his brothers, of the defeat of the other, and of the successful enterprise of Aurengzebe, he collected a large army, and commenced his march towards Delhi. As he was now the only obstacle which stood between Aurengzebe and the entire and secure possession of the throne, the latter immediately made preparations to oppose him; and as soon as he had completed such measures as were necessary to keep Delhi quiet during his absence, he left that capital with a powerful army. The two brothers met at Kodjera, about thirty miles from Allahabad. The battle which ensued, was obstinate and bloody, but it terminated in the defeat of

Sujah. Yet, notwithstanding this defeat, Sujah was still a formidable opponent; and his further resistance was rendered peculiarly harassing to Aurengzebe, as well as dangerous, by the following circumstance. Mahomed, the son of the Emperor, was attached to one of the daughters of Sujah; and he was placed under the care of Meer Jumla, to whom was entrusted the pursuit of Sujah. As soon as the two armies approached each other, Mahomed took an opportunity to leave the camp of Meer Jumla, and to join his uncle. This circumstance rendered it the more necessary to bring Sujah to an engagement as speedily as possible. Accordingly, Meer Jumla attacked him at Tanda, a town in the province of Bengal, adjacent to the ruins of the ancient city of Gour, and again defeated him. Aurengzebe, as soon as he heard of the defection of his son, wrote him a letter, the object of which was, in a most artful manner, to rouse his suspicions of his uncle and father-in-law. This letter had the desired effect; and Sujah, perceiving that Mahomed was no longer happy with him, sent him off, along with his wife, and jewels to a large amount. With respect to himself, having no longer any chance of opposing Aurengzebe, or even of standing his ground in the plain country, he fled, after the battle of Tanda, to the mountains of Tipperah. Among these, and in the adjacent countries, he wandered almost forgotten for many years, till at length he was destroyed, together with the greater part of his family, by the Rajah of Arracan. Mahomed, as soon as he returned to his father, was thrown into prison, where he remained till his death.

"With respect to Dara, he was, if possible, still more unfortunate than either of his brothers. After wandering about in the deserts, he seems to have

taken refuge at length beyond the Indus, in the territories of Jihon Khan, a petty prince of Sinde. At first, he was hospitably received; but very shortly afterwards, he was perfidiously seized and sent to Delhi, where he was murdered by order of his brother." *

Aurungzebe dated the commencement of his reign from the 12th of May, 1659; and in the following year, he found himself in undisputed possession of his father's throne. From that time to the year 1678, there prevailed, throughout Hindostan, the most undisturbed tranquillity that had, perhaps, been known. The prudent management of Mahomed Mauzem, the second son of Aurungzebe, had prevented any disturbances in the Deccan during the civil war; and the people generally had suffered little. An exact discipline had been observed by the contending parties; and the damage done by the army, was paid out of the public treasury. Aurungzebe extinguished the spirit of party, by suppressing all appearance of revengeful feeling against those who had opposed his elevation. He converted his enemies into friends by loading them with favours; and by his just and politic administra-

* The preceding account of the reigns of Jehanghire and Shah Jehan, has been adopted, with slight corrections of the style, from the article INDIA, in Brewster's Encyclopædia. The compiler of that article does not name his authorities, but he appears to have followed Maurice, who refers us to Fraser's Mogul Emperors, Gladwin's Translation of the Tuzuk Jehangeery (History of Jehanghire), and Bernier's Mogul Empire. To these authorities, and to the Jehanghire-nameh, Mr. Dow was probably indebted for the materials of his third volume, which is entirely occupied with the reigns of Jehanghire and Shah Jehan, and the first ten years of that of Aurungzebe; but he is silent as to the sources of his information. Under these circumstances, we have contented ourselves with borrowing, in this part of our historical outline, a few paragraphs ready to our hand, in the respectable work referred to.

tion, he secured the attachment of his subjects. He established a perfect security of property throughout his dominions. The forms of justice were made less intricate and more expeditious than before; fees were regulated; appeals were facilitated; and to corrupt a judge was, for the first time, made a crime. The neighbouring states, who had remained unconcerned spectators of the struggle for the throne, recognized the right which Aurungzebe had acquired by his sword. Soon after his accession, an ambassador arrived from Shah Abbas II. of Persia, to congratulate the new monarch; and he was followed by another envoy from Sujah, King of Bucharia.* The Emperor's pride was flattered by the acquiescence of these two powerful sovereigns in his title, and their representatives were received with unusual pomp. In the third year of his reign, a dreadful famine, occasioned by the unusual drought, prevailed in different parts of the empire. Aurungzebe, on this occasion, exerted himself with a humane policy to alleviate the distress of his subjects. Besides remitting the taxes due, he expended immense sums out of the royal treasury, in purchasing grain and conveying it to the suffering districts, where it was re-sold at a moderate rate, or freely distributed. This wise and virtuous conduct obliterated from the minds of his subjects all remembrance of the crimes by which he had attained the throne.

In the year 1664, the empire was very near being

* Tavernier mentions, among the sovereigns who sent embassies to Aurungzebe, the King of the Usbeks, the Shereef of Mecca, the Prince of Balora, and the Kings of Arabia Felix and Ethiopia. "The Hollanders also sent Mynheir Adriaan, chief of their factory at Surat, who was kindly received, and first despatched."—Travels, p. 180.

again thrown into disorder by the alarming illness and reported death of the Emperor. Shah Jehân was yet alive; and Aurungzebe, calling to him his son, Shah Allum, in an interval of calm, desired the prince, in case of his death, to take the merit of releasing his grandfather, as the only means of securing his personal safety and eventual succession. But the unexpected recovery of Aurungzebe disconcerted the intrigues which were already being formed; and the calm and settled state of the empire suffered no interruption. Aurungzebe, shortly after his recovery, left his capital, and withdrew his court for some months into Cashmeer for the benefit of his health. In this excursion, his guard consisted of nearly 50,000 men, exclusive of the retinues of his nobles and the camp-followers. The officers of state daily attended the presence, as was customary in the capital; and the imperial mandates were despatched from the camp to every corner of the empire. To the petitioners who followed the court, a small allowance was assigned, in compensation for the additional expense incurred in their journey; and every day, as usual, the Emperor heard appeals and administered justice. During his residence in this remote province, Jumla, his vizier, was carrying his arms into the kingdom of Assam.*

* Aurungzebe is said to have recommended his vizier to undertake this perilous expedition, with a view to furnish employment to a man whose power he feared. Jumla ascended the Brahmapootra in boats, and crossing the mountains, vanquished the king in his capital. The rains, however, drove him back to Bengal; and after surmounting incredible difficulties, he effected his escape through the inundated country, but with only the wreck of his army. He had written to the Emperor, that he would next year carry his arms to the heart of China; but on his return, he himself fell a victim to the effects of the hardships he had endured in a pestilential climate. See Mod. Trav., Bernier, p. 245, where, on

In Gujerat, a formidable rebellion of the Rajpoots was suppressed; and equal success attended the exertions of the Imperial generals on the frontier of the Deccan. These events took place in 1665. In February of the following year, the ex-emperor, Shah Jehan, died at Agra, having survived his confinement nearly eight years. Although Aurungzebe had kept him with all possible caution as a state prisoner, he was treated with the utmost distinction and respect; the ensigns of his former dignity remained to him, and no diminution was made in the number of his attendants. Aurungzebe even affected to consult him in all important affairs; and by these attentions and professions, he succeeded, towards the last, in soothing the melancholy to which the unhappy monarch had become a prey. He died in his seventy-fifth year.*

In this year (1666), Aurungzebe found himself suddenly involved, by the mistake of a secretary, in a war with Persia. The serious breach of etiquette which was construed into a designed insult, consisted in designating the Shah (Abbas II.) by no higher title than *wali* (master) of Iran, in the letter accompanying the imperial presents from the sovereign of Delhi, who was styled Allumghire, lord of the world. Aurungzebe wished to explain the mistake; but his

epocher authority, the general in this expedition is styled Meer-zum Khan.

* Dow, iii. 392. "There seems no ground whatever for the remark of Orme, that his father's death was imputed to Aurungzebe. Dow states, that "the same disorder which had long robbed him the empire, was the cause of his death;" namely, a paralytic attack with strangury, and that he languished for fifteen days. As little reason is there for Mr. Maurice's representation, that he died of a broken heart. His fits of passion seem, indeed, to have bordered on insanity, and Aurungzebe was the particular object of his malediction and hatred; but he appears to have been treated with singular tenderness and consideration.

ambassador was not admitted even to an audience. Preparations for war were made on both sides, and Shah Abbas advanced in person at the head of a numerous army, into Khorassan. Aurungzebe was thrown into the greatest perplexity and alarm. The Persian nobility in Delhi were numerous and powerful, and their fidelity was not to be relied upon. The Patans were still more to be feared, as they were known to be ill affected to the Mogul dynasty. Aurungzebe was forced, however, to dissemble his suspicions, and he prepared to take the field in defence of his throne; but when he was within a few miles of Lahore, intelligence was brought, that Shah Abbas had been carried off by disease in his camp.* Pacific overtures were at the same time received from the uncle of the Shah, who remained in command of the Persian army. Of these, Aurungzebe gladly availed himself; and India escaped, for this time, the perils and miseries of a fresh invasion. That fate, in all its bitterness, Persia was destined first to experience, at the hands of a common enemy, whose power was already becoming formidable. This was the Afghans, who, in 1668, crossed the Indus, and spread terror and devastation through the plains of the Punjaub.†

* According to Chardin, Shah Abbas died, September 25, 1668, at Tebas Ecoun, a palace two leagues from Darughaun. His life is supposed to have been shortened by his intemperance.—See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 192, 3.

† Mr. Orme remarks, that the intrigues of the Persians "had sown the seeds of future commotions in the Mogul's empire; for several of the Patan tribes of Peshawir and Cashel had accustomed to join the Persians; and being left by the death of the Sophy (Sefi) to the mercy of Aurungzebe, were punished with vindictive severity. Tumults ensued, which were quelled and revived, until time and despair united all the tribes to stedfast rebellion."—Orme, 25. If the Persians had any hand in stirring up the rebellion of the Afghans, (which is doubtful,) the retalia-

They were ultimately defeated and driven back to their strong-holds; and the year 1669 closed with the re-establishment of tranquillity throughout the empire.*

In 1673, however, the rebellion of these bold marauders again assumed a serious aspect. A considerable force sent against them by the Mogul governor of Peishawir, was surrounded in the defiles of their mountains, and destroyed, together with the commander. Emboldened by this success, the Afghan chiefs now meditated the conquest of the empire. With this view, they produced, as a competitor for the imperial throne, a Patan soldier, who bore so strong a resemblance to Sultan Sujah, in whose army he had served, as to enable him to support the assumed character of that prince.† Aurungzebe, alarmed at

tion with which they were visited was terrible. About sixty years after, the descendants of these bold marauders overthrew the Sadi monarchy.

* At this period (1669), the *Alumghire-nameh*, translated by Dow, terminates, and with it, his account of the reign of Aurungzebe. Mirza Kasim, the author of the *Alumghire-nameh*, was private secretary to the Emperor; and the work, which is said to have been composed under Aurungzebe's inspection, is stigmatised by Mr. Orme as "a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father and the destruction of his three brothers, with six of their sons." In the hands of Mr. Dow, it certainly bears no such character, but wears the appearance of greater impartiality than the elaborate recital of Bernier and the gossip of Tavernier. Bernier's narrative terminates in 1666; and Tavernier appears to have left India about the same time. Little dependence can be placed upon the desultory and often inaccurate statements of the latter. His information was, to a great extent, gathered from mere hearsay; and he is said to have even dictated to those who arranged his travels, in many instances from memory, if not from imagination. Sir W. Ouseley has placed his authority in a proper light.—Francis, vol. II. app. 10.

† Sultan Sujah, the elder brother of Aurungzebe, according to the prevalent report of the time (as stated at p. 283), had been

the rapid advance of this popular pretender, marched out of Delhi, and displayed the standard of the empire. Leaving his son, Sultan Mauzem, to preside in the capital, he proceeded, at the head of an immense army, to the Indus, which he crossed towards the end of the year 1674. The vanguard of this mighty host, which first passed the river, unable to withstand the impetuous attack of the Patans, were defeated; and the victors, with their characteristic inhumanity, put to death their prisoners. "But after the main army under Aurungzebe had passed, the Patans confined their resistance to skirmishes, the defence of posts, and night assaults on the camp; which protracted the war for fifteen months. Numbers at length prevailed; for the Mogul army was sufficient to people the country they had attacked. After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Patans retired into the more inaccessible mountains, in which Aurungzebe did not think it worth the price to expose his troops, nor his own presence fur-

murdered, with his family and followers, by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan. The particulars are given by Dow, (vol. iii. pp. 297—302,) from which he would appear to have been drowned. But, as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched for by any persons who knew him before his flight, some credit was given to other reports that he had escaped. This "is believed," Mr. Orme says, "as we are informed, in the island of Sookee, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is shewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furnished credulity and intrigue with pretensions to assert that he continued alive in Indostan, concealed now here, now there, but ready to appear on any favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the throne. Aurungzebe was convinced of his death, but was very attentive to the use which might be made of the reports of his being alive."—Orme, p. 38. Whether the one who now made his appearance was the real Sujah, or a pretender, may still be deemed an historical question.

ther necessary; but establishing a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general specially selected, returned himself to Delhi (in July 1676), whence he had been absent twenty-seven months. Nevertheless, the work was not yet finished to his mind; and he continued at Delhi, waiting the completion he had prepared.

"The former governors of Peishawir and Caubul had always kept the Patans under severe restrictions, and their chiefs at an imperious distance. But Cosim Khan, whom Aurungzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, assumed a different conduct. He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes, treated their chiefs with equality, and even visited them with slender attendance and negligent familiarities, which left him at their mercy; submitting to incur their contempt in order to gain their confidence; but no condescension could induce them, as he hoped, to deliver up the pretended sultan. He, however, diverted them from any sinister suspicions of himself; and got all who especially supported the pretender, to come to a festival at Peishawir; at which he made them intoxicated, when bands, concealed for the purpose, came in and massacred them all, while others overpowered their retinues. The impostor, on the destruction of his protectors, escaped over the mountains into Persia, and was never afterwards heard of. This execrable deed, Aurungzebe himself was obliged, by the public detestation, to reprobate; and recalling Cosim Khan, he degraded him to the lowest rank of omrahs, but privately assured him of favour. To soothe or obviate the vengeance of the Patans, he sent first his son Akbar, and then Sultan Maazum to

Peishawir. But the Patans were too much disconcerted by the loss of their chiefs, to recur to arms."*

In the mean time, the Deccan had been the theatre of important events; and it will now be necessary to go back a few years, in order to give an account of the origin of a power which had acquired strength sufficient to resist the armies of Aurungzebe, and which, after various vicissitudes, was able to retaliate, on his successors, the injuries inflicted by his sword.

At the time that Aurungzebe left his government in the Deccan, in order to secure the throne of Delhi, he had broken the force of the kingdom of Golconda, but Visiapore (Bejapore) still remained formidable.† Unable to prosecute his conquests, and anxious to leave that power in check, he entered into an alliance with an enterprising chieftain, who, at the head of a formidable banditti, had made himself master of great part of the Concan, and had even extended his predatory incursions to Gujerat. This was Sera-jee, the founder of the Mahratta empire; which, commencing when that of the Moguls was at its zenith, rose to greatness as that power declined, and has only within our own times been reduced to political insignificance.

The name of Maharashtra, from which Mahratta is

* Orme, pp. 67, 8.

† After the dissolution of the Bhamenee dynasty of the Deccan, Alem ul Mouzffer Adil Shah founded the Adil Shahy sovereignty of Bejapore, A.D. 1489, comprehending all the country from the river Beemah to Bejapore. At the time of Seraje's revolt, the reigning monarch was Mahommed Adil Shah, the seventh of the dynasty. He died in 1656, and was succeeded by Ali Adil Shah II., who, after a turbulent reign of twelve years, during which he enjoyed little more of royalty than the name, left his throne to Secunder Adil Shah, the last of his race. The seventh of Golconda, contemporary with Mahommed Adil Shah, was Abdullah Kuttub Shah.

corrupted, is given by the Hindoo geographers to the mountainous regions extending from the borders of Gujerat to Canara, including the provinces of Khandeish, Baglana, and part of Berar. The Mahratta language is now much more widely spread, but it does not prevail as the vernacular dialect, much beyond the ancient boundaries of their country.* Mharat, a district of Baglana (in Aurungabad), may perhaps, as Capt. Jonathan Scott supposes, have given name to the country of which it seems to have formed the nucleus.† The Mahrattas were divided into several tribes, which derived their respective names from their distinguishing occupations, as cultivators, shepherds, and cowherds; and their claim to a Rajpoot descent is disproved as well by this circumstance as by

* From Beder, Col. Wilks says, the Mahratta language is spread over the whole country north-westward of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlutabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Tapti, and follows the course of that river to the Western Sea (Wilks, p. 6). In Bejapoor, approaching the Krishna from the southward, the Mahratta occurs more and more into use, while, beyond it, the Canara dialect begins to decline; although the latter is spoken more to the north of that river, than the Mahratta is to the south. Eastward of the Mahratta country, the Telinga prevails from near Circacole, in the Northern Circars, to Pulicat, in the Carnatic.

† Scott's Deccan, Intr. p. x. l. 32. Nizam ul deen, a native historian in the reign of Akbar, relates, that one of the kings of Delhi (Allah I.) made an excursion from Deoghur into the neighbouring province of Mushat.—Rennell, p. lxxx. Ferishta, in like manner, states, that Cafoor "subdued the country of the Mahrattors, which he divided among his officers." Baglana is the district apparently referred to. See p. 208. The same historian mentions Narsingh, a prince of the Maharattas in A.D. 1291. Mr. Willford assigns the Mahrattas a Persian origin; but he confounds them with the Rajpoots, and his remarks are wholly inapplicable to the Mahratta race, whose language is a derivative of the Sanscrit. It is strange, that Mr. Orme should speak of Sevajee as "the founder of the present nation of Mourtors."

their diminutive size and distinct physical character. Sevajee, however, claimed, on his father's side, to be descended from a Rana of Oudipoor, the head of all the Rajpoot princes. He was the son of Shahjee, whose father Malojee was the son of Banga Bonsla, a son of the Rana by a woman of inferior caste.* The degradation of Banga Bonsla from the baseness of his birth, drove him to seek among strangers that respect which he was denied at home. He served, during part of his life, a rajah possessing a *zemindaree* (jurisdiction) in Khandeish; and afterwards purchased for himself a *zemindaree* in the neighbourhood of Poonah, where he resided till his death. His son, Malojee, entered the service of a Mahratta chief, in which he acquired so much distinction as to obtain the daughter of his master in marriage for his son, Shahjee; and Sevajee was the fruit of this marriage. Shahjee, having quarrelled with his father-in-law, repaired to the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah, King of Bejapore, who conferred on him a *jagheer* in the Carnatic, with a command of 10,000 horse. Here, he joined the Polygar of Mudkul (or Madura) in a war upon the Rajah of Tanjore; and having defeated the Rajah, the victors quarrelled about the division of the territory. Shahjee then defeated the Polygar, and took possession of both Mudkul and Tanjore. He was succeeded in his dominions by Angojee or Ekojee, his son by a second marriage, whose descendants were rajahs of

* See authorities in Mill's History, ii. 393. Major Rennell says, that the mother of Malojee was "an obscure person of a tribe named Bonsla, (sometimes written Bonsello and Boonda,) which name was assumed by her son, and continued to be the family name of his descendants, the Rajahs of Sattarah and Tanjore."—*Mem.*, p. lxxx.

Tanjore, till they sank into dependents of the East India Company.

Sevajee, when very young, was sent along with his mother to reside at Poonah, under the charge of Dadajee Punt, the officer to whom his father had entrusted the management of his *zemindaree*. The mother of Sevajee was an object of aversion to her husband; and the son shared in the neglect which was the lot of his parent. He grew up, however, under Dadajee's care, to vigour both of body and mind; and at seventeen years of age, engaged a number of banditti, at whose head he ravaged the neighbouring districts. Dadajee, afraid of being made to answer for these enormities, and unable to restrain them, swallowed poison. On his death, Sevajee took possession of the *zemindaree*, and having increased the number of his troops, commenced marauder on a large scale. Such was the infancy of his career.

At this time, Shahjee was too much occupied in another quarter to be able to interfere with the proceedings of his son. Aurungzebe encouraged the adventurer, and is even said to have promised that he should hold, exempt from tribute, whatever territories he might conquer belonging to Bejapore.* He soon became sufficiently formidable to set the Mogul at defiance. Taking advantage of the interval of distraction occasioned by the contentions between the brothers, he

* Orme, p. 7. This Author states, that, in addition to this concession, Aurungzebe "gave him two or three forts which opened into Visiapore." Mr. Mill, following a different authority, says, that Aurungzebe, when hastening his preparations for the war with his brothers, invited Sevajee to join his standards, but that "the short-sighted Hindu insulted his messenger, and reproached Aurungzebe himself with his double treason against a king and a father." There is, at least, an anachronism in this statement.

seized the strong fortress of Raree* in the Ghauts, which he fixed upon as the seat of his government; and to this he soon added Poorundeh, Jagnah, and several districts dependent on the sovereign of Bejapore. He put to death, by treachery, the Rajah of Jawlee, and seized his treasure and territory; he also plundered the rich manufacturing city of Callian.† At length, the king of Bejapore sent an army against him. Serajee deceived the general, Abdul, with professions of submission, and having seduced him to a conference, stabbed him with his own hand. His retinue were all cut off by an ambuscade, except the son of Abdul, who escaped, and the army immediately broke up and dispersed. This event appears to have occurred before Aurungzebe had succeeded to the throne. After this, he took by stratagem Pannela, or Parnala, one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan; and having defeated a second army sent against him under the son of Abdul, by corrupting one of the generals, he had the boldness to appear plundering under the very walls of Bejapore. He was, however, recalled to the defence of Pannela, which was closely invested by Siddee Jore, governor of the port of Dunda Rajapore, and admiral of the fleet maintained by the sovereign of Bejapore, to protect his trading ships

* Raree is a town in Bejapoor, 45 miles S.S.W. of Poonah, in lat. 18° 2′ N., long. 73° 52′ E.—Hamilton's Gazetteer.

† Written by Mr. Orme, Gallian; by Mr. Moll, Kallean. The former supposes it to be the famous Calliana of the Periplus. Early in the fourteenth century, it appears to have existed as the metropolis of Salsette, Bombay, Bassein, and the adjacent country. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1535, but they do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison: at this time, it belonged to the kingdom of Bejapore. Fryer, who visited the place in 1674, describes it as exhibiting "the most glorious ruins the Mohammedans in Decan ever had cause to deplore."—Orme, II.

against the Portuguese and the government of Surat. The siege had been maintained for some time with little effect, when Sevajee proposed to negotiate for its surrender, and he led the enemy to believe that he was upon the point of capitulating. In the mean time, he secretly withdrew from the fort, and collecting some troops from his other stations, suddenly marched to Danda Rajapore, where he produced a forged order from Siddee Jore for the delivery of the place, as the condition of the surrender of Pannela. His appearance obtained credit for the forgery; for it was supposed that he could not have left his fortress without coming to terms with Siddee Jore. He was, consequently, admitted into the town; but the commander of the fortified island of Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained suspicions, and would not give it up.

On the loss of Rajapore, the siege of Pannela was raised.* Siddee Jore went to Bejapore to exculpate himself to his sovereign; but the ill-dissembled resentment of the monarch exciting either his apprehensions or his disgust, he withdrew with the troops under his command, and defeated a larger body which were sent in pursuit of him. On this, the king himself took the field; but, the night before the intended encounter, Siddee was assassinated. Upon this, the governor of the fortified island, who was his heir, instigated by a desire to revenge his death, entered into a treaty with

* Pannela (as Mr. Orme spells it) would seem, from the description, to be the fortress of Pawanghur in the circar of Pannela or Nalchadeenuk (Orme, 100); mentioned in Hamilton's Gazetteer, as a place of great strength. Mr. Mill, in enumerating the conquests of Sevajee, states, that he "took Mahury, Pandhanghur, Rajapore, Sungurpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese." Pannela is not mentioned, and we suspect that by Pandhanghur, Pawanghur is meant.

the generals of Aurungzebe, proffering his services, together with the fort and the whole fleet of Bejapore. His terms were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral with a large stipend on the revenues of Surat, whence he subsequently received repeated succours against Sevajee. These events took place in the years 1660 and 1661; and such was the origin of the power of the Siddees under the Mogul Emperors.*

In the mean time (1660), Mahomed Adil Shah, the sovereign of Bejapore, died, leaving his son a minor; and the confusion into which the kingdom had previously been thrown, was increased by the contentions of the nobles for the regency. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Sevajee sent detachments which speedily overran the whole of the Concan from Goa to Damaun. Some places they ravaged; in others, contributions were levied; and in the sea-ports which he retained, he encouraged, instead of suppressing, the system of piracy for which this coast has at all times been infamous. At the same time, Sevajee in person issued from his hill-forts into the plains, and on meeting with opposition from the Mogul troops, contrary, as he alleged, to his treaty with Aurungzebe, carried his ravages into the Emperor's territory. Indignant

* Siddee appears to have been a name applied in common to those Abyssinian adventurers who had passed over in great numbers from their own country into the service of the sovereigns of the Deccan, and who frequently engrossed there a large proportion of the offices of state. Siddee Jouhur was himself called *the* Siddee, by way of distinction; his principal officers had the term Siddee prefixed to their names; and his crews and followers were, in general, denominated the Siddees. They carried on an active warfare along the whole western coast of India, and were not only dangerous and troublesome enemies to Sevajee, but formidable even to the British and other European traders.—Orme, p. 36.

at these insults, Aurungzebe sent peremptory orders to Shaista Khan, his uncle, who then held the government of the conquered provinces in the Deccan, to extirpate Sevajee and his adherents. The Soubahdar (viceroy), advancing to the hills, reduced most of Sevajee's outposts without meeting with much resistance; but he was detained for some time before Jagnah, a hill-fort inaccessible to assault, although on the edge of the champaign country; and he is said to have taken it by flying a paper kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder, and by this means the garrison were destroyed.* The rainy season, which permits no operations from the beginning of May to the latter end of August, suspended his further progress. In the next campaign (1663), the viceroy of Gujerat, Jeswunt Singh Rajah, was commanded to co-operate with the army of the Deccan under Shaista Khan. Difference of religion, national prejudice, and pride of birth, concurred to set the two generals at variance; and Sevajee, availing himself of his secret information, found means to tender his services to the Maha-rajah, to assassinate the Mogul ameer. The offer was accepted; and although the story is told in different ways, it is certain that Sevajee provided the assassins, if he did not act in person. They succeeded in making their way to the tent of Shaista Khan at midnight; but the Soubahdar, waked by their noise, had time to seize a lance, with which he defended his head, while his son, rushing to his assistance, was slain. The assassins fled, leaving their work unfinished;† but the incapacity to which Shaista

* Dow iii. 312. Orme considers the story as credible. He writes the name of the place Chagnah. It is the Jagnah of Mr. Mill.

† Dow, iii. 313. Orme, 14.

Khan was reduced by his wounds, put an end to the campaign. His suspicions of treachery fell upon his colleague, and he returned to Delhi. The Mahá-rájah was subsequently recalled; and a truce was concluded with Serajee. For the next two years, the illness of the Emperor occasioned a suspension of all further operations against him.

In the mean time, the Prince of Concan, as Dow styles him, was not idle; but availing himself of so fair an opportunity, resolved to make an attempt upon Surat, the chief port of the Mogul empire, and that from which the pilgrims to Mecca commenced their voyage. It is said that he went to that city in disguise, and remained there three days, collecting intelligence, and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps, one before Chanl, the other before Basseen, as if his designs were on those quarters. He then put himself at the head of 4000 horse from the latter station, and by unfrequented tracks which he had himself examined, appeared in sight of Surat before his approach was known. The governor took refuge in the castle, with all who could gain admittance. The English and Dutch factories also stood on their defence, and Serajee gave them no molestation. The rest of the town became his unresisting prey; and during the three days that he remained there, he is supposed to have collected, in treasure, jewels, and precious commodities, a booty of a million sterling.*

This daring exploit occurred in January 1664; and it may be supposed to have had the effect of deter-

* Orme, p. 12. The annual imports of specie from the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, are stated to have amounted at this time to 8,000,000 rupees: and two families in the town were the richest mercantile houses in the world.

mining Aurungzebe to take strong measures for the annihilation of this bold assailant. In 1665, a considerable force was sent against him, under the joint command of Jey-Singh, Rajah of Amboer, and Dilleer, a Patan omrah. The troops of Sevajee were driven from the field; his country was plundered; and Poorundeh, a strong fortress in which he had placed his women and treasures, was besieged. "It was reduced to the last extremity, when Sevajee, unarmed, presented himself at one of the out-posts of the imperial camp, and demanded to be led to the general. Professing conviction of his folly in attempting to contend with the Mogul power, he craved the pardon of his disobedience, and offered to the Emperor his services, along with twenty forts which he would immediately resign. Jey Singh embraced the proposal; and Sevajee obeyed the imperial order to wait upon the Emperor at Delhi. Sevajee had offered to conduct the war in Candahar against the Persians. Had he been received with the honour to which he looked, he might have been gained to the Mogul service, and the empire of the Mahrattas would not have begun to exist. But Aurungzebe, who might easily have despatched, resolved to humble the adventurer. When presented in the hall of audience, he was placed among the inferior omrahs; which affected him to such a degree, that he wept and fainted away. He now meditated, and with great address contrived, the means of escape. Leaving his son, a boy, with a Brahmin whom he knew at Muttra, and who afterwards conducted him safe to his father, he travelled as a pilgrim to Juggernaut, and thence, by the way of Hyderabad, to his own country."*

* Mill, ii. 392. 3. The story of Sevajee's reception at the court of Delhi and his escape, is told, with romantic variations, by Orme, on the authority of Thevenot, and by Dow, on that of his

Immediately on his return, Sevajee assumed royal titles, and struck coins in his own name. Yet, in a letter to Jeswunt Singh Rajah, who had succeeded to the command of the Mogul army, he averred, that only because his life was in danger, had he fled from the imperial presence, where his faithful tender of service had been treated with scorn, and that still he desired to return within the walks of obedience. By these professions, he obtained a truce, of which he availed himself to provision his forts. He then again took the field, and soon recovering all the forts he had resigned, added to his former possessions, several important districts belonging to Bejapore. In 1669, Surat was again plundered. Sevajee also compelled the king of Bejapore to pay him a contribution of three *laks* of pagodas, and extorted from the sovereign of Golconda another of four. In the mean time, several Mogul generals were successively sent to conduct the war against him, and were recalled in displeasure, owing to the ill success of their exertions. In fact, Aurungzebe's attention and resources were directed to another quarter, by the rupture with Persia and the Afghan war; while mutual jealousies between the Emperor and his son Allum Shah, who governed in the Deccan, precluded, at this time, any effectual prosecution of the war against the Mahratta chief.* With a view, however,

Persian original; both differing, in the details, from the recital we have adopted. Dow represents Sevajee's demeanour before the Emperor as fearlessly haughty and even insolent. The daughter of the Emperor, who witnessed the scene from behind a curtain, fell in love with the intrepid captive, and interceded for him. Orme represents him as upbraiding Aurungzebe with intended treachery: but will not believe that a young princess should take so much interest in the fate of a stranger!

* Father Navarette, who was at Golconda in 1676, writing of the Great Mogul, says: "This man (Aurungzebe) had a

to confine Serajee to his own defence, Aurungzebe ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Cambay and Surat, which were to make descents on the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee.

These preparations only served to increase the exertions of Serajee to extend his conquests along the coast. In 1670, he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore, situated on a fine river 40 miles N. of Gheriah, and which had long been a much frequented port. Resistance was made even in the field; but the town was carried, and all kinds of property were plundered without remission or distinction, although much belonged to the trade of states with whom Serajee had no quarrel. The English had, at this time, a factory in the town, and their loss was estimated at 10,000 pagodas. In 1671, Serajee again appeared before Surat, ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money.* In the following year, he despatched his general, Moreh Pundit, with 10,000 horse, on another visit to that place, with orders to burn the ships which had been built there by Aurungzebe's orders, and which were assembled in the

son, who governs a province eight days' journey from Golcondah, which properly belongs to this prince, who designs to follow the example his father set him, and get all into his own hands. Anthony Coelho, who had served under him, told me, that he had already 200,000 horse and 500,000 foot; a brave army, if they are but good men. He designs to join in league with the rebel Sultagh, who is very great and powerful. I mentioned in another place, how he attacked the territory of Goa, and carried away two or three thousand Christians and a Franciscan. He sent to demand of the viceroy of Goa to make good a ship of his the Portuguese had taken. The viceroy was in a passion, and beat his ambassador: an action nobody could approve of."—Ovington, p. 305.

* He demanded a large sum from the Dutch factory on this occasion, but it was refused.—Ovington, 307.

river, ready to sail with the Siddee's fleet as soon as the season would permit. In this project he failed, but he closely blockaded the town, and at length obtained a considerable sum as ransom.

The details of Sevajee's proceedings now become too complicated and varied to follow. In 1673, he invested the strong and important fortress of Satarah, which surrendered towards the end of August, and much treasure fell into his hands. He laid siege to the castle of Pondah, but it resisted all his attacks, and he at length compounded with the governor. He alarmed the city of Goa by carrying his inroads as far as the island of Bardez; but, as the citizens were not attacked, they refrained from acting on the offensive. Sevajee was so well satisfied with these successes, that, in April, 1674, he ordered preparations for his enthronement as Rajah. He employed a month in purifications and other preliminary ceremonies prescribed by his Brahmins. As one of these august formalities, he was publicly weighed against gold; and the amount, 16,000 pagodas, equal to 11251. avoirdupois, was given to the priests. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, in close imitation of that of the Mogul emperors. At the conclusion of the festivals, 100,000 pagodas more were distributed among the Brahmins; and the same amount was given in rewards to his officers. Prior to this ceremony, he received at his capital, Rairee, an embassy from the English colony at Bombay. The envoy was politely treated, but Sevajee referred to his ministers for a completion of the treaty under negotiation. Eighteen of the twenty articles proposed, were eventually admitted. Of the two rejected, one regarded the currency of Bombay money in Sevajee's dominions, which was dismissed with the observation from Sevajee, that he could not compel his

subjects to take foreign money. The other related to the exemption of English wrecks on his coast, which, he said, had been the property of the sovereign from time immemorial; and, if conceded to the English, would be demanded by other European nations. In the articles admitted, were comprised sufficient terms of amity and commerce, but no alliance. Sevajee allowed 10,000 pagodas for the damages sustained by the English factory seven years before at Rajapore; one-half to be paid in money, the other in betel and cocoa nuts. This transaction is curious, as being the first occasion on which an English government was brought into contact with a Mahratta rajah.

In April 1675, Sevajee took the fortress of Pondah after a renewed siege of two months; whether by treachery, by assault, or by surrender, does not appear. He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah. The town of Carwar was burned, because the castle did not surrender on the first summons, but the English factory was exempted from violence. The whole country was reduced as far as the river Mirzeou, the northern limit of the kingdom of Canara, the queen of which country sent gifts to Sevajee, and solicited his assistance against some of her ministers and relations. These operations were continued during the rains, and detained Sevajee from his capital till the end of August. In the mean time, his own territories in the chatapuign country were exposed to the devastation of the Mogul army under Bahadur Khan; but from this, they were redeemed by a bribe or bargain of redemption, to the amount of 10,000 pagodas, which might perhaps be represented as a tribute.

In the following year, illness confined Sevajee to his capital till the end of June; and this interval of

repose, which lasted eight months, was the longest that he had known ever since he first drew his sword. He then set out on an expedition of which no one knew the object; and in July, he appeared in sight of Golcondah, with 12,000 horsemen, but twice that number of horses, for every rider had two. Their march had been so rapid and conducted with so much secrecy, that the government had had no time to collect a body of troops capable of opposing them, or even to barricade the inlets into the opulent city of Hyderabad. Even the king was precluded from taking refuge in the fortress of Golcondah, but remained in his palace in the city. Sevajee, having encamped at some distance, but nearer to the fortress, sent his emissaries to demand a vast sum as ransom for his refraining from burning the city to the ground, besides a daily allowance for the maintenance of his troops till the ransom should be paid. Here likewise, as formerly at Callian and Surat, he knew every wealthy house; and he let them know that they could rely upon no security except by taking his safeguards, which, instead of papers, were a few trusty men from the camp; and so great was the dismay, that this protection was eagerly purchased at a high rate by every family of distinction. While the negotiation was going on with the ministers, 5000 rupees were sent every day, as an allowance for provisions to his troops, who, however, bought nothing. At length, Sevajee agreed to visit the king in person; and as he would not admit of any superiority in the ceremonial, it was settled, that both should enter from opposite doors of the hall, advance, accost, and sit down at the same time. The conference lasted a considerable time, during which numbers of Sevajee's cavalry entered the city, and assembled round the palace, till they at length mounted

to 5000, all drawing up in exact order as if under review; and whenever Sevajee appeared at the window, which he did repeatedly, to let them see that he was safe, the whole body looked up with their eyes fixed upon him as if awaiting his signal. By this display, Sevajee seems to have wished to convey a strong impression of the affection and obedience of his troops. The purport of the conference between the Mahratta and the Mohammedan sovereigns was never known, but is supposed to have turned on their equal detestation of the Mogul. Some days after this, Sevajee was satisfied, and broke up his camp. On the last day, the stipulated allowance was doubled. What more he received, as the general ransom, was not divulged. Among other presents of courtesy, the king gave him a palankeen covered with plates of gold, on which he rode out of his camp on the day of his departure. The army returned with a vast train of booty to Raree in the beginning of September, where Sevajee immediately made preparations for another and still more important expedition.

Towards the end of September, this restless marauder marched from his capital with 30,000 horse, the greatest number he had hitherto brought into the field; giving out, that he intended to invade the kingdom of Canara. The army kept for awhile along the western foot of the hills, but suddenly ascended the ridge, and fell, unexpectedly, upon the northern region of Bejapore; where, after ravaging the open town and country, they laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Belligong near Bancapore, and the other called Rayin, at five days' journey distance. Bahadur Khan, Aurungzebe's general, had, about this time, been defeated in two severe encounters with the troops of Bejapore; and Sevajee seems

to have had no difficulty in bringing him to consent to grant a free passage for his army through the Mogul territory, on condition of Sevajee's paying 400,000 pagodas to the Emperor, with his homage of fealty, and a truce of all hostilities was to continue during his absence on this expedition. It may be supposed that he had previously secured the concurrence of the monarch of Golcondah, whose territories he now entered in the amicable character of an ally; and in May 1677, he took up his quarters in a fortress belonging to that sovereign. From this place of rendezvous, he marched with his whole force, and passing by Tripetti, advanced within fifteen miles of Madras; but he seems to have made his main push against the impregnable fortress of Gingee, of which he is said to have gained possession by treachery. Of this, together with Velcondah and several other forts, he had made himself master in July, and some of his parties plundered as far as Seringapatam in Mysore. He laid siege to Vellore, which defended itself during more than four months. This rapid success could not be the effect merely of his arms, but he had, probably, gained over several of the chiefs in these recently acquired dependencies of the Bejapore kingdom.* He appointed Harjee Rajah his vice-regent in the con-

* At the close of the sixteenth century, the Carnatic was under the dominion of the Hindoo rajah of Bijanagur. After the ruin of that ancient capital, by the Mohammedan monarchs of the Deccan, in 1564, the rajahs appear to have successively fixed their capital at Penaconda and Chandergherry; their kingdom extending over Tanjore and Madura, countries which had been conquered by the Bijanagur rajahs between 1480 and 1513. It was from the last of these sovereigns, styled King of Bisnagar, although reigning at Chandergherry, that the English obtained permission, in 1645, to settle at Madras. In 1686, the Carnatic was conquered by the Mohammedan kings of Bejapore and Golconda.—ORME, pp. 61—63, and note.

quered country, of which he fixed upon Gingee as the capital. An interview took place between Sevajee and his half-brother Ekoojee, who began to tremble for his own territories. Before, however, the former had time to conquer every part to the north of the Coleroon, he was recalled to his western dominions. He appears to have quitted the Carnatic about the beginning of the year 1678, and returned to Raree in April, after an absence of nineteen months. By this important conquest, Bejapore became as much exposed to his attacks from the Carnatic on one side, as from the Conkan on the other; and the rich countries to the south of the Coleroon lay at his mercy from Gingee, whenever disengaged from other exertions.

But the career of Sevajee was now drawing near its close. In 1679, Sultan Mauzum (Shah Allum) arrived in the Deccan, and took up his court at Aurungabad, where he was joined by the son of Sevajee, who, having incurred the displeasure of his father, fled for protection to the Mogul at the head of 2000 horse. He was well received, and a high rank was bestowed upon him. At the same time, a change of administration had taken place in Bejapore; and the new vizier consented to join the Mogul Sultan against the Mahratta. The rainy season suspended the operations of the confederates, but Sevajee was not idle. In September, he came out of Pannela, where he had fixed himself, and a general battle ensued near Bejapore, in which, for the first time, the Mahratta chief was defeated: two thousand of his troops were slain, and as many surrendered. In this contest, the ensigns of Sambajee, the Rajah's son, were displayed against those of his father. Sevajee retreated to Raree, where he arrived in November. In the following month, being joined by a Berar rajah aggrieved by

the Mogul government, he again set forth, and suddenly appearing in the country between Aurungabad and Brampore, plundered Dongong, Chupra, and several other great marts, carrying his devastation to the gates of Brampore. His last exploit was, to fall upon a convoy of money to a great amount, which was on its way to Aurungabad. Of this, as of every thing concerning his enemy, he had received such early intelligence, that he was able to intercept it within a few miles of Brampore, before his approach could be known. But this booty was dearly purchased. The excessive fatigue which he underwent in this excursion, brought on an inflammation in his chest, attended with spitting of blood. His disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Raree; and had it been published, would not have been credited, so often had he sent abroad reports of his death at the very moment of setting out on some secret excursion. At this very time, his army, which he probably intended to have joined, was ravaging the country to the walls of Surat; and in that city, it was imagined, that Sevajee was commanding in person. Such was the general alarm, that the English presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river to Swally; and the governor of the town purchased his safety by a large contribution, with which Morah Pundit, Sevajee's general, returned to Raree, to see his master die. Sumbajee also, having found means to regain his father's confidence, had made his escape from the Mogul service a short time before. He expired on the 5th of April, 1680,* in

* Mr. Mill says, in 1681; adding, in a note: "Wilks says, he died in 1680." This is the date given by Orme, who, in a note, cites contemporary documents in proof of it. According to Mr. Mill, Jeswunt Singh, the Maha-rajah, died in 1681. Mr. Orme says, in the beginning of the year 1678.

the fifty-second year of his age. His funeral pile was honoured with the horrid sacrifices that had been observed at the obsequies of the Maha-rajah, Jeswant Singh, the year before; attendants, animals, and wives being burnt with the corpse.

Sevajee seems to have aspired to be the restorer of the Hindoo faith, as well as of the national independence. In his correspondence and manifestoes, he frequently styled himself the champion of the gods against the impious violator of their temples; and by this means he sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Moguls. He affected the deepest reverence for his Brahmins, and was punctilious in the observance of his devotions. His private life was simple even to parsimony; and his manners, towards his own subjects, were free from ostentation, kind, and endearing. Respected as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved every where among them with unsuspicious security, often alone; while his wiles were the continual terror of the states with which he was at enmity, even in the midst of their citadels and armies. In personal activity, he exceeded Baber himself; and to undaunted courage he added the most fertile resources of stratagem. He met every emergency of peril, however sudden or extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude; but, while equal to the encounter of any danger, he always preferred to surmount it by circumvention. If this was impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring, and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Sevajee charging sword in hand.

The two circumstances to which, next to his personal courage and activity, he was chiefly indebted for his extraordinary success, were, the superior excellence and discipline of his cavalry, and his exten-

sive system of secret intelligence. The cavalry of the three Mahommedan states were always drawn from the southern countries and borders of India, with especial regard to their strength and size; and their shock was not to be resisted by any of the native cavalry to the south of Delhi. To this cause, all the conquests made by the Mohammedans in the southern provinces may be ascribed.* Sevajee first discerned the necessity of establishing a cavalry, of which the requisites were agility and endurance of fatigue. Besides the supplies obtained by purchase and capture, studs were raised from the most approved breeds. The horses were rode without a saddle, by men lightly accoutred, their only weapon being the sabre. Footmen, inured to travel, bearing all kinds of arms, trooped with the cavalry: and spare horses were always taken, to bring off the booty, and to relieve the weary and wounded. All gathered their daily provisions as they passed. No pursuit could overtake their march. In conflict, their onset fell wheresoever they chose, and was sometimes relinquished in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known. But, although such measures were sometimes resorted to, in order to strike terror, and no quarter was given in case of resistance, they were not wanton in bloodshed; and in towns, they sought only the wealthy inhabitants, to carry them off for future ransom. Sevajee was, it is true, nothing

* In fact, all the Mohammedan conquests in India may be said to have been effected by cavalry. Prior to the Ghiznian invasion, armed elephants and archers were the force chiefly relied upon as the instruments of conquest. Sultan Mahmood, Timour, and Baber all effected their rapid conquests by armies of horsemen. The combination of the sabre with the bayonet and artillery, has established the British dominion alike over the plains of the Ganges and the mountains of Nepaul and Mysore.

better than a captain of banditti; but the Mahratta was mild and merciful, in comparison with the ferocious Mogul. His object was plunder, not extermination, and he effected more by stratagem than by violence. Sevajee spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions of his enemy; and the accuracy and minuteness of his local information, form one of the most striking features in his predatory system. He was still more profuse in corrupting the generals with whom he contended. The Mogul governors of Surat, the soubahdars of the Deccan, and even Sultan Maazum himself, are reported to have accepted, more than once, the gold of Sevajee as the price of their connivance. The Hindoo had not the polished mind, the comprehensive views, the chivalrous character of Baber, Aurungzebe's illustrious ancestor; but, in boldness, activity, and enterprise, he was his equal, and he excelled him in stratagem and policy. Aurungzebe could not suppress the emotions of his joy on hearing of his death, but, at the same time, he bore this striking testimony to his genius. "He was a great captain, and the only one who has had the management to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and, nevertheless, his state has been always increasing." * At the time of his death, Sevajee's dominions comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast, with the back country of the hills, from the

* Orme, pp. 90—95. It is said that Aurungzebe used to call Sevajee the Mountain Rat, either in allusion to his figure, which was short, thick, and black, or in reference to the character of his policy, as resembling the habits of that animal. Seva is, indeed, said to signify a rat in one of the Indian languages.—Orme, p. 95. The jerboa or *sifax* is, perhaps, meant.

river Mirsoo to Versal, with the exception of the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay and Salsette, and the Portuguese possessions between Bassein and Damaun on the north; an extent of about 400 miles in length, by 120 in breadth. At the distance of 300 miles from this territory, he was in possession, towards the eastern sea, of half the Carnatic, which was of itself equal to most of the Indian sovereignties.

Sambah or Sambajee, the eldest son of Sevajee, succeeded to the throne, but not without a competitor in a younger brother, whose adherents created him considerable danger, till the principal among them were put to death. The war continued to be carried on between the Mahratta generals and those of the Emperor, as it had been for several years, by sudden inroad on the one side, and pursuit on the other; but with few important advantages to either party. But in 1681, Akbar, one of the younger sons of Aurungzebe, who was employed in the war against the Rajpoots of Ajmeer, turned his standard against his father, on the offer of assistance from the enemy whom he was sent to subdue. One of Aurungzebe's tried artifices, that of raising jealousy between confederates, enabled him to defeat the first attempt of Akbar, who fled from the country of the Rajpoots, and took refuge with Sambajee. He was received by the Mahratta chief with extraordinary honours; and his escape excited in the mind of his father as much anxiety as had formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah among the Patans. Peace being conceded to the Rajpoot states, three distinct armies moved towards the Deccan, to extinguish this dangerous enemy.

Before we proceed to trace the result of this formidable invasion, we must advert to the origin of the war which had previously engaged the attention of

the Emperor. It appears to have been soon after his return from his expedition against the Afghans, that Aurungzebe, whether instigated by the sanguinary bigotry of the Moslem creed, or masking policy under the form of religious zeal, began to execute his cherished project of enforcing the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the severest penalties, and in some cases by the sword. A few petty rajahs were lured to conversion by better appointments, but the people clung to their pagodas, and a severe persecution ensued. At Muttra and Benares, the ancient temples of the pagans were pulled down by order of the Emperor; and on their ruins, mosques of similar dimensions were erected. At Ahmedabad, there was a pagoda of singular beauty, the sculptures of which he ordered to be defaced, and the sanctuary was horribly desecrated by the slaughter of a cow within its walls.* These furious proceedings not

* Thevenot in Maurice, vol. iv. p. 403. We cannot sympathise in the extreme horror of the reverend historian at this transaction, which he styles "an atrocity beyond all precedent in the annals of sacrilegious barbarity." One would imagine he had never read the history of the Spanish conquests in the New World. Mr. Orme, speaking of "the spirit of martyrdom" raised by this persecution, says: "An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurungzebe defeated in person." The circumstance alluded to had no connexion with these events, but was a spontaneous explosion of fanaticism, which took place in 1665. A body of mendicant fakeers, having grafted the profession of robber upon their original trade of begging, set up as their sovereign an old woman who had the credit of being a sorceress. The mania became contagious. Twenty thousand plundering saints armed with spells, marched upon Delhi, and actually defeated a body of imperial troops. Aurungzebe had recourse to counter-incantation. He wrote, with his own hand, certain mysterious words upon slips of paper, one of which, carried upon the point of a spear before each of the squadrons, would, he declared, render impotent the spells of the enchantress. The Emperor was believed; and though the fakeers fought with great desperation, they were all cut to pieces.—Mill, vol. ii. p. 532. Dow, vol. iii. pp. 328—30.

being attended with the desired effect, and the revenue of the provinces in which the persecution was carried on having suffered considerably, Aurungzebe was induced to lay upon all the Hindoos a heavy capitation-tax, as a bounty upon conversion.

There was one part of the empire, however, in which it was not so easy to enforce submission to this oppressive enactment. The three great rajahs of Rajpootana had never been brought to pay to the Emperor more than the homage of feudatories; and their territories, situated in the centre of the empire, were still distinct in their laws, institutions, and internal government, from the provinces which had received the Mogul yoke. The Rajpoot races claimed to be the noblest in the empire, and the ruling families traced their proud descent to Noosheerwan and to Porus.*

* "The Rajah of Oudpoor is looked on as the head of all the Rajpoot tribes, and has the title of Rana by way of pre-eminence. His family is also regarded with high respect by the Mussulmans themselves, in consequence of a curious tradition relating to his genealogy. He is said to be descended, in the female line, from the celebrated Anoshirwan, who was king of Persia at the birth of Mohammed, and thus to have, in that line, a common origin with the Sofis descended from Hussein the son of Ali."—Hunter in Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 8. Captain Wilford labours to identify the Mahrattas with the Rajpoots, and to assign them in common a foreign origin, as emigrants from Persia. He is, as usual, very ingenious and very unsatisfactory.—Asiat. Res. vol. ix. p. 233, et seq. Abul Fazel states, indeed, that the Ghelote tribe of Meywar considered themselves to be descendants from Noushirwan, and that they came originally from Rome. Their ancestor received his education from a Brahmin, and his first settlement was in the village of Somoolesh, whence the tribe is so called. Prior to his elevation to the rajahship, the reigning family were Bheels. The Rathore tribe of Marwar claimed a descent from the family of Jychund (Jya Chundra), rajah of Kanouje; and another branch is stated to have driven out the tribe of Cooly from Beglana.—Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. pp. 89—92. On the other hand, Major Rennell considers the Rajpoot tribes to be the representatives of the ancient Cathæi or Cathri, with whom Alexander warred on the

The three rajahs of Chitore (or Oudipore), Joudpore, and Amheer (or Jypore), were able, when united, to bring into the field, nearly 200,000 fighting men. Jeswunt Singh, rajah of Joudpore, having married the daughter of the last Rana, (the Rajah of Chitore,) had merged the two states into one, and was, consequently, distinguished as the Maha-rajah. He, as well as Jy-Singh, rajah of Amheer, had served with honour as general in the imperial armies. The latter is praised by the Mohammedan writers of the time as the most eminent of all the Hindoos that they had known, in personal qualities and literary accomplishments. Worn out with age and laborious services, he died at Brampore, on his recal to Delhi, in 1668, not without suspicion of being poisoned by order of Aurungzebe.* His son, Ram Singh, was at that time, serving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi; and he is said to have consented to admit the capitation-tax into his territory.† The demand was, however, met by Jeswunt Singh with a firm remonstrance; and he was preparing to resist

borders of the Malli; that is, Cshetris or Kuttris, Hindoos of the warrior class. Thevenot, speaking of the people of Moultan, says: "There is a tribe of Gentiles (Gentoos) here called Catry or Rajpoots; and this is properly their country, whence they spread all over the Indies."—Rennell, pp. 93, 122, 230. There seems no reason, indeed, to doubt that the Rajpoots are genuine Hindoos, with a mixture, possibly, of Persian blood in some of the tribes.

* Mill, vol. ii. p. 263. Orme, p. 75.

† So Mr. Orme informs us. But Jeswunt Singh, in his noble letter to Aurungzebe, given in the notes, tells the Emperor, that the tribute ought first to have been demanded of Ram Singh, who was esteemed "the principal among the Hindoos." Was this Ram Singh the son of Jy Singh, or was he the Rana? If the latter, Mr. Mill is mistaken in supposing that Jeswunt Singh had, by his marriage, succeeded to that distinction. At all events, he here acknowledges the superiority of Ram Singh.—See Orme, pp. 74, 75.

the unjust and oppressive measure by open hostilities, when, in the beginning of 1678, he died, leaving a high-spirited widow and two sons not yet arrived at man's estate. Aurungzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi. They had arrived at the suburbs, when, receiving some intimation of their danger, they set off hastily on their return the same night, and though pursued by 5000 horse, effected their escape. On this, Aurungzebe took the field in person against them, and their mother invoked the assistance of all the Hindoos against their cruel oppressor.

In October of the same year, the imperial army entered the Rana's territory. The Rajpoots, at his approach, withdrew their herds and families into the recesses of the mountains. Aurungzebe, pursuing them without sufficient intelligence as to the nature of the country, soon found himself hemmed in, with all his army, among the defiles. Impenetrable precipices obstructed his progress, while, by felling the overhanging trees, the natives, who occupied the heights, blocked up his retreat. In this situation, exposed to perish by famine, he is said to have been detained for two days, and was then released by the generous policy of the Rana, who suffered the way to be cleared. The favourite wife of the Emperor, a Circassian, who had accompanied him in this expedition, had been, with her retinue and escort, inclosed in another part of the mountain, and taken prisoner. She was now sent back to Aurungzebe, attended by a chosen escort; the Hindoo rajah requesting, as the only return for his forbearance, that Aurungzebe would refrain from destroying the sacred animals that might be left in the plains. Unmoved by this magnanimous conduct in his enemy, which he imputed to fear, Aurungzebe con-

chased the war, laying waste the country, till he was a second time well nigh inclosed in the mountains. The arrival of his sons, Azim and Akbar, soon after, rapids, afforded him an opportunity to withdraw from the hazards and fatigues of this inefficient warfare. He retired with his court and body-guard to Ajmeer, whence he might superintend, at a less inconvenient distance, the operations in the Deccan, as well as the war with the Rajpoots. This was maintained by his two sons in different directions; but at the end of the year 1679, neither of them had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains. In the following spring, Chitore, the ancient capital of the Rajpoot country, fell, for the third time, into the hands of Moslem plunderers,* being taken by surprise by Azim; but the conquest proved of little importance. The Rajpoots maintained possession of their mountains and fastnesses, and the war still lingered, when, at the beginning of 1681, Akbar raised the standard of revolt, supported by 20,000 Rajpoots. His plan was, to seize or assassinate his father, and to proclaim himself emperor. An astrologer betrayed the conspiracy to Aurungzebe; and by his agency, suspicions of treachery were excited in the minds of the Rajpoots, who deserted in a body by night to their own country. Akbar's general, a Patan, then volunteered to assassinate the Emperor. He had penetrated to Aurungzebe's pavilion, when he was stopped by the chamberlain; and in the affray which ensued, he was slain. The intelligence of his death deprived Akbar of his remaining adherents, and left him no alternative but flight. Aurungzebe was glad to conclude a treaty of peace, in

* By Allah ud deen in 1303; and by Akbar in 1567.

which the capitation-tax was neither exacted upon nor abandoned, and the conquered districts were ceded to the Rana.*

In September of the same year, Aurungzebe moved from Ajmeer towards Brampore, while the army of Sultan Azim marched to Ahmednuggur, and that of Sultan Mauzum to Aurungabad. Month after month, however, and year after year, passed away without any decisive result. Some forts were taken, and the country was ravaged; but little or no advance was made in the conquest of the country. In 1704, Sultan Mauzum was sent into the Concan, to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the coast. He found it impossible to procure provisions; the climate disagreed with the Mogul troops; and he was obliged to return with only the wreck of his army. In the mean time, Sultan Azim, to whom had been entrusted the conducting of the war against Bejapore, was defeated in two pitched battles, and dangerously wounded in the last, which, together with the rains, stopped his further operations. The king of Golcondah, convinced that the fall of Bejapore would draw on his own ruin, now entered into a secret confederacy with that sovereign, and Sambajee joined the alliance. In 1685, a detachment of Mahratta horse set out from Raree,

* Orme, iii. 69, 106. The alternative of the capitation-tax originally demanded of the Rana, was: "That he should no longer stake coin with his own name, but with Aurungzebe's; that his might be killed in his territory; that the pagodas should be demolished or converted into mosques; and that justice should be administered according to the Koran." If these terms were refused, the whole people were to be subject to the general capitation.—Orme, 75. The peace left the country in *statu quo*; and we have therefore a proof that the Rajpoots had always maintained their privileges.

and ravaged the country as far as Burnpore; and in October of the same year, a body of 9000 horse crossed the Taptee and the Nerbuddah, and plundered the city of Baroach, where they proclaimed Akbar emperor. Aurungzebe exhibited signs of irresolution. The disturbed state of the interior provinces demanded his return to the capital. Agra was overrun by a formidable banditti, who infested all the roads, while in Malwah and Gujerat, the Rajpoots were committing similar disorders. But the Emperor durst not withdraw to a distance from the scene of action. One of his sons was in arms against him; he was both jealous and afraid of the eldest; and he remained at Ahmednuggur, waiting, apparently, for some favourable turn of events that might enable him, without personal risk, to secure the credit and advantage of a decisive conquest.

Between four and five years had been thus fruitlessly occupied, when, in 1686, the Emperor advanced from Ahmednuggur with an immense army, and joined, at Sholapore, the forces of his favourite son, Azim, to whom he wished to give the honour of completing a conquest that was no longer doubtful. Sultan Mauzum was, in the mean time, sent with his army to attack the king of Golcondah. The Mogul gold had been so well employed in Bejapore, that the king soon found himself disabled, by the desertion of his troops, from keeping the field. He retired to his capital, and thence to a strong fort. The city soon surrendered, famine hastening the capitulation; and the imperial army proceeded to invest the retreat of the unfortunate monarch (Secunder Adil Shah), who, seeing that no safety remained but in submission, surrendered. He appeared before his conqueror in silver

chains, with the demeanour of a captive rebel, rather than of a vanquished sovereign. Thus was the Adil Shahee dynasty terminated.*

The fall of Bejapore convinced Sultan Akbar that he could no longer hope to make head against the armies of his father. With Sambajee's concurrence, he embarked on board an English vessel for Muskat, whence he proceeded to the court of Isfahan, where he met with a hospitable reception. In the mean time, Sultan Mauzum had, in October, taken possession of the city of Hyderabad without resistance; the general sent to oppose him, having betrayed his trust, and passed over to the invading army. The king, invested in his fortress of Golcondah, in order to preserve his diadem, proffered the humblest terms of submission, which Sultan Mauzum deemed it politic to accept. It is supposed that he feared to waken the jealousy of Aurungzebe by depriving him of the honour of the conquest. Whatever was his motive, he considered his honour as pledged to the fulfilment of the treaty, which had not been concluded without the Emperor's consent. When, therefore, after the fall of Bejapore, and the subsequent flight of Sultan Akbar, Aurungzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, Sultan Mauzum remonstrated against the breach of faith; for which he was arrested and conveyed a prisoner to one of the royal castles, his eldest son being sent to another. Golcondah was again in-

* Orme, 148, 9. "Mr. Gentil says, the city was taken Sept. 1, 1687, and the king appeared before Aurungzebe on the 14th. M. Anquetil du Perron proves, that Visiapore was taken in the first days of October, 1686." Scott, the Translator of Ferishta, whom Mr. Mill follows, places it in 1689. We suspect that the discrepancy arises from miscalculating the years of the Hejira corresponding to those of the Christian era, and we have therefore adhered to Orme in our dates.

vested, and, after a siege of seven months, fell (in October, 1687) by treachery; the means by which Aurungzebe constantly endeavoured to prepare the way for an easy conquest. Abou Hossein, the royal captive, was treated by the Mogul with the most contumelious indignity. It is even asserted, that he was scourged, to extort from him the discovery of his treasures. He died a prisoner in the fortress of Dowletabad, in 1704; and with him terminated the Cuttub Shahee dynasty, after it had existed 179 years.

No sooner had Aurungzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, than Sumbajee, aware of the danger which threatened him when left to contend single-handed against the whole force of the Moguls, renewed the war with every species of barbarity, poisoning even the tanks near which the enemy was expected to encamp. He obtained at first some brilliant successes; and though he was soon driven back again from the open country, he was invincible in his strong-holds. Aurungzebe resolved to have recourse to his usual policy; nor was it long before the Mahratta fell into his toils. His spies brought intelligence that Sumbajee, at the head of a small squadron of horse, was engaged in a secret enterprise connected with his lawless pleasures. A body of troops was sent to surprise him, and being taken off his guard, he was overpowered and led a prisoner before Aurungzebe. He is said to have been promised life and rank in the imperial service, if he would turn moslem; but, on his indignant rejection of the proposal, he was treated with the most brutal indignities, being paraded in a fantastic dress, sitting backward on a camel, through the Mogul camp. After his tongue had been cut out as the penalty of blaspheming Mohammed,

he was insulted with another offer of life; and he was finally put to death in the most ignominious manner. Raree, the capital, together with the wives and infant son of this brave Hindoo, subsequently fell into the hands of the ruthless victor. *

This event had not the effect which Aurungzebe probably anticipated, that of producing submission on the part of the Mahrattas. On the contrary, it only seemed to rouse them to new efforts. While the imperial army was employed in the reduction of forts, various bands, under their respective chiefs, issued from their mountains, and spreading over the newly conquered countries, as well as even Berar, Khandeish, and Malwah, carried off great plunder, leaving behind them only devastation. The Mogul forces marched against them in all directions, and easily conquered them when they could bring them to action. But the Mahrattas eluded rencounter, retreating to their mountains when pursued, hanging upon the rear of the retiring enemy, and renewing their devastations as soon as the country was cleared of hostile troops. The Emperor persevered with great obstinacy in besieging the forts in the accessible part of the Mahratta country, and the greater number fell into his hands. But in the mean time, the Mahrattas so enriched themselves by plundering the imperial dominions, and so increased in numbers as well as in power, being joined by a large proportion of the zemindars in the countries which they overran, that the advantages of the war were decidedly in their favour. The administration of Aurungzebe, too, betrayed the infirmities of age. The more powerful

* Orme, 163—164. The story of Sambajee's capture is differently told. Mr. Mill represents him as having been surprised in one of his forts.

omrahs, who maintained numerous troops, and were able to chastise invaders, his jealous policy made him afraid to trust with the command of provinces. He therefore made choice of persons without reputation or power, who satisfied themselves with plundering the provinces they were unable to protect. It is even said, that Aurungzebe's generals purposely prolonged the war in the South, both for the sake of the plunder which it furnished, and from the apprehension that, on the reduction of the Peninsula, they should be employed in some harder and more hazardous service. In this harassing and unavailing contest were the last years of the aged Emperor consumed; and he appears, during the season, to have kept the field to the last, retiring to Ahmednuggur as his winter-quarters. There, in the February of 1707, at the advanced age of ninety, he at length perceived that the angel of death was rapidly approaching. He was seized with a fever, which deprived him of his remaining strength, but left his faculties unimpaired; and nothing can be more solemn and affecting than the farewell letters which, in this state, he addressed to his favourite sons, Azim and Kámbukah; the dying confessions of a conqueror, who found that "the instant which passed in power, had left only sorrow behind," with a dread of the great account to be rendered for the awful trust.* He expired, according to his wish, on a

* These letters were first given to the English public in the Memoirs of Ensdut Khan, (a nobleman of Aurungzebe's court,) translated from the Persian by Captain J. Scott, 1786. They are inserted by Mr. Maurice in his History of Hindostan, vol. iv. p. 604. If genuine, of which there seems no reason to entertain doubt, they must be regarded as highly interesting documents. To Azim Shah, the aged Emperor writes:—

"Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived; weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members.

Friday, the 21st of February, in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and the ninetieth of his age.*

It is difficult to hold the pen steady in attempting to do justice to the character of this able monarch, who has been held up in opposite representations, as a monster of cruelty and hypocrisy on the one hand, and a model for sovereigns on the other. It is remarked, that he attained the throne by deposing his father and murdering his brothers; but Shah Jehan had already resigned the empire to Dara, when the fratricidal contest began; nor was the conqueror the only criminal. Shah Jehan, too, had himself rebelled against his father, and had sealed his own accession by the murder of unoffending rivals. But Aurungzebe is accused of having assumed the mask of religious austerity in order to gain the throne. That he was an ascetic and a rigid moslem, is true; but if he was

A stranger I came into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (meaning, but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes of futurity are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. . . . I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of age, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have a strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves."

In the letter to Kámbaksh occurs this striking expression:—"Wherever I look, I see nothing but the divinity."

* See authorities in Mill, ii. 275. If, however, his reign began in August 1658, as Mr. Mill affirms, he died in the 49th year of his reign; but Mr. Orme says, Aurungzebe dated it from May 12, 1658. The Mohammedan computation would, of course, increase the number of years. He was born in 1618.

a hypocrite, "we cannot but admire," to adopt the remark of Mr. Maurice, "the unshaken fortitude with which, during so prolonged a life, he submitted to privations of every kind, while presiding in the most luxurious court, and wielding the richest sceptre of Asia." Of the four brothers, Dara was suspected of Hindooism; Sujah was a libertine; Morad, a drunkard; and Aurungzebe was assuredly the most respectable. Bernier informs us, that the fate of Dara was decided upon in a council of omrahs, and that those who insisted upon the necessity of his death, urged, that he had long abandoned the religion of Mohammed; and we are told, on another authority, that it was his attachment to the Brahmins, together with a work which he wrote in defence of the Vedas, that cost him the empire.* Aurungzebe was a persecutor: he attempted to effect the conversion of the *Hindoos* by the sword. But, in our reprobation

* Orme, pp. 75, 368. Dara had written a treatise endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of the Vedas with those of the Koran. A copy of this heretical treatise, entitled *Mujmah al Bahrein*, the Uniting of the Two Seas, was brought to England by Mr. Fraser, and is in the Bodleian Library. His writing this book gave great offence to the Moslems. Dara also caused a Persic translation to be made by the Brahmins of Benares, of the *Oupnek'hat* (Unutterable); an abstract of the four Vedas, which gives, in fifty-one sections, the complete system of the Hindoo theology. A copy of the Persian version, with a MS. translation by Mr. Hallhed, is in the British Museum: and a French translation by M. Anquetil du Perron has been published at Paris in 2 vols. 4to.—*Ibid.*, p. 220. In the preface to the *Mujmah*, Dara styles himself a fakeer, and ascribes his theological speculations to the instruction received during a visit to Cashmeer, from "that sage of sages, Mulla Shah." Bernier represents him as a moslem in public, and in private "a pagan with pagans, a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about his person some of the Heathen doctors, on whom he bestowed pensions to a large amount. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Father Rosée, a Jesuit."—BERNIER, 8vo (1826), vol. I. p. 8.

of his sanguinary zeal, we must recollect, that he acted consistently with his principles as a moslem, not in defiance of them. Those writers who affect surprise that a Mogul sovereign should not have displayed a spirit of enlightened toleration towards his idolatrous subjects, seem to forget the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the recent date of our own Toleration Act. When it is recollected that Aurungzebe was the contemporary of Louis XIV. and of the Stuarts, it will hardly be contended that, on this point, the Mohammedan Emperor discovered less liberality or humanity than most of the Christian sovereigns of his day.

Aurungzebe is represented by the Author of the *Alfumghire Nameh*, as naturally mild and affable in his manners; in his disposition, placable and humane; in his judicial administration, indefatigably vigilant and impartially just. When he appeared in public, he clothed his features with a complacent benignity; and those who had trembled at his name, found themselves at ease in his presence. In support of this representation of his character, it is mentioned to his honour, that capital punishments were almost unknown during his reign. The traveller Gemelli, who saw him at Bejapore in 1695, gives a pleasing description of his venerable appearance. In stature, rather below the middle size, of a slender make, an olive complexion, with an aquiline nose and a white beard, he walked leaning on a staff formed like a crosier; for age had in some degree bowed his back, though it had not dimmed the lustre of his eye. Benignity reigned in his features, and his manners were still marked by affability. His dress was always plain and simple. Except upon public festivals, the vest he wore seldom exceeded the value of eight rupees; nor were his sash and tiara loaded with jewels.

In camp, he was the most indefatigable man of his army; the first to rise, and the last to retire to rest: and in his younger days, he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapped in a tiger-skin. He was, at the same time, remarkably cleanly both in his person and his dress. His diet consisted, for the most part, of herbs and pulse: no fermented liquor ever passed his lips. He spent little time in the seraglio; and though, according to the custom of the country, he maintained a number of women, it was only as a part of imperial state, as he, in fact, contented himself with his lawful wives. He was the severe enemy of immoralities of every description. He discouraged gambling and drunkenness, both by prohibition and example; and the long train of dancers and singer, actors and buffoons, in which his father Shah Jehan had taken so much delight, were banished from his court as destructive of morals and degrading to majesty.

His public buildings partook of the character of his mind: they were useful, rather than splendid. At every stage from Caubul to Aurungabad, and from Gujerat to Bengal, he built and maintained caravanserais, furnished at the public expense. In all the principal cities, he founded universities: in the inferior towns, he erected schools. He also built and endowed numerous hospitals for the poor and maimed. He was the liberal patron and frequent correspondent of learned men throughout his dominions, and was himself not the least accomplished prince of the house of Timour. He was master of the Persian and Arabic languages, and he wrote the Tourki and most of the Indian dialects with ease and elegance. Many of the government despatches, written with his own hand, are remarkable for brevity and precision; and he is reported always to have corrected the diction

of his secretaries.* He understood and encouraged agriculture; was thoroughly versed in all the details of his vast empire; and the unfortunate and distressed invariably found a resource in the wise policy or bounty of the sovereign. Although his revenues amounted to thirty-two millions sterling, he left in his private treasury little more than 7000*l.*, of which, in his last will, he ordered 1000 rupees (125*l.*) to be distributed among the poor at his funeral. He directed his burial to be conducted without pomp, his tomb to be low and simple, like those of dervishes; and desired his "fortunate children" to give themselves no concern about a monument. Such a man deserves a better name than that of either bigot or hypocrite, tyrant or monster. If he is to be judged of by comparison, it would be difficult to find a despotic reign of half a century, stained by fewer crimes on the part of the monarch, or marked by a more laudable attention to the general interests and improvement of the empire.†

At the time that the last illness of Aurungzebe commenced, his eldest son, Mahomed Mauzum (Shah Allum), was in Caubul; of which, as a distant province where he could be least dangerous, he was made governor upon his liberation from the confinement in which he had languished for several years. His two remaining sons, Mahomed Azim Shah, soubahdar of Gujerat, and Mahomed Kámbukesh, on whom he had recently conferred the two new soubahs of Bejapore and Hyderabad, were both in the camp; but Aurungzebe hurried them away to their stations, fearing, it is

* If this was his constant practice, how came the breach of etiquette to be committed in the imperial epistle to Shah Alum II.? Could it be an inadvertency?

† See Dow, iii. 358—363. Maurice, iv. 496—500.

supposed, lest their contests should anticipate his dissolution. He obviously foresaw the struggle that would ensue; and in his last will, not daring to appoint a successor, he expresses his desire that whosoever of his children might chance to rule the empire, he would not molest Kámbuksh, should he rest contented with the two new soubahs. By enjoining on all the imperial servants fidelity to Azim Shah, he tacitly intimated his preference of that son as his successor; but at the same time, he refers to a proposed division of the empire as certain, "if agreeable" to his children, to prevent a great deal of confusion and bloodshed. "There are," he says in this interesting document, "two imperial seats, Agra and Delhi. Whoever settles in Agra, may have the province thereof, Deccan, Malwah, and Gujerat. And who resides at Delhi, may have Caubul and the other provinces."*

Azim had not reached his government, when he received intelligence of the Emperor's decease. He hurried back to the camp, and, no competitor being present, received without difficulty the obedience of the army. As it was not expected, however, that Shah Allum would quietly resign his throne and his life, Azim began his march towards the northern provinces, and, on the approach of his brother, addressed him a letter offering to divide the empire. The proposal was indignantly rejected, and the two armies met on the banks of the Chumbul, near Agra. In the battle which ensued on the 8th of June, all the great omrahs who had served under the late emperor, displayed their standards on the side of Azim; but Zulfekkar

* Fraser's Nadir Shah, p. 37. This document is not given in the Memoirs of Feuhut Shah; and Major Rennell, not being aware of it, questions the assertion that Aurungzebe made, or rather recommended a partition of the empire among his sons

Khan, the favourite general of Aurungzebe, taking offence at the rejection of his advice at the commencement of the action, withdrew with his forces. The conflict was, however, maintained with an obstinacy proportioned to the importance of the stake; and its issue was decisive. The two elder sons of Azim were slain, and the other two were taken prisoners. Azim himself stood his ground until he was left with only 6000 horse, who were surrounded by ten times their number, when, to avoid captivity, he stabbed himself to the heart.*

Another contest, however, remained to be decided, before Shah Allum could quietly enjoy the crown. The imperial throne was promised to Kámbuksh by his own vanity, and by his astrologers; and although his generous brother, even when near him at the head of an irresistible army, invited him to enjoy in peace his kingdom of Bejapore and Golcondah, agreeably to their father's dying request, the infatuated prince rushed upon his own destruction. He was soon deserted by almost all his followers, and in a skirmish near Hyderabad, was taken prisoner, not before he had received a mortal wound. The Emperor then immediately began his march for the capital, though in the middle of the rains, leaving to his officers to execute whatever remained for the settling of those newly conquered territories, the scene of his father's mistaken ambition.

Shah Allum had, before leaving Caubul, assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. He does not appear to have disgraced his success by any subsequent acts of cruelty or revenge; but, during his short reign, supported his character for humanity. It is remarkable,

* Orme, 367. Mill, ii. 473.

that he does not appear to have had an opportunity of visiting, or at least of making any stay at either of the Imperial cities, Agra or Delhi. His return from the Deccan was hastened by the daring inroads of a new enemy, who had appeared in considerable force in Lahore, and had carried their ravages to the banks of the Jumna. These were the Seiks, who, during the reign of Shah Jehan, had silently established themselves along the foot of the eastern mountains, and were rapidly advancing to that importance which renders them at present one of the principal powers in Hindostan. The religious indignation of the Emperor and his omrahs, concurred with political considerations, to render the chastisement of these formidable intruders a more pressing object than either the subjugation of the Rajpoots or the conquest of the Mahratta country.

The origin of this warlike sect "is to be traced back to the time of the Emperor Baber, when a celebrated dervish, being captivated with the beauty of the son of a grain-merchant of the Cshatrya caste, by name Nanuk, brought him to reside in his house, and instructed him in the sublime doctrines and duties of Islamism. Nanuk aspired beyond the merit of a learner. From theological writings which he perused, he selected, as he went on, such doctrines, expressions, and sentiments as captivated his fancy. At length, his selections approached to the size of a book; and being written (it is said with elegance) in the Punjabee dialect, the language of the country, were read by various persons, and admired. The fame of Nanuk's book was diffused. He gave it a name, *Kirrunt*; and by degrees, the votaries of Kirrunt became a sect. They distinguished themselves by a peculiar garb and manners, which resembled those of the moslem fakirs.

They united so as to live by themselves apart from the other inhabitants; and formed villages or communities, call sedangats, in which some one, as head of the community, always presided over the rest. Nanauk was followed by nine successors in the office of chief or patriarch of the whole sect; during whose time the Seiks led peaceable and inoffensive lives. Teeg Bahadur, the tenth in order, was perpetually followed by a large multitude of the enthusiasts of the sect; and united himself with a mussulman fakir, who had followers approaching in number to his own. To subsist so numerous a body of idle religionists, the neighbouring districts were laid under contribution; and the saints, having tasted the sweets of a life of plunder and idleness, pushed their depredations, and became the scourge of the provinces. Aurungzebe, who was then upon the throne, commanded the governor of Lahore to seize the two leaders of the banditti; to banish the mussulman beyond the Indus, and to conduct the Hindoo to the fort of Gwalior, where he was put to death. The loss of their patriarch was far from sufficient to extinguish the religious flame of the Seiks. A son of Teeg Bahadur, whose family name was Govind, was raised to the vacant supremacy, and was distinguished by the name of Gooroo Govind; Gooroo being the title bestowed by a Hindoo on his religious instructor. The fate of his father taught him audacity; he instructed his followers, hitherto unarmed, to provide themselves with weapons and horses; divided them into troops; placed them under the command of those of his friends in whose conduct and fidelity he confided; and plundered the country by force of arms. He was not, however, able to withstand the troops of the province, which were collected to oppose him; his two sons were taken prisoners, and

he himself fled among the Afghâns. After a time he came back, disguised as an Afghân devotee; but falling into mental derangement, was succeeded by Banda, one of his followers, who assumed the name of Gooroo Govind, and resolved to take vengeance on the Moslems for the slaughter of the father and sons of his predecessor. To the robbery and plunder which had become the business of the Seiks, he added cruelty and murder. The moslem historians of these events are filled with horror as well as indignation, at the cruelties which he exercised upon the faithful, (to them alone, it seems, did they extend,) and describe as one of the most sanguinary of monsters, the man whose actions, had infidels been the sufferers, and a musselman the actor, they might not, perhaps, have thought unworthy of applause. It was this Banda whose enormities Shah Allum hurried from the Deccan to interrupt and chastise. The rebels (so they were now denominated) deserted Sirhind upon the approach of the Emperor, and retired to Daber, a place of strength at the entrance of the mountains, and the principal residence of the Gooroo. When Daber was reduced to the last extremity, Banda, with his principal followers, retired to the mountains during the night. The presence of the Emperor suspended, but did not extinguish the depredations of the Seiks."*

Shah Allum (Bahadur Shah) died, after a short illness, in his camp at Lahore, in the year 1712. He left four sons, among whom a contest for the succession commenced on the spot. The second son, Azim Oushaun, took possession of the imperial treasure; but a disdainful answer which he returned to the proffered services of Zulfekkar Khan, by conveni-

* MS. ii. 377–8.

ing that powerful omrah into an enemy, left him no chance of securing the throne. He was drowned in battle. In the subsequent conflict between the remaining brothers, the third was defeated, and the youngest was slain; and Moez-ed-deen, the eldest son, was proclaimed emperor under the title of Jehaundar Shah. He did not long enjoy his dignity, of which he proved himself unworthy by his weakness and shameless debaucheries. At the end of nine months, he was dethroned by Ferokseer, the son of Azim Oushaun, who, having gained the support of the governors of Bahar and Allahabad, two brothers of the order of syeds, advanced from Bengal with a powerful army. Jehaundar Shah, on the defeat of his troops, fled by night to Delhi, where he was put to death.

Ferokseer began his reign, in the year 1713, with the usual precautions of an Oriental despot; that is, by murdering all who were the objects of his apprehension. The brave Zulfekkar Khan shared the fate of his master. Cheen Koolish Khan, the son of Ghazi-ud-deen Khan, the chief of the Toorance Mogols,* was appointed to the regency of the Deccan, with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk (composer of the state); a common title, which he rendered remarkable in the modern history of India, by transmitting it to his posterity, and along with it, a kingdom in that region which he was now sent for a little time to superintend. The two syeds to whom Ferokseer owed his throne, now became all-powerful; and it was not long before jealousies arose between the weak and timid Emperor and his ministers, which eventually broke out into

* The Toorance Mogols were that part of the army which consisted of Mogul adventurers newly arrived from Tatary, and were so called in distinction from those who had been bred in Hindostan.

open discord. About the year 1718, Hussun Khan, one of the brothers, who had been made *Ameer-al-Omrah*, was sent with a large force to reduce the rebellious Maha-rajah, Ajeet Singh, who deemed it better to yield than to contend with so powerful an army. One of the conditions imposed upon him was, that he should give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor. She was accordingly conveyed from her father's palace to that of Hussun, as her adopted-father, who graced her nuptials with a magnificence surpassing all that had been hitherto seen in Hindostan. Just at this time, the Emperor was seized most inopportunely with indisposition, of which he was cured by a medical gentleman of the name of Hamilton; and this circumstance led to the granting of the first imperial *firmaun* to the East India Company, by which their goods of export and import were exempted from duties or customs, and which was regarded as the Company's commercial charter in India, so long as they stood in need of protection from the princes of the country.*

About the same time, Banda, the patriarch and leader of the Seiks, fell into the hands of his enemies. He had soon collected his followers after they were dispersed by Shah Allum; and shortly after the accession of Ferokeere, the soubahdar of Lahore was sent against him, but was defeated with great slaughter. The *faujdar* (chief magistrate) of Sirhind was next commanded to take the field, but was assassinated in his tent by a Seik especially commissioned for the purpose. The governor of Cashmere was then

* Scott's "Secretary of Aurungzebe," p. 193. In Mill, ii. 367: Russell, ibid. See also Mill, iii. 88. These circumstances took place in 1715. The imperial patents, owing to various delays, were not finally despatched till July 1717.

appointed to act against the heretics with a great army. After many severe engagements, Banda was driven to seek refuge in a fort, and famine compelled him at last to surrender. He was sent prisoner to the capital, where, after being ignominiously exposed, he was put to death by torture; and great cruelty was exercised towards his followers.

In the Deccan, Sahoojee, the son of Sumbajee, had succeeded to the authority of his father and grandfather as head of the Mahrattas, and during the distractions in the Mogul empire, had experienced little resistance in extending the sphere of his domination and exactions. "Towards the close of the reign of Aurungzebe, the widow of Ramu the brother of Sumbajee, who, during the minority of Sahoojee, enjoyed a temporary authority, had offered to put a stop to all the predatory incursions of the Mahrattas under which the imperial provinces in Deccan so cruelly suffered, on condition of receiving a tenth part, which they call *deemukhee*, of the revenues of the six provinces which composed the viceroyalty of Deccan. The pride of Aurungzebe revolted at the humiliating condition; and the offer was rejected with scorn. Daood Khan Punnee, however, who governed the country as deputy of Zulfekhar, during the reigns of Shah Allum and Jehandar, and who cultivated the friendship, rather than the enmity of the Mahrattas, agreed to purchase deliverance from their incursions by the payment of even the *chout*, or fourth part of the revenues of the Deccanee provinces; reserving only such districts as were held in *jaghier* by any princes of the blood-royal, and excluding the Mahrattas from the collection, which was to be performed by his own officers alone. Upon the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk as viceroy of Deccan, the *chout* gave rise to dispute and

hostilities; in which the viceroy gained a battle, and might have further checked the pretensions of the free-booters, had he not been recalled, after enjoying the government one year and some months. The Ameer-al-Omrah sent a force to dislodge a Mahratta chief who had established a chain of mud forts along the road from Surat to Boorahanpore, and, by means of them, plundered or levied a tax upon the merchants who trafficked between the two cities. The commander allowed himself to be drawn by the wily Mahratta into a place of difficulty, where he and the greater number of his soldiers lost their lives. A still stronger force was sent to dislodge the plunderer, who declined an action, and was followed by the imperial general as far as Sattara, the residence of Sahojee. But, before Sattara was besieged, the Ameer-al-Omrah, understanding that danger was increasing at Delhi, and that even Sahojee had received encouragement from the Emperor to effect his destruction, resolved, on any terms, to free himself from the difficulties and embarrassments of a Mahratta war. He not only granted the *chout*, but he added to it the *deesmukkee*; nay, admitted the Mahratta agents, with a respectable force at Aurungabad, to perform the collection of their own portion of the taxes. The provinces were thus freed from the ravages of military incursion; but the people were oppressed by three sets of exactors: one for the Imperial revenue, one for the *chout*, another for the *deesmukkee*."*

Hussun, giving up to the Mahrattas such forts as he could not garrison, proceeded to the capital with an army, of which ten thousand were Mahrattas. He was attended by a youth whom he received from

* Siri, vol. ii., pp. 309, 310.

Sahoojee as a son of Sultan Akbar, and who was treated with all the respect due to a grandson of Allumghire, and a competitor for the imperial throne. On his arrival, Feroksere, deserted by his party, threw himself upon the mercy of the Syods, and was deposed without bloodshed or commotion. Ruffeh-al-Dirjaut, son of Ruffeh-al-Kudder, a grandson of Aurungzebe by a daughter of Akbar, was then taken from among the confined princes, and set upon the throne. He was labouring under a consumption, and died in five months after his exaltation. During this interval, Feroksere suffered a violent death; whether by his own hand or that of an assassin, is variously affirmed. Ruffeh-al-Dowlah, a sickly youth, the younger brother of Ruffeh-al-Dirjaut, succeeded him on the throne, and in three months followed him to the grave. The prince who was next invested with the symbols of royalty, was Rooshun Akter, son of Kojesteh Akter, the youngest son of Shah Allum, who began his reign in 1720, under the title of Mahomed Shah. Thus, within thirteen years from the death of Allumghire, five princes of his line had occupied an unstable throne; two of whom, together with six unsuccessful competitors for the crown, had fallen in the field, or been put to death. The natural consequence of this degraded state of the regal authority, was, a disposition in all the provincial governors to shake off their dependency on the head of the empire. "When the princes of the house of Timour were so eagerly pursuing the conquest of the Deccan," Major Rennell remarks, "it seems to have escaped their penetration, that this region, which possessed ample resources within itself, and innumerable local advantages in point of security from an enemy without, was also situated at such a distance from the capital, as to

hold out to its viceroy the temptation of independence, whenever a favourable opportunity might offer. Perhaps, if the Deccan had been originally left to itself, the posterity of Timour might still have swayed the sceptre of Hindostan."

The Nizam-ul-Mulk, after the death of Ferokseer, had been induced to accept of the soubahdarship of Malwah. Upon taking possession of his government, he found the province in the most disordered state; the zemindars aiming at independence, and the country overrun with banditti. The vigorous operations necessary for the suppression of these enormities, justified the conduct of the Nizam in raising troops, provisioning his garrisons, and adopting all the measures best adapted to strengthen his authority. The Vizir and his brother were, however, not slow in discerning that these preparations looked beyond the mere defence of a province; and it became an object to remove the Nizam, without offending him, from so commanding a position. He was solicited to resign that government to the Ameer-ul-Omrah, in exchange for either Moultan, Khandeish, Agra, or Allahabad. An insolent reply precipitated hostilities, and the Nizam resolved to seize upon the Deccan. Crossing the Nerbuddah, he got possession, through bribery, of the strong fortress of Asere and the city of Boorhanpore;* and he was soon joined by his relative, Khan Khan, soubahdar of Berar, by a Mahratta chief who had quarrelled with Sahoojee, and by numbers of zemindars. He encountered and defeated the army which the brothers had sent to oppose him; conquered and slew in battle the governor of Aurungabad, who marched out against

* Formerly the capital of Khandeish. Asere (or Hasser) is fifteen miles N. of Boorhanpore.

him; and remained without a rival in the Deccan. The governor of Dowletabad held out; but the governor of Hyderabad joined him with 7000 horse. The Ameer-ul-Omrah now advanced with a great army, accompanied by the Emperor; but, on the fourth or fifth day's march, the Syed was assassinated. After he had received the mortal stab, he had strength to cry, Kill the Emperor; but the conspirators had taken measures for his protection, and the Ameer's nephew, who endeavoured to penetrate to the imperial tent, was overpowered and slain. The Vizir, on hearing the fate of his brother, took one of the remaining princes, and proclaimed him emperor. In a great battle fought at Shahpore, he was vanquished and taken prisoner; and Mahomed Shah, released from the state of tutelage in which he had been held by the Syeds, entered his capital in great pomp and ceremony, and was hailed as if it had been his accession to the throne.

The Nizam-ul-Mulk was now invited from the Deccan to receive the office of Vizir. "He earnestly exhorted the Emperor to apply his own mind to affairs, and to infuse vigour into the government, now relaxing and dissolving through negligence and corruption." But the pleasantries of his gay companions, who turned the person and the counsels of the old and rigid Vizir into ridicule, were more agreeable to the enervated mind of Mahomed; and the Nizam, in disgust, under pretence of coercing a refractory governor in Gujerat, withdrew from the capital. Saadut Khan was about the same time appointed Soubahdar of Oude. The Nizam, having reduced to his obedience the province of Gujerat, and taken possession of Malwah, which was also added to his extensive government, paid another visit to the capital, where he found the

temper of administration as negligent and dissolute as before. Despairing, or careless of a remedy, and hoping nothing but evil, he thought only of securing himself in his extensive dominions; and under pretence of a hunting excursion, left the capital without leave, and pursued his march to Deccan. The Emperor, who now both hated and feared him, despatched a private message to the governor of Hyderabad to oppose and cut him off, with a promise of all his government of Deccan, as the reward of so meritorious a service. The bribe was too great to be resisted; but the undertaker paid the forfeit of his temerity with his life. The Nizam, however, was deprived of his vizireet, and of his new governments of Malwah and Gujerat. To be revenged, he encouraged his deputy in Gujerat to resist the imperial commands, and the Mahratta chiefs Peelajee and Coantojee, to invade the provinces. Some inadequate and unavailing efforts were made to oppose the progress of these Mahratta chiefs, who were afterwards joined (still at the instigation, it is said, of the old Nizam) by Bajeerauw, the general of Sahoojee. The struggle was upheld with more or less of vigour by the imperial deputies, till about the year 1732; when the provinces of Gujerat and Malwah might be regarded as completely reduced under Mahratta dominion. Never contented with present acquisitions, the Mahrattas made endless encroachments; and by degrees seized upon several districts in the soubahs of Agra and Allahabad, plundering even to the vicinity of Agra. When opposed by an army, they retreated; scoured the country; cut off supplies; and made flying attacks. When the opposing army was obliged to retrace its steps, they immediately re-seized the country, and still more extensively diffused their depredations. During the cab-

nities of the empire, Saadut Khan alone, among the omrahs and governors, exhibited any public spirit, or any manliness and vigour. Though his province, placed beyond the Ganga, was little exposed to the devastations of the destructive Mahrattas, he marched out, in 1735, to chastise a body of them, who were plundering to the very walls of Agra; overtook them by forced marches, brought on a battle, and gave them a signal overthrow. The wreck of the army joined Bajeerauw, in the neighbourhood of Gwalior. Saadut Khan intended to follow up his blow, to pursue the marauders to their own country, and redeem the lost honour of the imperial arms. But the Ameer-al-Omrah, jealous of the glory, sent him orders to halt till he should join him with the troops of the capital. Bajeerauw, having time to restore animation to the Mahrattas, and learning the removal of the troops from Delhi, marched with Mahratta speed towards that capital, and communicated the first intelligence of his stratagem, by the fires which he lighted up in the suburbs. He was in possession of the outskirts of the city for three days before the approach of the imperial army made it necessary for him to decamp. He took the road to Malwah; and the pusillanimous monarch was advised by his dissolute courtiers, to purchase the promise of peace, by paying the *chout*, or fourth of his revenues to the Mahrattas."*

A more dreadful enemy was now about to fall upon the misgoverned and dismembered empire. This was Nadir Shah, who, after freeing Persia by his valour from the ignominious yoke of the Afghans, seated

* Mill, ii. 295—299.

himself on the throne, and had now advanced to Candahar, on a war of extermination against those restless barbarians. "Caubul, which already contained a great mixture of Afghauns, was now crowded with that people, flocking from the cruelties of the foe. Nadir was not soon tired in the pursuit of his prey. He had reason to be dissatisfied with the government of Hindostan, to which he had sent repeated embassies, received with something more than neglect. In the general negligence and corruption which pervaded the whole business of government, the passes from Persia into Caubul were left unguarded. The Persian protested, that he meant neither hostility nor disrespect to his brother of Hindostan; and that, if not molested, he would chastise the accursed Afghauns, and retire. The opposition he experienced was indeed so feeble, as hardly to excite the resentment of Nadir; and after slaughtering the Afghauns in Caubul, he was ready to withdraw; when a circumstance occurred which kindled his rage. A messenger and his escort, whom he had despatched from Caubul to the emperor at Delhi, were murdered at Jellalabad by the inhabitants; and instead of yielding satisfaction for the injury, the silken courtiers of Mahomed counselled appeasement, and ridiculed the supposition of danger from the shepherd and freebooter of Khorasan. That furious warrior hastened to the offending city, and slaughtered the inhabitants without mercy. From this, he pursued his route to Peishawir, and thence to Lahore; at both of which places he experienced but little opposition. He then turned his face directly to the capital, where Mahomed and his counsellers, wrapped in a fatal security, were not prepared to believe that the Persian usurper would dare to march against the Majesty of Hindostan. The Hindostanee

army, which had been two months in the field, had only advanced to Carnaul, four days' march from Delhi, where it was surprised by the appearance of the enemy, while Mahomed and his friends were yet ignorant of his approach. The hardy and experienced valour of Nadir's bands quickly spread confusion among the ill-conducted crowds of Mahomed. The Ameer-al-Omrah was mortally wounded, and died after leaving the field of battle. Saadut Khan fought till he was deserted by his followers, and taken prisoner. Nadir, who had no project upon Hindostan, left the disordered camp the next day, without an attack, and readily listened to the peaceful counsels of his prisoner, Saadut Khan, who hoped, if now set free, to obtain the vacant office of Ameer-al-Omrah. Mahomed honoured the Shah with a visit in his camp; and the Shah consented to evacuate Hindostan upon receipt of two *crores* of rupees. The insatiable avidity, however, of Nizam-al-Mulk fatally defeated this happy agreement. He demanded, and was too powerful to be refused, the office of Ameer-al-Omrah. The disappointed and unprincipled Saadut hastened to inform Nadir, that two *crores* of rupees were no adequate ransom for the empire of Hindostan; that he himself, who was but an individual, would yield as great a sum; that Nizam-al-Mulk, who alone had power to offer any formidable resistance, ought to be secured; and that Nadir might then make the wealth of the capital and empire his own. A new and dazzling prospect was spread before the eyes of the ravager. Mahomed Shah and Nizam-al-Mulk were recalled to the Persian camp; when Nadir marched to Delhi, the gates of which were opened to receive him.

"For two days had the Persians been in Delhi,

and, as yet, observed the strictest discipline and order. But on the night of the second, an unfortunate rumour was spread, that Nadir Shah was killed; upon which the wretched inhabitants rose in tumult, ran to massacre the Persians, and filled the city throughout the night with confusion and bloodshed. With the first light of the morning, Nadir issued forth; and dispersing bands of soldiers in every direction, ordered them to slaughter the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian should be found. From sun-rise to mid-day, the sabre raged; and by that time, not fewer than 8000 Hindoos, Moguls, or Afghauns were numbered with the dead. During the massacre and pillage, the city was set on fire in several places. The destroyer at last allowed himself to be persuaded to stay the ruin: the signal was given, and in an instant, such was the authority of Nadir, every sword was sheathed.

"A few days after the massacre, a nobleman was despatched by Nadir, to bring from Oude the two *crores* of rupees promised by its governor, Saadut Khan; who, in the short interval, had died of a cancer in his back. On the same day, he commenced his seizure of the imperial treasure and effects; three *crores* and fifty *lacks* in specie;* a *crore* and fifty *lacks* in plate;† fifteen *crores* in jewels;‡ the celebrated peacock throne, valued at a *crore*;§ other valuables to the amount of eleven *crores*;‖ besides

* £ 3,500,000
† 1,500,000
‡ 15,000,000
§ 1,000,000
‖ 11,000,000

" In all, if we believe our authorities, £32,000,000

elephants, horses, and the camp-equipage of the Emperor. The bankers and rich individuals were ordered to give up their wealth, and were tortured to make discovery of what they were suspected to have concealed. A heavy contribution was demanded of the city, and exacted with cruel severity: many laid violent hands upon themselves, to escape the horrid treatment to which they saw others exposed. Famine pervaded the city, and pestilential diseases ensued. Seldom has a more dreadful calamity fallen upon any portion of the human race, than that in which the visit of Nadir Shah involved the capital of Hindostan. Yet, a native and contemporary historian informs us, (such is the facility with which men accommodate themselves to their lot,) 'that the inhabitants of Delhi, at least the debauched, who were by far the most numerous part, regretted the departure of the Persians; and to this day (says he), the excesses of the soldiery are topics of humour in the looser conversation of all ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindostan, at this time, regarded only personal safety and personal gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it; and man, centered wholly in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindostan at the invasion of Nadir Shah; nor have the people become more virtuous since, consequently not more happy, nor more independent.'*

"Nadir, having ordered, as the terms of peace, that all the provinces on the west side of the Indus, Cabul, Tatta, and part of Moultan, should be detached from the dominions of the Mogul, and added

* Aurungzebe's Successors, by Scott, p. 214.

to his own, restored Mahomed to the exercise of his degraded sovereignty; and, bestowing upon him and his courtiers some good advice, began, on the 14th of April, 1739, his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession for thirty-seven days." *

The departure of Nadir left the Nizam in possession of the whole remaining power of the empire. He declined, however, the vizareet, which was bestowed upon one of his relations, while his eldest son was made Ameer-al-Omrah. The Nizam's views were directed towards establishing for himself an independent kingdom in the Deccan, which was now in jeopardy: his second son, whom he had left as his deputy, was already aspiring to independency. After several months spent without avail in negotiation, the father was obliged to draw his sword against the son. A victory gained in the neighbourhood of Ahmednuggur, restored to the Nizam his government, and made the rebel his father's prisoner. To compose the provinces subject to his command, was the work of years. The Mahrattas had again invaded the Carnatic; and the war which he carried on against them, was the most remarkable of his subsequent transactions. Nearly the whole of that great province was eventually recovered to his empire.

A refractory chief called the Emperor into the field in the year 1745. This was Ali Mahomed Khan, the founder of the power of the Rohillas; a name of some celebrity in the modern history of India. Ali Mahomed is said to have been a Hindoo of the caste of

* Mill, ii. 400—404. The reason assigned by Nadir for his lenient conduct towards Mahomed Shah, was, that he was, like himself, of Toorki lineage, and that Mahomed was a descendant of the noble house of Timour.—See Mod. Trav., *Persia*, vol. i. pp. 202—205.

cow-keepers, but he had been adopted and reared by an Afghan of the Rohilla clan. He entered the army as a common soldier; was promoted to the command of a small body of Afghan cavalry, with which he distinguished himself in the army of the Vizir; and obtained, as a reward, a grant of land, with an appointment to manage certain districts in Moradabad. By degrees he increased the number of Afghans in his pay, and by successive acquisitions extended the limits of his authority, till they comprehended the greater part of the territory thenceforward known by the name of Rohilcund (Rohilla-khand). The progress of this adventurer at length alarmed the Viceroy of Oude, upon whose representations the Emperor was induced to take the field against him. The Rohilla, unable to resist the imperial army, shut himself up in one of his fortresses; but, on receiving the promise of pardon from the Vizir, who, from opposition to the Viceroy of Oude, supported him underhand, he surrendered, and was appointed *faujdar* of Sirhind.

On the death of Nadir Shah, who was murdered in his tent near Meshed, in June 1747, Ahmed Abdallah, one of his generals, seized upon Afghanistan and the bordering provinces in India that had been ceded to his master by Mahomed Shah, and proclaimed himself King of the Afghans, under the title of *Door-dooraun* (the Pearl of the Age).* Candahar, Caubul, and Lahore successively submitted to his arms, and he directed his ambitious views towards the capital of Hindostan. The Vizir advanced at the head of a

* The Dooraunee Afghans (the present ruling tribe) were formerly called Abdaulees, till Ahmed Shah, in consequence of a dream of a famous saint at Chundunee, changed it to Dooraunee, and took himself the title of Shah Dooree Dooraun.—Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 114.

numerous army to repel the invasion, but, after several days skirmishing, was killed in his tent by a cannon-ball. On the following day, a still more disastrous accident occurred in the camp of the Afghans. A magazine of rockets and ammunition accidentally exploded, and killing a great number of people, spread through the army confusion and dismay; insomuch that Abdallah found it expedient to abandon his enterprise for the present, and marched back, unmolested, to Caubul. The Emperor just lived long enough to receive the welcome intelligence, and expired, his constitution exhausted by the use of opium, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was succeeded, without opposition, by his son, Ahmed Shah. About a month afterwards, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had been offered the vizireet, died, at the advanced age of a hundred and four, leaving his government of the Deccan to be seized by his second son, Nazir Jung.

In the reign of Ahmed Shah, which lasted about six years, the entire dissolution of the Mogul empire may be said to have taken place. The last army that could be reckoned Imperial, was defeated by the Afghan monarch in 1749, when Mooltan and Lahore became finally severed from the dominion of the Moguls. About the same time, an expedition was undertaken against one of the Rajpoot chiefs, who had seized upon certain districts of Ajmeer: this war, too, was ill-conducted, and ended in disgrace. In Allahabad, the dangerous expedient had been resorted to by the Vizir, of calling in the aid of the Mahrattas to repel the Rohilla Afghans; and a large portion of country was resigned to them as a reward for their services. In like manner, the Ameer-al-Omrah, Ghazi-ud-deen, the grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was

induced to invite the co-operation of the Mahratta general, Holkar Mulhar, to clear the province of Agra of the Jaats. During the weak administration of Mahomed Shah, those mountaineers had extended their incursions to the very walls of Agra, and their chieftain first assumed the proud title of rajah. With Soorajee Mul, the present Jaat rajah, the Emperor was now induced to form an alliance, with a view to protect himself against the ambitious designs of his Ameer-al-Omrah. This step proved fatal to him. Ghazi-ud-deen marched to the capital, seized and blinded the Emperor, and bringing forth a son of the late Jehaundar Shah, raised him to the throne, with the title of Allumghire II.

This revolution occurred in the year 1753. The new Emperor might have been taught by the fate of his predecessor, what would be the probable consequence of his attempting to shake off the yoke of the minister to whom he owed his crown; but preferring a foreign protector to an overbearing subject, he invited the aid of the Doorannee Shah, whom Ghazi-ud-deen had exasperated by an attempt on Lahore. For some weeks, Delhi was again at the mercy of a barbarian soldiery; and when Ahmed Abdullah retired, he left Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, a Rohilla chief, who had been made Ameer-al-Omrah, as deputy guardian of the shadow of royalty. No sooner, however, had the Doorannees made their retreat, than Ghazi-ud-deen returned, and besieged the Ameer and his imperial *protegé* in the capital. The former escaped to Rohilcund, where he was soon joined by the eldest son of Allumghire; but the Emperor again fell into the power of his vizir, who, in 1759, caused him to be assassinated.

Alee Gohur, who afterwards assumed the title of

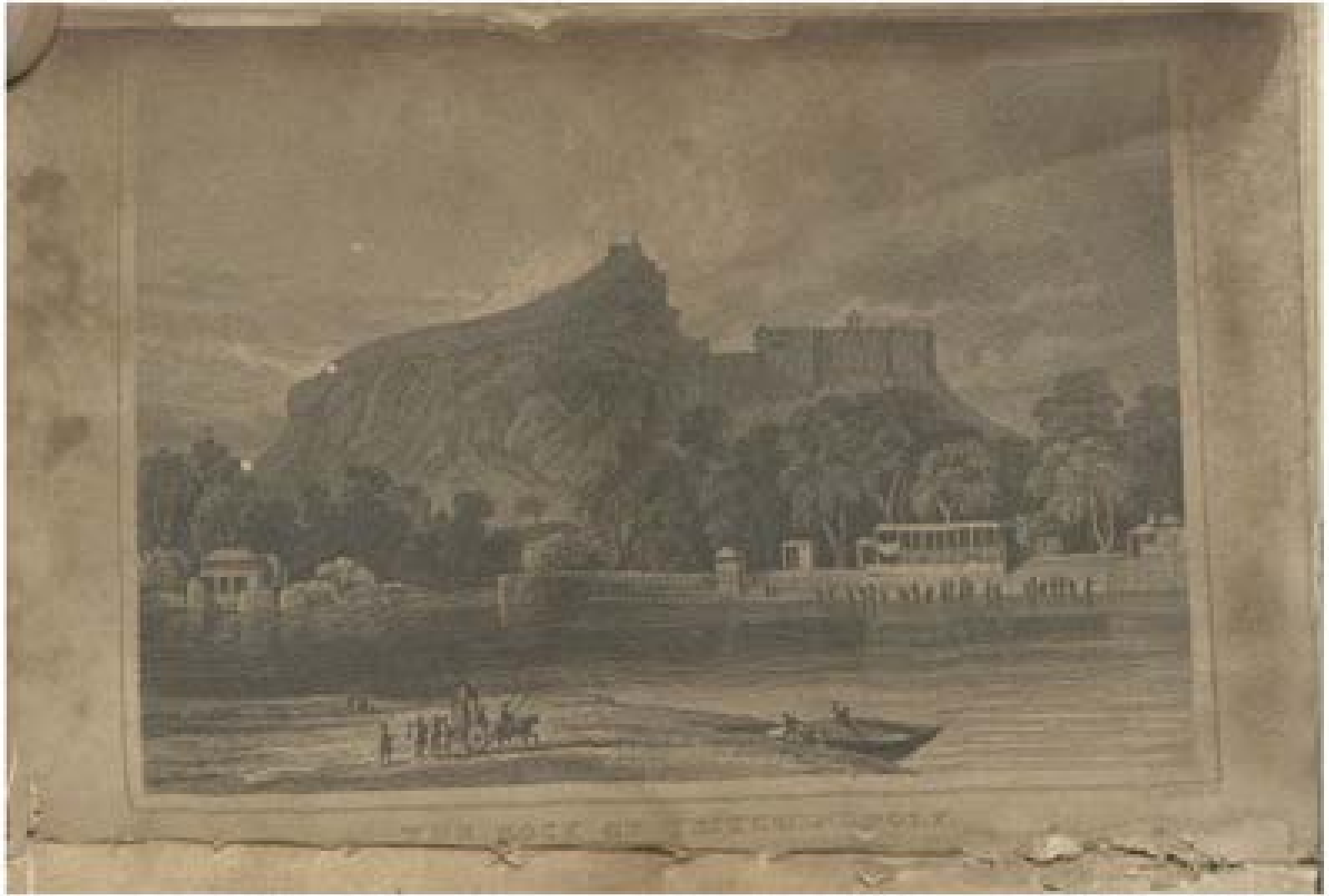
Shah Allum II., may be considered as having nominally succeeded to the fallen empire of Delhi; although he was now a fugitive, without territory and without friends, save a few omrahs attached to his family. After passing through repeated vicissitudes, the detail of which belongs to the history of British India, he was enabled, in May 1771, to march from Allahabad, where he had for some years resided under British protection, at the head of 16,000 men; and by a treaty with the Mahrattas, on the 25th of December, he re-entered the capital of his ancestors. By this ill-advised step, he threw himself, in fact, into the hands of the Mahrattas, whose prisoner and instrument he thenceforth became, while he deprived himself of all the solid advantages he had derived from his alliance with the Bengal Government. A few years after, Ghoolam Khadir, a Rohilla chieftain, who had been made Ameer-al-Omrah, rebelled against the unhappy monarch, and deprived him of his eyes. In this state he fell into the power of Sindia, the Mahratta, who, in 1788, assisted by French officers, got possession of Delhi. He remained a state prisoner in his palace, in poverty and neglect,* when in 1803, Delhi was taken by the British army under General (Lord) Lake, and the Imperial Mogul became the pensioner of English merchants. By the arrangements now made, over the city of Delhi and a small portion of surrounding territory, a nominal sovereignty was

* "It was during this period," we are told, "that most of the marble and inlaid ornaments of the palace were mutilated, since they were actually sold to buy bread for himself and his children."—Brown's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 307. Mr. Mill, however, zealously vindicates the conduct of the French officers who had the care of the Emperor's person, from the charge of inhumanity, although he seems to admit that he was found in extreme poverty.—Mill's, vol. vi. p. 418.

reserved to the Emperor. The whole was, indeed, to remain under the charge of the British Resident; but the revenues were to be collected, and justice to be administered, in the name of the Mogul. Besides the produce of this territory, the sum of 90,000 rupees was to be issued from the treasury of the Resident for the expenses of the Imperial household.* In fact, his Majesty, Shah Allum, Emperor of Hindostan, as he was still styled by the Governor General, was reduced to the state of Lord Mayor of the city of Delhi.

In this shadowy royalty, the aged monarch was succeeded by his son Akbar, the present Emperor, now between sixty and seventy years of age;—"a good-tempered, pallid old man, of moderate talents, but polished and pleasing manners." Still, every inch an Emperor, he is said to have felt deeply wounded by the demand of Lord Hastings to sit in his presence.† Still, when he holds his state, his officers proclaim his titles, "the Ornament of the World, the Asylum of Nations, King of Kings! the Emperor Akbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" He is all this—by courtesy and heraldic right; for he is the very representative of Tamerlane and Baber, of Akbar and Aurungzebe; the living relic, the picturesque and not uninstructive memorial, of all the power, and wealth, and greatness once associated with the name of the GREAT MOGUL.

* Mill, vol. vi. p. 462. † Heber, vol. i. p. 368.



THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

INDIA.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

"Two centuries have elapsed since a few British merchants humbly solicited permission of the Indian princes to traffic in their dominions. The British power, at present, embraces nearly the whole of that vast region which extends from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, and from the mouths of the Brahmapootra to the Indus."* With this striking statement, the Historian of British India introduces his interesting theme. The conquest, by a company of merchants, of a territory extending over more than a million of square miles, and sustaining upwards of a hundred millions of inhabitants; those sovereign merchants resident in a small island at the further extremity of the ancient world; is a political phenomenon which would have appeared incredible if foretold, and which will astonish succeeding ages. But the most striking feature of this conquest is, that it has been effected, at almost every stage, with trepidation and unfeigned reluctance; or, at least, in opposition to the wishes and

* Mill's British India, v. i. p. 1.

policy of those with whose capital and in whose name it has been carried on. The Directors of the Company's concerns in England, Sir John Malcolm remarks, "denounced at every step, that progress which their agents made to territorial power in India; and with a view of checking this spirit of aggrandisement, they, at last, called for the aid of the Legislature, which readily seconded their efforts, and gave the authority of law to their orders. But had those proprietors, or had the English ministry been more fully informed, or had they drawn their conclusions from plain, practical reasoning, combined with a correct view of human nature, as it existed in the country for which they legislated, rather than from abstract principles of general policy, they might, perhaps, have been more moderate and less dogmatical in their efforts to correct the system; they might have discovered that, though they might regulate, it was a vain attempt to endeavour to stop altogether, the career of a state which was rising rapidly into greatness under the influence of causes that were irresistible in their force, and which it was not possible to control. The truth is, that from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or by the rapacity and ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength, which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the recurrence of similar danger."*

* Malcolm's Political History of India, vol. i. pp. 3, 4.

A rapid review of the origin and progress of the British power in India, is all that will be attempted in the present historical outline. The domestic and parliamentary history of the Company does not come within our province.

The earliest communication between England and India, has been traced back to a remote period in our annals. William of Malmsbury relates, that Alfred the Great sent a mission to St. Thomas's on the coast of Coromandel, about A.D. 883; and in the Saxon Chronicle we are further told, that the English monarch, having heard that the Christian missionaries in India were in great distress, despatched Sighelmus, one of his favourite priests, to convey his alms to the monks of St. Thomas's. Having executed his commission, he returned to England after an absence of several years, bringing with him a considerable number of precious stones, which he deposited in the church of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire; of which see he was created bishop, as a reward for his services. In consequence of the splendid account given by Sighelmus of the trade, opulence, and luxuries of the East, we are moreover assured, that Alfred caused several ships to be built and equipped, for the special object of embarking in the Indian trade; and that, having lent these ships to a few adventurous merchants, whom he also assisted with money, they performed some successful voyages to the ports of Syria and Egypt, whence they returned richly laden with Indian commodities. It does not, however, appear, that the commercial intercourse thus begun by the enterprising genius of Alfred, was continued for any length of time, or even prosecuted with any regularity during the most prosperous period of his reign. From the death of that great prince to the time of Henry VIII., England was

supplied with the commodities of the East by the Venetians and Florentines.

"After the Norman conquest, an event which contributed to increase the external commerce of England, a ship of considerable burden was sent annually from Venice to the port of Southampton, laden with the various products of India. As the English barons advanced in wealth and civilization, they acquired a taste for luxuries, and the demand for eastern commodities was consequently augmented. In the reign of Edward the Third, the Venetian merchants employed five ships in the English trade; and the principal part of the cargoes of these vessels consisted in sugar, spiceries, and aromatics, which were much used at the tables of men of rank. These valuable articles, together with silks and cotton stuffs, were paid for partly in specie, and partly in woollens, untanned leather, and tin; but, as the prices of the eastern commodities were very exorbitant, the balance of trade was in favour of the Venetians. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and the superiority of English shipping and seamen to those of any other country, neither the statesmen nor the merchants of England used any endeavours to embark in this lucrative branch of commerce; a sufficient proof, not only of the want of a trading capital, but of the total absence of that speculative spirit which is the living principle of all commercial pursuits. Hence the English were contented to receive through the Venetians, those commodities on which they placed so high a value, and in which they must have been sensible they would have derived more advantage from trading themselves. But when the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope threw the Indian trade into the hands of the Portuguese, and Lisbon thereby became the great

emporium for the productions of the East, the merchants of London imported them from that city on their own account, and conveyed them to the Thames in their own ships.

"About this period, Mr. Robert Thorne,* a merchant in London, presented a memorial to Henry the Eighth, setting forth the great advantages that would accrue to the nation, by opening a direct commerce to India; and with a view to suit his scheme to the ambitious spirit of that prince, he proposed to proceed to India by a new route. For, as the Portuguese had pushed their discoveries to the east, and the Spaniards to the west, it was an object worthy of the English, to lay open the navigation of the northern ocean. Though this project was certainly extremely plausible, it does not appear that Henry ever gave it the smallest encouragement, or even considered its possible practicability with that attention which might have been expected from his intelligent mind. It was not till A.D. 1578, that the first light was thrown on this navigation by Sir Francis Drake."†

The expedition fitted out under the command of this illustrious navigator, for the express purpose of reaching the Southern Ocean, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577. Having passed the Straits of Magellan, and ravaged the western coast of

* Thorne had resided for many years at Seville, where he had acquired particular knowledge of the intercourse which the Portuguese had opened with the East.

† Asiat. An. Reg. 1801, pp. 17, 18. Two voyages, however, in search of a north-west passage, were undertaken in the reign of Henry VIII.; one about this period, and another ten years later. These having failed, a small squadron was fitted out in the reign of Edward VI., to explore a north-east passage, which, though unfortunate, was followed by several vigorous attempts; and before this project was finally abandoned, that of obtaining a passage by the north-west was vigorously resumed. See authorities in Mill, vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

Spanish America, to avoid the risk of encountering a Spanish fleet, he formed the bold design of crossing the Pacific, and regaining England by the Cape of Good Hope. After visiting the Moluccas and touching at Java, he performed with ease the navigation of which the Portuguese had spread such terrific accounts, and arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September, 1580, after a voyage of two years, ten months, and a few days; exhibiting to the wondering eyes of his countrymen, the first English ship, and the second in the world, that had circumnavigated the globe.*

Drake was followed, in 1586, by Cavendish, who took the course of the Magellan Straits, visited the Ladrones and the Philippines, passed through the Moluccas, and doubling the Cape in May, landed at Plymouth in September, 1588; having performed the voyage in about two years and seven weeks.

"In 1591, a Mr. Raymond and a Mr. James Lancaster jointly equipped three vessels for a voyage to India, with a view not only to trade with the natives of the East, but to cruise against the Portuguese ships returning to Europe. Their voyage, however, proved extremely disastrous. Of the three ships that sailed from England, Lancaster's was the only one that reached India; the others perished off the Cape of Good Hope. The disabled condition of Lancaster's ship, on his arrival at Calicut, rendered it essential to lay out all his money in purchasing materials to repair her; so that he was prevented from fulfilling any one of the purposes of his voyage; and to com-

* Mill, i. p. 9—11. "The first Englishman that went to India by the Cape of Good Hope, was a person of the name of Stevens. He had resided at Lisbon in the capacity of a factor; and in A.D. 1579, was induced to make a voyage to Goa in a Portuguese ship. On his return to Europe, he published an account of his voyage, and of the Portuguese establishment on the coast of Malabar."—*Asiat. Ann. Reg.*, 1801, p. 18. HARRIS'S *Voyages*, I. 873.

plete his misfortunes, he was, on his return home, driven far to the westward, and cast away amongst the West India islands, where he was providentially rescued by a French vessel, and carried to England.

"The accounts brought by these mariners of the facility of trading with the natives of Hindostan, as well as of the general indignation which the atrocities of the Portuguese had excited amongst them, operated as a very powerful inducement with the London merchants to engage in the eastern commerce. They began to speculate on the great advantages to be derived from it; but, as they had not capital enough to carry it on by way of the Cape of Good Hope, on a scale sufficiently large to afford them any chance in a competition with the Portuguese, they resolved to adopt a more prudent line of conduct, and to endeavour to revive the trade with Syria and Egypt; which the Venetians, from a relaxation of their former industry, had permitted to decay. A memorial was accordingly presented to Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1584, signed by a considerable number of the most respectable merchants, in which the national benefits likely to arise from an eastern trade, are exhibited in the most favourable light, and in which, therefore, Her Majesty is earnestly supplicated to make overtures to the Turkish Government, for entering into a treaty of commerce, whereby Her Majesty's subjects should obtain such privileges as would enable them to open a trade with the merchants of Syria and Egypt, on the solid grounds of reciprocal advantages and entire confidence. The Queen received this proposal with perfect cordiality, expressed her satisfaction at the mercantile spirit which was beginning to shew itself in the country, and assured the memorialists, that

she would lose no time in complying with so rational and laudable a request. The Queen being, besides, always disposed to encourage commercial projects, and entertaining a favourable opinion of this one, immediately dispatched letters to the Turkish Emperor at Constantinople, submitting to him certain articles which she proposed as the basis of a treaty of commerce. These letters were received with courtesy; and the proposition which they contained being agreed to with the utmost readiness, a treaty was soon after concluded between the two Powers, by which the merchants of England obtained privileges, in the ports of the Turkish empire, superior to those which had ever before been granted to any other nation. Henceforward, the commodities of India were brought to England in English ships; and the trade thus opened with the Turkish empire, continued to be conducted with unabated spirit for many years after the establishment of the East India Company.

"But this branch of commerce was not attended with those great national advantages which it was expected to produce. From the number of hands through which the Indian commodities passed before they reached England, the price put upon them was necessarily high; and the Dutch, who had now established themselves in various parts of India, and vigorously prosecuted the trade thither, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, easily undersold the English and Turkey merchants, even at the London market. This mortifying circumstance served to infuse a new spirit into the commercial ardour which then prevailed; and some of the most opulent London merchants determined, if supported by Government, no longer to suffer the Portuguese and the Dutch to

monopolize the valuable trade of India. In carrying this determination into effect, they were assisted by the celebrated George, Earl of Cumberland, and a number of gentlemen of independant fortune, who agreed to join them in the speculation of fitting out a certain number of ships to trade to India, provided they obtained a charter from Government, granting to those who engaged in this concern, the exclusive privilege of carrying on the commerce between England and India. Upon application being made to the Queen, to know the sentiments of Her Majesty on this subject, she expressed her approbation of the measure, and her desire to give it every encouragement. She had indeed anticipated, in her comprehensive mind, the idea of the merchants; and with a view to realize it successfully, Mr. John Mildenhall, the English consul at Constantinople, was sent overland to Hindostan, charged with letters from Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. The object of this mission was, to obtain from that prince such privileges for the English merchants who came to the ports of his dominions, as would give them a decided advantage over the other European nations that traded thither. The English ambassador was received at the court of Agra with every mark of courtesy, respect, and distinction; though the artifices which were used by the Portuguese Jesuits, then residing at Agra and Delhi, to impress Akbar with an unfavourable opinion of the English people, appear to have induced him to reject the friendly overtures of Elizabeth, and refuse to accede to her proposals.* It is certain, that Mildenhall returned to England without having attained the purpose of his

* In Murray's History of Discoveries in Asia, an abstract is given of Mildenhall's own dispatch, in which he professes at length to have carried his point. See Murray, ii. chap. 4.

mission; but it is not mentioned whether he brought any letters from Akbar to Elizabeth.

"The Queen, however, did not wait for the answer of that monarch, to decide upon the measure in contemplation; for, on the 31st of December, 1600, about six months subsequent to the departure of Mildenhall from Constantinople, the East India Company was instituted by the grant of a charter from Her Majesty. This charter was granted to George, Earl of Cumberland and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants; constituting them a body politic and corporate, with a common seal, which they were permitted to alter at pleasure, and under the title of the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.'" *

This charter, the origin of that important and anomalous power which has since grown up under the name of the East India Company, contained no article that remarkably distinguished it from other charters of incorporation, so commonly bestowed in that age upon trading associations. The original capital was 72,000*l.*, divided into shares of 50*l.*† The command of the first fleet, consisting of four ships, was entrusted to Captain Lancaster. It sailed from Torbay on the 2d of May, 1601, carrying 28,742*l.* in bullion, and 6000*l.* in goods; viz. cloth, lead, tin, cutlery, glass, quicksilver,

* Asiat. Annual Register, 1800, pp. 18—28.

† This appears to have been the proposed capital: but Mr. Mill states, that although the list of subscribers had been eagerly filled up, the calls of the committees for the payment of the instalments were very imperfectly obeyed. The subscribers who had paid, were therefore induced to take upon themselves the whole expense and risk of the first voyage; and the sums advanced soon amounted to 68,373*l.*, of which 30,771*l.* was expended in the purchase and equipment of four ships, and the remainder in their freight.—Mill, i. 22.

Muscovy hides, &c.* Lancaster was instructed to proceed, in the first instance, to Acheen, in Sumatra, for the purpose of procuring spices, which were then in great demand in England; and he carried out a letter from the Queen to the sovereign of that place, proposing a treaty of commerce and alliance. Notwithstanding the jealousies of the Portuguese missionaries, the English agent was well received; an advantageous treaty was concluded, and permission was given to erect a factory at Acheen. Having taken on board a quantity of pepper, Lancaster set sail for the Moluccas. In the Straits of Malacca, he captured a Portuguese vessel of 900 tons burden, carrying calicoes and spices, which sufficed to lade the fleet. He now, therefore, made for Bantam, in the Island of Java, where, on the delivery of the royal letters and presents, he met with a reception equally favourable, and left some agents, "the first rudiments of the Captain's factories." He then sailed for England, and arrived in September 1603, bringing to his owners a handsome profit on the capital embarked in the voyage.

In the years from 1603 to 1613, eight other voyages were fitted out on similar terms; all of which, except that of 1607, (in which both the vessels were lost,) were prosperous. The first five of the Company's voyages were exclusively directed to the islands of the Indian Ocean. It was not till 1609, that, on the recommendation of the factors at Bantam and in the Moluccas, an attempt was made to open a trade at Surat and Cambay, which was frustrated by the influence of the Portuguese.† The fleet which sailed in

* Mill, i. 23. In the Asiatic Annual Register, 1801, it is stated, that the fleet sailed from the Downs on the 13th of February.

† This was the sixth voyage, under Sir Henry Middleton, the

1611, had better success. At *Swally*, near Surat, it was attacked by a large Portuguese armament, against which it made a triumphant defence; and the Mogul Emperor no longer hesitated to allow the English to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goga, their merchandise being subject to a duty of 3½ per cent. The *firmaun* authorizing this first establishment of the English on the continent of India, was received on the 11th of August, 1612.* In 1614, the first royal embassy from this country to India was sent out. James, who had uniformly patronized the Company in every scheme not repugnant to his own pacific maxims, in compliance with a memorial from the governor and directors, appointed Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of the Mogul, then residing at Ajmere. He was received with every honour by Jehanghire, who seemed disposed to accede to all his requests; but the caution of his son and ministers, and the intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, prevented his meeting with all the success that had been anticipated. A confirmation,

date of which we give on the authority of Mr. Mill, who follows Bruce's Annals. In the Asiatic Annual Register (1801), it is stated to have sailed in 1611; prior to which (in 1609), the Company had solicited and obtained from King James, a renewal and enlargement of their charter. One of the ships built for this expedition, was 1000 tons burden, the largest which had been hitherto built in England. The king, who, with his court, attended the launching, named it the "Trade's Increase;" and the pinnace was named the "Pepper-corn." Sir Henry was attacked by the Portuguese near Surat, and not only beat them off, but is said to have captured some. According to Orme, however, the first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, Capt. Hawkins, which arrived in August 1608.

* Bruce in Mill, i. 98. According to the Asiatic Ann. Register, the fleet which, after two naval victories, obtained these advantages, sailed in 1612, under the command of Captain Thomas Best. Orme says, they arrived in September 1612.

however, of former grants was obtained, with the additional privilege of having resident agents at some of the principal towns.*

The efforts made by the Portuguese to check the progress of the English, were feeble, and probably accelerated their success, by stimulating them to active and decided measures; but the contest in some degree deranged the finances of the Company, as it involved them in the expense of military equipments. Their pecuniary embarrassments were further increased by the disastrous result of an attempt made at this period, to share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice islands. Although they succeeded in conciliating some of the Malay princes, and obtained the cession of several valuable settlements, their factories were ultimately destroyed; and, after the judicial massacre at Amboyna, in 1623, of ten Englishmen and others charged with conspiracy against the Dutch authorities, the English Company may be said to have abandoned to their rivals the commerce of the Eastern Islands.† The commerce and the credit of the Company now began rapidly to decline. The Dutch, trading on a larger capital and with more economy, were enabled both to outbid the English in purchase, and to undersell them in the Indian market. At home, the affairs of the joint-

* Mr. Mill and Sir John Malcolm give 1614 as the year in which this embassy left England. In Maundy's Hist. of Discov., Sir Thomas is said to have left England in March, 1615, and to have reached Surat in September. Orme says, the fleet sailed in March, 1615. See, for further details, Murray, ii. 130—138. Mill, i. 29—32. Orme, 202—206.

† Mr. Mill is of opinion, that the "massacre" at Amboyna has been greatly misrepresented. It excited, at the time, when the news reached this country, a popular indignation against the Dutch, bordering upon fury, which the Directors of the East India Company industriously fomented. But their own agents appear to have been guilty of equal atrocities. See Mill, vol. i. pp. 46—52.

stock Company were involved in loss and embarrassment by the arbitrary conduct of the Government, and the efforts of a rival association. It was while matters were at this low ebb, that a settlement was first effected at Madras; the only station as yet chosen, which was destined to make a figure in the future history of the Company. A place of strength on the Coromandel coast had long been desired, that might be a convenient station for providing the piece goods for which chiefly the trade to this coast was pursued. In 1740, 41, the permission of the Hindoo sovereign of the territory to erect a fort at Madras, was, therefore, eagerly embraced. The works were immediately begun by the Company's chief agent on that coast, without waiting for instructions from home; but the measure was disapproved by the Directors. The territory granted, extended five miles along shore, and one mile inland; and the fortress received the name of Fort St. George.* The wars which at this time raged among the natives, rendered commerce difficult and uncertain; but, as it was inconvenient to keep the business of this coast dependent on the distant settlement of Bantam, Fort St. George was, in 1653, 54, erected into a Presidency.

A short time before this, accident had led to the formation of that settlement in Bengal which has since proved the source of all the British power in

* The first English establishment on this coast was at Armegum (or Armagon), in the Carnatic, sixty-six miles north of Madras. This was made in the year 1625, but was found an inconvenient station. The local governor, or naik, who first invited the English agents to settle at Madras, is styled Damerla Venatadri; and the establishment was to receive the name of Chennapatam, in honour of his father; which name is still given to Madras by the natives. The monarch from whom the grant was obtained, was of the Hindoo dynasty of Bejanagur, then reigning at Chandergherry.

India. For the peculiar privileges which were here granted to the Company's agents, they were indebted to the professional skill of a physician. "This gentleman, whose name was Boughton, had proceeded from Surat to Agra, where he had the good fortune to cure the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan of a severe illness. For this, among other rewards, he received the privilege of carrying on a free-trade. He went to Bengal; and there his abilities obtained him equal favour from the Nabob of that country, who extended the privilege which had been given to him personally by the Emperor, to all his nation." On the payment of 3000 rupees, a license was given for an unlimited trade without payment of customs; and a factory was established at Hooghly by the Company's servants at Surat.*

This event, however, although it opened a new and rich channel of commerce, was not sufficient to arrest the decline of the Company's affairs; and the very existence of that body as a corporation, would appear to have been nearly annihilated during the civil wars in England. The trade to India was, indeed, thrown open from 1652 to 1657, in which year Cromwell renewed the Company's charter. "Nothing can be more opposite," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "than the accounts given by different authors, of the result of this short suspension of the Company's monopoly. One who wrote in 1681, asserts, that the nation had nearly lost, during this period, all its privileges in India, that the value of English commodities was lessened, and that those of India were advanced.

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 18. Mill, vol. i. p. 70. Sir John Malcolm states, that the factory at Hooghly was built in the year 1635. Mr. Mill, on the authority of Bruce, fixes this transaction in 1651, 52.

While another, whose work appeared in 1688, declares, that when the East India trade was laid open, the English merchants afforded the Indian commodities so cheap as to supply most parts of Europe, and even Amsterdam itself.* The death of Cromwell disappointed those expectations which the Company had latterly cherished in consequence of the support of his government; but these were more than fulfilled by a new charter which they obtained from Charles II., dated April 1661. In this, all the rights and privileges which had been granted by Queen Elizabeth and King James were not only confirmed, but new ones of great importance were added. The Company were invested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority, and with the power of making war or concluding peace with the infidels of India; the Crown reserving to itself, by this distinction, those prerogatives with respect to European governments."†

The Island of Bombay had been ceded to the King of England, on his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal in 1662, as part of her dowry; but, it being found, after a few years, that the expense of the government exceeded its revenue, in 1668, it was ceded by the Crown to the Company, together with authority to exercise all political powers necessary for its defence and government. Five years afterwards, Charles granted to them the island of St. Helena; and

* That the latter is the more correct statement, seems clearly established by the fact mentioned in the letters of Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary; that the merchants of Amsterdam, having heard that the Lord Protector would dissolve the East India Company at London, and declare the navigation and commerce to the Indies to be free and open, were greatly alarmed, considering such a measure as ruinous to their own East India Company.—See Mill, vol. i. p. 77; and Sir John Malcolm's note.

† Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 19, 20.

the whole aid of his government was applied to promote their interests and prosperity. In 1607, 8, appears the first order of the Company for the importation of tea. In the course of the next ten years, the trade with Bengal had grown to such importance, that, instead of a branch of the agency at Fort St. George, an agency was now constituted for Bengal itself. Directions were sent out to attempt opening a trade with China; and tea to the value of 100 dollars was, in 1676, 77, ordered on the Company's account. On the accession of James II., increased immunities and a still larger portion of sovereign power were granted to the Company. They were now authorised to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes by court-martial, and to coin money. The extraordinary powers thus conferred, were, unhappily, disgraced by numerous acts of corruption, violence, and oppression; and some of the more flagrant abuses in the conduct of their affairs, became at length, in 1695, the subject of Parliamentary inquiry.*

In 1687, the supreme seat of government, which had hitherto been at Surat, was transferred to Bombay, which was elevated to the dignity of a regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the Company's settlements. Madras was, at the same time, formed into a corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen.

"The English had met with less favour, and more oppression, from the native powers in Bengal, than in any other part of India. In 1683, 86, the resolution was adopted, of seeking redress and protection by force of arms. The greatest military equipment the Company had ever provided, was sent to India. Ten

* Their home expenses, it was found, had rapidly increased from 12000*l.* per annum to 90,000*l.* See Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 21—26. Mill, vol. i. pp. 102, 111, *et seq.*

armed vessels, of from twelve to seventy guns, under the command of Captain Nicholson, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the Members of Council in Bengal, were despatched with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong as a place for future security; and to retaliate in such a manner upon the Nabob and the Mogul, as to obtain reparation for the injuries and losses which had been already sustained. In addition to this force, the Directors, in the following year, made application to the King for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers; and power was granted to the Governor in India, to select from the privates such men as should appear qualified to be commissioned officers in the Company's service. By some of those innumerable casualties, inseparable from distant expeditions, the whole of the force arrived not at one time in the Ganges; and an insignificant quarrel between some of the English soldiers and the natives, was imprudently allowed to bring on hostilities, before the English were in a condition to maintain them with success. They were obliged to retire from Hooghly, after they had cannonaded it with the fleet, and took shelter at Chuttanutter, near Calcutta, till an agreement with the Nabob, or additional forces, should enable them to resume their stations. The disappointment of their ambitious schemes was bitterly felt by the Court of Directors. They blamed their servants in Bengal in the severest terms, not only for timidity, but breach of trust, as having turned the resources of the Company, which ought to have been effectually employed in obtaining profitable and honourable terms from the Nabob and the Mogul, to their own schemes of private warfare and emolument. A hollow truce was agreed

to by the Nabob, which he only employed for preparing the means of an effectual attack. The English, under the direction of Charnock, the Company's agent, made a gallant defence. They not only repulsed the Nabob's forces in repeated assaults, but stormed the fort at Tanna, seized the island of Injellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burnt the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet; the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered. In September 1687, an accommodation was effected, and the English were allowed to return to Hooghly, with their ancient privileges. But this was a termination of the contest ill-relished by the Court of Directors. Repeating their accusations of Charnock and their other functionaries, they sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to Madras and Bengal, for the purpose of reforming abuses, and of re-establishing, if possible, the factories at Cossimbazar and other places, from which they had been driven by the war. A large ship, the Defence, accompanied by a frigate, arrived from England under the command of a captain of the name of Heath, with instructions for war. The Company's servants had made considerable progress, by negotiation, in regaining their ancient ground, when Heath precipitately commenced hostilities, plundered the town of Balasore, and proceeded to Chittagong, which he found himself unable to subdue. Having taken the Company's servants and effects on board, agreeably to his orders, he sailed to Madras; and Bengal was abandoned.

"These proceedings, with the rash and presumptuous behaviour of Sir John Child on the western side of India, exasperated Aurengzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, and exposed the

Company's establishments to ruin in every part of India. The factory at Surat was seized; the island of Bombay was attacked by the fleet of the Sidees; the greater part of it was taken, and the governor was besieged in the town and castle. Aurengzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized; as was also that at Visigapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their servants were slain. The English stooped to the most abject submissions. With much difficulty they obtained an order for the restoration of the factory at Surat, and the removal of the enemy from Bombay. Negotiation was continued, with earnest endeavours to effect a reconciliation. The trade of the strangers was felt in the Mogul treasuries; and rendered the Emperor, as well as his deputies, not averse to an accommodation. But the interruption and delay sustained by the Company, made them pay dear for their premature ambition, and for the unseasonable insolence, or the imprudence of their servants.

"During these contests, the French found an interval, in which they improved their footing in India. They had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, where they were at this time employed in erecting fortifications.

"It was now laid down as a determinate object of policy, that independence was to be established in India; and dominion acquired. In the instructions forwarded in 1689, the Directors expounded themselves in the following words: 'The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade;—it is that must maintain our force, when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; it is that must make us a nation in India; without that, we are but as a

great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade.' It thus appears, at how early a period, when trade and sovereignty were blended, the trade, as was abundantly natural, became an object of contempt, and, by necessary consequence, a subject of neglect. A trade, the subject of neglect, is of course a trade without profit.

"This policy was so far gratified, about the same period, that Tegnapatam, a town and harbour on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the country powers. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David."*

The year 1690 was distinguished by an attempt to deprive the Company of a monopoly which they had so grossly abused. A committee of the House of Commons, appointed in January of that year, delivered it as their opinion, that a new Company should be established by act of parliament. In 1691, the House itself addressed the King to dissolve the Company, and to incorporate a new one; which was met by a reference of the question to a committee of the Privy Council. Notwithstanding this resolution of the Commons, a new charter was granted to the Old Company in 1693, by letters-patent from the Crown, confirming their exclusive privileges for twenty-one years. But towards the close of the very same season, the Commons came to a vote, that it was the right of all Englishmen to

* Mill, i. p. 104–108.

trade to the East Indies, or any other port of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament. In 1698, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, to give effect to the project of a new association, which was incorporated under the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies." The Old Company obtained in the ensuing season a legislative confirmation of their charter; and thus, the nation had two East India Companies established by parliamentary authority, instead of one deriving its powers from the royal prerogative. The New Company proved, however, a very unequal competitor with the Old; and the shares fell to a discount. The Old Company, under the difficulties with which they had to contend at home, resolved, by the most submissive behaviour, as well as by offers of services, to cultivate the favour of the Mogul. Their endeavours were not unsuccessful. They obtained, in 1690, a grant of the towns of Chattanutter, Gowindpore, and Calcutta; and they now began, but cautiously, so as not to alarm the native governments, to construct a fort. It was denominated Fort William; and the station was, in 1707, constituted a third Presidency.

The rivalship of the two Companies produced in India, all those acts of reciprocal opposition and hostility that naturally flowed from the circumstances in which they were placed. They laboured, by mutual defamation, to supplant each other in the good opinion of the natives and the native governments; and at length, their animosities broke out into open violence. At home, their contentions rose to almost equal height. The chief efforts of both parties were directed to the object of gaining power in the House of Commons; and in the general elections of 1700, each was detected in acts of bribery and corruption. The Old Company

corrupted members; their rivals purchased seats. Tired out at last with a struggle which threatened ruin to both parties, they united their stock under the charter which had been granted to the Old Company, bearing date Sept. 5, 1698; and assumed that name under which they have ever since been incorporated, The United East India Company.*

When the Company commenced their operations in India, upon the new foundation on which their affairs were now placed, Shah Allum had succeeded to his father Aurengzebe on the throne of Delhi. His second son, Azeem Oushaun, had, before the death of Aurengzebe, been appointed viceroy of Bengal; and as the chief object of the prince was to amass treasure against the impending contest for the succession, he accepted the bribes of the Company, and extended their privileges. It was under his authority that they purchased the zemindarship of Calcutta and the adjacent districts. On leaving Bengal to assist his father, he left his son Feroksere as his deputy; on whose accession, the government of this soubah devolved upon Jaffier Khan, and the English Company, as well as the natives, speedily began to feel the effects of his severe and oppressive administration. In 1713, the first year of the reign of Feroksere, the Presidency of Calcutta applied to the Directors at home for permission to send an embassy to the Mogul court, in the hope of obtaining further protection and privileges. Two of the Company's factors, under the direction of an Armenian merchant, accordingly set out for Delhi; and the Emperor, who had received a most magnificent

* Or, as worded in the charter, "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." The indentures giving legal efficacy to this transaction, passed under the Great Seal on the 22d of July, 1702.—Mill, i. 125—131.—Malcolm, i. 36.

account of the presents of which they were the bearers, ordered them to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass. They reached the capital, July 8, 1715, after a journey of three months; but there, the influence of Jaffier Khan was exerted to defeat an application which tended to abridge his authority and to impeach his government. The embassy and the costly present of the Company were treated with neglect, till the services of a medical gentleman who accompanied the embassy, opened an avenue to the imperial favour.* The Emperor commanded his benefactor to name his reward; and he had the virtue and public spirit to solicit, in lieu of any private advantage, privileges for the Company. One part of the prayer of the petitioners, which embraced several articles, was, that the Company might be allowed to purchase the zemindarships of thirty-seven towns, in the same manner as they had been authorised by Azeem Oshaun to purchase Calcutta, Chuttanuttee, and Govindpore. This would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the Hooghly, where it was their object to establish weavers subject to their own jurisdiction. The viceroy did not venture directly to oppose the operation of the imperial mandate made in their favour; but his power was sufficient to deter the holders of the land from disposing of it. The authority of the president's *dustuks* (passports), entitling the merchandise of the Company to pass free from duty, stoppage, or inspection, was, however, henceforward recognised; and this important immunity, from which the other European traders were excluded, greatly favoured the vent of the Company's goods.

* See p. 382 of vol. I.

Yet, it produced no improvement in the ultimate profits of the trade.*

In the year 1730, a fresh proposal for the formation of a new company was brought before the British Legislature; and three petitions for a free trade to India, were presented from the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. It was urged that, at this time, foreigners possessed at least a third part of the stock of the Company. The result was, however, a fresh triumph on the part of the Directors. Their exclusive privileges were renewed till the year 1766; and by a new act passed in 1744, the period was prolonged to three years' notice after Lady day 1780.

In the year 1744, war broke out between Great Britain and France; and it was not long before the most distant settlements of the two nations were involved in the effects of their destructive contentions. "The pursuits of commerce now yielded to the occupation of arms; and the strange spectacle was presented, of two European nations combating with each other on the shores of India, aided by different native princes of the country. These chiefs, impelled by a short-sighted policy, thus sacrificed their permanent independence for the attainment of momentary objects of hatred or ambition. For it was, early in this contest, very obvious, that whether the troops of England or of France prevailed, the native allies must become dependent on the conqueror."† Thus, Sir John Malcolm, from whom we borrow these remarks, justly refers to this colonial war as the commencement of a new era in the annals of British India.

* Mill, iii. 34, 44. In 1730, the Company found themselves obliged to reduce their dividends from 8 to 7 *per cent. per annum*; at which rate they continued till 1744, when they returned to 8 *per cent.*

† Malcolm, i. 20.

On the 14th of Sept. 1746, a French fleet anchored four leagues to the south of Madras, and effected the debarkation of between five and six hundred men. With the exception of Goa and Batavia, Madras was, at this period, the wealthiest and most important of the European establishments in India. The English in the colony did not, however, exceed 300 men, of whom 200 were the soldiers of the garrison. The Indian Christians, converts or descendants of the Portuguese, amounted to three or four thousand. The remainder, comprising Armenians, Mohammedans, and Hindoos, (chiefly the latter,) carried the whole population of the Company's territory to about 250,000. The French force, including the land party, consisted of 1000 or 1100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and 400 Caffres or blacks of Madagascar from the Mauritius. The town, which was very ill fortified, sustained a bombardment from the ships for five days, when the inhabitants, expecting an assault, capitulated. "They had endeavoured to save the place by the offer of a ransom; but Labourdonnais (who commanded the expedition) coveted the glory of displaying French colours on the ramparts of Fort St. George. He engaged, however, his honour to restore the settlement, and to content himself with a moderate ransom; and on these terms he was received into the town. He had not lost so much as one man in the enterprise. Among the English, four or five were killed by the explosion of the bombs, and two or three houses were destroyed. Labourdonnais protected the inhabitants, with the care of a man of virtue; but the magazines and warehouses of the Company, as public property, were taken possession of by the commissaries of the French."*

* MIL. iii. 47.

At this time, the settlements of the French in the Indian seas, were under two separate governments analogous to the English presidencies; the one established at the Isle of France, which comprised that island and the isle of Bourbon; the other at Pondicherry.* The latter government was at this time in the hands of Dupleix,—an able, ambitious, and crafty man, who had already begun to revolve those mighty projects which, after having repeatedly threatened with utter ruin the English interests in India, terminated in disaster to the French. Labourdonnais, in agreeing to restore Madras, had acted in conformity to an express article in his instructions from home, which peremptorily forbade him to make any permanent conquests. But Dupleix, who had other views, refused to sanction the convention, and shamelessly violated the capitulation. The English still possessed on this coast the settlement of Fort St. David, situated twelve miles S. of Pondicherry, with a territory still larger than that of Madras. A part of the inhabitants of the latter settlement had, after the violation of the treaty of

* The French first adventured to India in 1601, when two ships were fitted out from St. Malos, but they never reached their destination. In 1604, Henry IV. incorporated the first French East India Company with a charter for fifteen years; but the project was unsuccessful, and the Company was dissolved. In 1633, another French Company was formed, who attempted, without success, to colonize Madagascar. In 1672, a French force first appeared off the Coromandel coast, and captured San Tomé (Meliapore), formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, but then belonging to the king of Golconda. It was subsequently taken from them by the Dutch, and restored to the native sovereign, of whom the French purchased the village and district of Pondicherry. Here, from the wreck of their establishment at San Tomé, rose one of the most splendid European settlements in India. In 1693, Pondicherry was taken by the Dutch, but was restored to the French by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, with its fortifications greatly improved.

ransom, made their way thither; and Dupleix lost no time in attempting the reduction of this place. He was foiled, however, in his first effort, by the advance of a native army of nearly 10,000 men, in alliance with the English; and on the subsequent defection of the Nabob, a second expedition was frustrated by the seasonable approach of an English fleet. A counter attempt on Pondicherry by Major Lawrence, supported by Admiral Boscawen, was equally unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated all hostilities between England and France; and in August 1749, in pursuance of an article in that treaty, Madras was delivered up with its fortifications much improved. The English at the same time took possession of the neighbouring Portuguese town of San Tomé; it having been discovered, that the Roman Catholic priests resident there, had aided, by their information, the designs of the French upon Madras.

It was during this war, that the superiority of European troops over the native armies was first established. A numerous army, led by the son of the Nabob, was defeated before Madras by a single French battalion, principally by means of the precision and rapidity with which the artillery was manœuvred; and thus was the spell broken, which had long held the Europeans in timorous subjection to the native powers. To the French must be ascribed the discovery of the two grand secrets of military policy on which the subjugation of India has hinged; the weakness of the Indian armies against European discipline, and the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored peace to Europe, did not terminate the contest in India. This continued to be carried on by the gover-

ners at Pondicherry and Madras, under the guise of auxiliaries to the native powers; for at this time began those complicated disputes and intrigues respecting the nabobship of the Carnatic, which had for their real object, to establish a paramount ascendancy in the peninsula.*

At the time that Nizam-ul-Mulk was first established in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, the subordinate nabobship (or deputy government) of the Carnatic district was held by a chief named Saadut Ulla Khan; who, at his death in 1732, left his nephew, Dost Ali, in possession of the appointment. The rajahs (or naiks) of Tanjore and Trichinopoly, who seem to have been little more than zemindars, were immediately accountable for their tribute to the nabob; and when, on the death of the Trichinopoly rajah in 1736, the zemindarship passed into the hands of his widow, a pretence was made for treacherously seizing the government, which Dost Ali conferred upon his minister and son-in-law, Chunda Saheb. In 1740, the Carnatic was invaded by a Mahratta army under Rago-jee Bonslah; and Dost Ali lost his life in an encounter with the invaders. In the following year,

* Mr. Mill remarks, that "the English were the first to draw the sword" in the cause of the native princes, "and from no higher inducement than the promise of a trifling settlement." Sahoojee, a descendant of Shahjee, having been expelled from the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David, and entreated the assistance of the English in recovering his dominions. Without provocation, or any other motive than the advantage of possessing Devi-cotah, as the reward of their co-operation, the English, in April 1749, despatched a body of troops with artillery, professedly to re-instate the fugitive rajah. In the issue, however, his cause was abandoned, as he was found to be without partisans; but Devi-cotah remained, by agreement with the reigning king, Pertaup Singh, in possession of the English who had captured it. But this affair is a mere episode in the history of British India.—Mill, iii. 77—83.

they returned and laid siege to Trichinopoly. Chunda Saheb defended himself gallantly for three months, and was induced only by famine to surrender; on which he was sent prisoner, with his eldest son, to Satarah (or Sittara), then the declared capital of the Mahratta empire. Morari Row was left governor of the conquered province, and the whole of the lower countries south of the Coleroon, were thus placed under Mahratta dominion.

In the mean time, Sufder Ali, the eldest son and successor of Doast Ali, afraid to trust himself in the open city of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, took up his residence at Vellore.* Here he was assassinated by his relative Murtaza Khan (Mortiz Ali), who aspired to the government, but was subsequently compelled to flee. Mahommed Saeed, the infant son of Sufder Ali, was then proclaimed nabob, with the concurrence of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who, about this period, found leisure to march to Arcot;† and his general, Khajah Abdullah, was appointed the nabob's deputy or guardian. Having recovered Trichinopoly and its dependencies from the Mahrattas, Nizam-ul-Mulk returned to Golcondah, accompanied by Khajah Abdullah, who did not live to return to the possession of

* Col. Wilks says, that he had gone to Vellore, not from any apprehension, but to pass the festival at the house of his sister. The circumstance is immaterial.

† "He found the province in that state which illustrates the series of Indian revolutions. The Mahommedan deputies of every deputy's deputy, and the officer of every mud-fort or town, affected the fashionable designation of Nabob, as the first step towards independence; and so many of those important personages were announced at his first public levee, that he is said to have threatened with personal flagellation his chub-dars (or gold sticks in waiting) if they should dare thenceforth to announce any person by the title of *Nabob*."—Wilks, i. 294.

his lieutenancy. The Nizam then appointed Anwar-ud-deen Khan, who arrived at Arcot in April 1744, tainted with the suspicion of having poisoned his predecessor; and as he was the guardian of the young nabob, his character did not exempt him from the imputation of being secretly concerned in the subsequent murder of that unfortunate youth. He was, however, supported by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and was now formally appointed nabob.

It was this Anwar-ud-deen who was Nabob of Arcot (or of the Carnatic), when the French and English contended for Madras, and whom Dupleix treated alternately as friend and foe. He had arrived at Pondicherry soon after the capture of Chunda Saheb, and found in that fortress his wife and younger son, who had been sent thither for security on the first irruption of the Mahrattas. The sagacious statesman was not slow in perceiving the advantages which he might procure for his countrymen, if that chief could be restored to the government of the Carnatic. A communication was accordingly opened with the prisoner at Sattarah, through the medium of his family at Pondicherry; and a negotiation with the Mahrattas ensued, which terminated in the release of Chunda Saheb early in the year 1748. At the head of a few faithful partisans, he proceeded towards the Krishna, intending there to wait the communications of his friends. There, however, he was induced to engage in the service of the Polygar of Chittledroog against the Ranee of Bednore. A sanguinary contest between the hostile forces took place at Myondah, south of the Toombuddra, in which the Polygar was slain; and Chunda Saheb, after having his eldest son killed by his side, was led prisoner to Bednore. The Ranee was desirous of retaining his captive; but Chunda

Saheb had surrendered to some Mussulman troops, to whose commanders he confided his ulterior views; and by one of those singular turns of fortune so frequent in eastern biography, their prisoner became their captain.

The death of Nizam ul Mulk, and the battle of Mycondah, took place on the same day. Nazir Jung, having gained possession of his father's treasures, then assumed the power and titles of Soubahdar of the Deccan. There was, however, a favourite grandson of Nizam ul Mulk, by his daughter, who had been for several years nabob of Bejapore, and was now a competitor for the succession, to the prejudice of six of the Nizam's legitimate sons. His name was Hedayet Mohy-ud-deen Khan; to which he now added the title of Muzuffer Jung (victorious in war). Chunda Saheb determined to seek the court of this young adventurer; and his proffered services were eagerly accepted. He explained the importance of securing the assistance of Dupleix, and pointed out the advantage of commencing operations in the Carnatic, where the connexions of Chunda Saheb were still in possession of most of the strong places. Dupleix, on his part, warmly entered into a confederacy which promised to render him the chief instrument of raising to power a viceroy of the Deccan, and a nabob of the Carnatic. A body of French troops, consisting of 400 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 disciplined native infantry, under the command of M. D'Auteuil, were permitted by the ignorant and unmilitary combinations of Anwar-ud-deen, to traverse the lower country without molestation, and to join his adversary, who advanced at the head of 40,000 men. Anwar-ud-deen took up a fortified but ill-chosen position under the hill-fort of Amboor, fifty miles west of

Arcot. His entrenchments were stormed by the French, and, on the third charge, carried. The Nabob was slain in the engagement, at the uncommon age of 107 years; his eldest son, Mofuz Khan, was taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, only saved himself by timely flight. With the wreck of his army, he reached Trichinopoly, of which he had been made governor under his father, distant nearly 250 miles from the field of battle. There he proclaimed himself the successor to his father, and solicited, for some time in vain, the assistance of the English in support of his doubtful pretensions.

Muzuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb marched without further opposition to Arcot, where, in assuming the state and receiving the obeisance due to their new dignities, they wasted the time that might have made them masters of Trichinopoly. They afterwards visited Pondicherry; and Dupleix, who received them with oriental display, was invested with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the neighbourhood of the settlement. They did not march from Pondicherry till the end of October; and then, instead of proceeding to Trichinopoly, as Dupleix had advised, the urgency of their pecuniary wants induced them to direct their march to Tanjore, in the hope of levying a large contribution. By negotiation, by promises, and by stratagems, the Mahratta rajah of that place contrived to amuse and baffle them till the end of December, when intelligence was received from Dupleix, that Nazir Jung had already entered the province of Arcot, on his march to attack them; upon which they broke up their camp with precipitation, and, harassed by a body of Mahrattas, made a disgraceful retreat to Pondicherry.

On entering the province of Arcot, Nazir Jung

summoned Mohammed Ali to join his standard, and requested the English of Fort St. David to send him a body of Europeans.* Major Lawrence, accordingly, with 600 men, repaired to his standard. The French had marshalled their own forces and those of their allies in an excellent position, and the two armies were sufficiently near to skirmish; when thirteen French officers, displeased that they had not shared in the spoils of Tanjore, resigned their commissions in the face of the enemy, and infused terror and alarm into the troops they were appointed to command. D'Auteuil, deeming it no longer safe to risk an action, decamped by night towards Pondicherry. Chunda Saheb accompanied the French battalion, and behaved with distinguished gallantry during a difficult retreat. Muzaffer Jung, who had for some days been engaged in a secret negotiation with his uncle, finding that not a moment was to be lost, threw himself upon his mercy. His camp, deserted by its chief, was surprised, plundered, and destroyed; and on the evening of the ensuing day, not a man remained in the field, of the formidable confederacy which had disputed the empire of the Deccan.†

In the mean time, Dupleix, whose courage and confidence in his own resources never forsook him, sent an embassy to the camp of the victorious Soubahdar, offering terms of peace; and at the same time, he

* From the beginning of 1747, Mr. Mill says, the English had been intriguing both with Nizam ul Mulk and Nazir Jung, against the French. Dupleix, anxious to have two strings to his bow, and distrustful of the success of his allies, now endeavoured secretly to open a negotiation with Nazir Jung; and, according to his own account, it was the arrival of an English force in the camp of the Soubahdar, that alone prevented his embracing the proposals of the Frenchman.—Mill, iii. 73, 4.

† Wilks, i. 265.

entered into correspondence with some disaffected chiefs in his army, leaders of the Patan troops. The mission failed, of course, in its ostensible object; but Nazir Jung, whether "alarmed at the presence of so enterprising an enemy," or impatient at being detained from the pleasures of the harem and the chase, of both of which he was immoderately fond,—broke up his camp about the end of April, and returned to Arcot. Major Lawrence, fatigued with the duplicity which he encountered in his negotiations, and indignant at the weakness or treacherous conduct of his ally in withdrawing his army, retired to Fort St. David in disgust, leaving the field open to the machinations of the French.

While the Soubahdar was voluptuously reposing at Arcot, the French exhibited new symptoms of their activity and enterprise. A small body of troops sailed to Masulipatam at the mouth of the Krishna, (once the principal mart of that part of India,) and surprising it by night, gained possession of the place with a trifling loss. Another detachment seized the Pagoda of Trivadi, about fifteen miles west from Fort St. David. Mohammed Ali obtained permission to detach himself from the army of the Soubahdar, for the purpose of dislodging them from Trivadi: in this, he obtained assistance from the English, who were deeply interested in preventing the French from gaining a position so near to their own settlement. The experience of a single month was sufficient to shew, that no dependence could be placed upon either the military pretensions or the engagements of their ally; and Major Lawrence withdrew his troops about the middle of August. Upon this, the French immediately attacked Mahommed Ali, gained an easy victory, and forced him to flee to Arcot with only a few

attendants. Dupleix followed up this blow with his usual spirit and decision; and by a daring enterprise, led by M. Bussy, obtained possession of the stupendous rock of Ginjee, a fortress literally impregnable against the ordinary modes of attack, and deemed the strongest in the Carnatic.*

This last exploit disturbed the voluptuous tranquillity of the Soubahdar; and he offered to enter upon negotiation. The demands of the French were lofty: Nazir Jung, therefore, began his march to Ginjee. But it was now October, and his army was overtaken by the storms and floods of the monsoon. The Soubahdar kept the field; but, weary of the contest, he discovered an inclination to concede all that the French demanded. Dupleix negotiated at once with the Soubahdar and with the traitors in his army. He had just concluded a treaty with the former, when his commander at Ginjee received from the insurgents the concerted summons: upon which he marched with his whole force, attacked the camp of the Soubahdar, and was joined by the Patan traitors, by one of whom Nazir Jung was shot through the heart. Muzaffer Jung was now freed from his imprisonment, and invested with the authority of soubahdar, without tumult or opposition, although four brothers of the

* This fort, erected on a vast insulated rock is situated about forty miles N.W. of Pondichery. It was either built or repaired on an old foundation of the Cheda kings, by an officer of the Rajah of Bejanagur in 1442, and was successively strengthened by the Mussulmans of Bejapoor, who possessed it from 1649 to 1677; by the Mahrattas, who held it from 1677 to 1698; by Zulfekhar Khan; and more especially by Sadut Ulla Khan. "The French," says Mr. Mill, "skirmed the fortifications to the very summit of the mountain; and contemplating afterwards the natural strength of the place, felt astonished at their own success."—Mill, iii. 39. Wilks, i. 265.

deceased were present in the camp. Mohammed Ali, for the third time, fled from the field of action, and took refuge in his fort of Trichinopoly. The great difficulty now was, to satisfy the Patan nobles, to whose perfidy Muzuffer Jung owed his power. He parried their importunities by urging the necessity of forming his arrangements in concert with Dupleix; and the Frenchman's address was successfully exerted so as to induce them to compromise their extravagant pretensions, and to treasure up their resentments for a future day. In the conduct of this complicated scene of diplomatic dexterity and military boldness, Dupleix had certainly merited every mark of gratitude on the part of Muzuffer Jung; and he was now declared governor of all the Mogul dominions on the Coromandel coast, south of the Krishna, with Chunda Saheb for his deputy at Arcot.

Early in January 1751, the new Soubahdar of the Deccan left Pondicherry for Golcondah, attended by a body of 300 French and 2000 sepoys, under M. Bussy. The army had marched about sixty leagues (to Rajchoutee), when it was discovered that the Patan chiefs were in revolt, and that they had seized a pass in front. They were attacked with great spirit, and the French artillery carried every thing before it; but in the pursuit, Nazir Jung was shot dead with an arrow. The scene of confusion was composed by the presence of mind of Bussy, at whose recommendation, Salabut Jung, the eldest surviving son of Nizam-al-Mulk, who was present in the camp, was proclaimed soubahdar, and the army continued its march.*

* Mill, iii. 93—101. Wilks, i. 365—71. Dupleix, Mr. Mill remarks, is a favourite with Wilks, who attempts to vindicate him from the obloquy attaching to his conduct in those transactions. In his own Memoir, Dupleix affirmed, that, on concluding the treaty

"The Europeans in India, who had hitherto crouched at the feet of the meanest of the petty governors of a district, were astonished at the progress of the French, who now seemed to preside over the whole of the Deccan. The English, however," adds Mr. Mill, "sunk in apathy or despair, were so far from taking any vigorous measures to oppose a torrent by which they were likely to be overwhelmed, that Major Lawrence, on whose military talents and authority their whole dependence was placed, took the extraordinary resolution of returning at this juncture to England." This conduct receives some explanation from the Major's statement, that a fatal spirit of division had crept in among his officers, so that many opportunities and advantages were lost, which gave the country alliance but an indifferent opinion of the conduct of the English. But the fact was, that the English interests on this coast had suffered material depression from the capture of Madras; besides which, the affairs of the Company, although they had, in some measure, recovered from the financial injuries they had sustained, continued to be regulated on the principles of a commercial monopoly; and it was with the apathy of surprise and consternation that their servants viewed the mighty machinery of political intrigue and military conquest, by which Dupleix was preparing the way for the subjugation of all India, and the consequent expulsion of every rival. No person in the English settlement seems to have viewed the state of affairs with a sufficient grasp of mind, until the arrival of Mr. Thomas

with Nazir Jung, he immediately wrote to his commander at Gingee, to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived too late! The reader will feel little interest in the question of his veracity.

Saunders; "a man," says Colonel Wilks, "inferior, perhaps, to Dupleix in splendour of talents, and in all that constitutes the decoration of character, but not yielding to that distinguished statesman in the possession of a sound and vigorous judgement, a clear and quick perception, a constancy of mind not to be disturbed by danger, and a devotion to his country not less ardent and sincere. Mr. Saunders was altogether without instructions for the regulation of his conduct in so difficult an emergency; but the resources of his own judgement supplied what was defective in the views of his employers. The first object was, to enable Mohammed Ali to defend Trichinopoly against any sudden attack; and the next, to prepare the means of meeting his enemies in the field. The former was effected by sending a detachment of 600 men to his aid early in February. Mohammed Ali possessed not a single post north of the Coleroon; and Chunda Saheb's acquisition of Madura by a dexterous intrigue, deprived him not only of the resources of that district, but, by its intermediate position between Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly, rendered the revenues of the latter unproductive, and its possession precarious. The officer commanding the English reinforcement, failed in an attempt to retake Madura; and the cause of Mohammed Ali became still more desperate from the defection of a considerable proportion of his troops in consequence of that repulse. Chunda Saheb, after going through the usual formalities of receiving the homage of his subjects at Arcot, had prepared for the siege of Trichinopoly. His force, besides the French battalion, consisted of 12,000 horse and 5000 sepoys. The exertions of Mr. Saunders had not been able to oppose him, to the north of the Coleroon, with a larger force than

600 Europeans and 1000 sepoys; which, added to 2000 horse and 3000 regular and irregular foot, of Mohammed Ali, did not equal one half of the enemy's force. And this actual inferiority was further increased by a panic in the English ranks, in one of their earliest encounters; which, though afterwards relieved by one or two examples of steady conduct, prevented their attempting any thing of importance in a series of indecisive operations, which terminated in their retreating under the walls of Trichinopoly in the month of July."

It was at this crisis of affairs, that a young man of the name of Clive first appeared on the scene of operations, who was destined to act so brilliant and important a part in those transactions which have made his countrymen the masters of India. "Born," says Colonel Wilks, "if ever human being was born, a soldier and a statesman, Clive had already assumed alternately the civil and military character, as the interests of his country seemed to require."* When the capitulation with Madras was violated, Clive, then only a writer in the civil service, made his escape in a Mohammedan dress to Fort St. David; and when the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken, he was allowed to enter into the military service with the rank of an ensign. At that siege, as well as in the enterprise against Devi-cotah, he rendered himself conspicuous by his daring intrepidity. Upon the conclusion of the affair at Devi-cotah, Clive re-

* He was the son of a gentleman of small fortune in Shropshire, and being a daring, intractable, headstrong youth, was, at the age of nineteen, sent out as a writer to Madras, where his turbulent spirit, though he was not ill-natured, engaged him in quarrels with his equals, and rendered him obnoxious to his superiors. Lawrence, however, at an early period, pointed him out as a man of promise.

turned to his civil occupation; but no sooner did his countrymen resume the sword, than his own disposition and the scarcity of officers again involved him in operations far better suited to his restless, daring, and contentious mind. He had accompanied the troops sent for the defence of Trichinopoly, till after the affair at Volconda; and had been employed by the Presidency in conducting the several reinforcements which they had attempted to forward. He was now a captain; and, eager to distinguish himself, he offered to make a diversion in favour of Trichinopoly, by a direct attack upon the Nabob's capital. This daring enterprise he undertook with a force consisting of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys; and to spare even these, Fort St. David and Madras were left, the one with only 100 men for its defence, the other with no more than 80. To command them, he had eight officers, of whom six had never been in action, and four were young men in the mercantile service of the Company, whom his own example had inflamed. For artillery, they had three field-pieces; and two eighteen-pounders were sent after him. Arcot was an open town, defended by a fort; the garrison, however, consisting of 1100 men, evacuated it at his approach, without firing a shot.* This diversion was attended with all the advantage which Captain Clive had foreseen. Chunda Saheb detached 4000 men from the army before Trichinopoly, who, being joined by 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and the troops of Arcot and Velore, entered Arcot. The fort was more than a mile in circumference; the walls were in many places ruinous, the towers inconvenient and decayed. In a brave but rash attempt to dislodge the enemy from the town,

* Major Wilks states, that they were struck with a panic on hearing that the enemy were marching through a dreadful storm, regardless of the fury of the elements.

Clive lost fifteen of his Europeans, and among them a lieutenant; and his only artillery officer, with sixteen other men, was disabled. Yet, for fifty days, did this extraordinary man find the means of making an effectual resistance. When the enemy attempted to storm at two breaches, one of fifty and one of ninety feet, he repulsed them with but eighty Europeans and one hundred and twenty sepoys, all who remained fit for duty; "so effectually did he avail himself of his feeble resources, and to such a pitch of fortitude had he exalted the spirits of those under his command." The arrival of a thousand Mahrattas, detached from the main body under Morari Row, who were marching to the assistance of Mohammed Ali, and of a small reinforcement from Madras, contributed to compel the enemy abruptly to raise the siege; and Captain Clive, with this assistance, in a short and active course of operations, completely cleared the province of Arcot of all that had opposed him in the field. The places of strength still remained, however, in the possession of the Nabob or his adherents.

In the mean time, Mohammed Ali, having more to dread from the desertion or mutiny of his own troops through his pecuniary exigencies, than from the attacks of the besieging force, had applied for assistance to the court of Mysore.* This Hindoo power had risen out of the wreck of the ancient kingdom of Bejanagur; and its government viewed with jealousy the elevation

* The first of Mahob Ayee (the buffalo-headed monster) pronounced Mahesheer, and now contracted to Mysore, appears to have been first made the seat of a petty kingdom in 1524. Its sovereigns (Indu) were, at first, tributary to the viceroy of Bejanagur, resident at Seringapatam; but at length, they acquired the ascendancy; and in 1610, Seringapatam itself became the seat of their power. In 1687, the Rajah of Mysore acquired, by purchase of Aurungzebe's general, the important fortress of Bangalore; it being judged politic, at that time, to encourage this rising state, as a counterpoise

of Chunda Saheb, who had formerly attempted its conquest. The importunities and unbounded promises of Mohammed Ali prevailed with the minister of the Mysore Rajah; and about the middle of February, 20,000 Mysorean troops arrived at Trichinopoly, including Morari Row's Mahrattas, a part of whom had assisted Clive when besieged at Arcot. Their arrival determined the Tanjore Rajah, who, till then, had remained neutral, to send 5000 men. Clive, who had been recalled to Fort St. David, was preparing again to take the field, when Major Lawrence returned from England, and put himself at the head of the reinforcement which it was now determined to send to Trichinopoly. In spite of the efforts of Dupleix, it joined the camp in safety.

The city of Trichinopoly is situated about half a mile from the southern bank of the river Cavery, at the distance of ninety miles from its mouth. About five miles higher up, the river divides into two branches, which, after separating to the distance of about two miles, again approach, and are prevented from uniting, about fifteen miles below Trichinopoly, only by a narrow mound; thus forming the peninsula known under the name of the Island of Seringham, and celebrated as containing one of the most remarkable edifices and most venerated pagodas in India. To this island, the French now retreated, not having the means to withstand the combined force opposed to them, and being, moreover, in want of provisions. Dupleix made the strongest exertions to reinforce and supply his army, but was baffled in every attempt. D'Autreil, at the head of a large convoy, was first compelled to suspend his

to the dangerous power of the Mahrattas. By the gradual extension of its dominions, the House of Mysore has now become the most powerful state in the South of India.—See Wilks, i. ch. 3—7.

march; was afterwards attacked in the fort to which he had retired; and was at last taken prisoner. Chunda Saheb, deserted by his own troops, threw himself for protection upon the Tanjorine commander, on the promise of personal safety. He was immediately put in fetters by the faithless Mahratta, and, in a few days, murdered by his order.* The French, shortly afterwards, reduced to the greatest distress, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The sanguine anticipations to which this success gave rise on the part of the English, were soon destroyed by the disputes which now arose between the allies for the occupation of Trichinopoly. Among the inducements which Mohammed Ali had employed to gain the assistance of the Mysoreans, he had not scrupled to promise the possession of that fortress and its dependencies; and the Mysorean chief insisted upon his fulfilling the engagement, to which the Nabob shewed no inclination. Intelligence of this dispute was a thunderstroke to Lawrence. The preservation of Trichinopoly, the importance of which appears to have been much over-rated, had cost the English dear; and now it appeared, that it could not be retained by their perfidious ally, without a flagrant violation of honour and faith. The cession of the place to the Mysoreans would have enabled the English, at this crisis, to establish their Nabob, with little opposition, in the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and would have saved them two years of expensive warfare.

* Dupleix affirmed, that he was murdered by the express command of Major Lawrence; "which it is difficult," says Mr. Mill, "to suppose that Dupleix must not have known to be untrue." Major Wilks says, he was murdered at the instigation of Mohammed Ali; his head was immediately sent to that personage, and was afterwards sent to Mysore.

Instead of this, by leaving a garrison in the fort, they made themselves parties to Mohammed Ali's breach of faith, the ignominy of which they endeavoured to evade, by representing themselves as mere auxiliaries, who took no part in the political direction of the war.* Mohammed Ali, at length, engaged anew to cede the fort and its dependencies to Nunjeraj, the Mysorean general, at the expiration of two months. This delay was meant only to gain time; and before their expiration, the detection of treacherous intrigues on the part of the general, afforded a pretext for refusing the claim. The issue was, that the Mysorean and Mahratta chiefs joined the enemy.

Early in January 1753, the two armies again took the field. The French had now greatly the advantage in numerical force; but, in the quality of their European troops, and in the capacity of their officers, they soon felt a remarkable inferiority.† Cautiously avoiding a close conflict, Dupleix's object was, to amuse Major Lawrence in a distant part of the province, and to protract the campaign, in the hope that Nunjeraj might succeed in starving Trichinopoly into surrender; and in the mean time, his superiority in cavalry enabled him to carry on a harassing warfare, by intercepting and attacking the English convoys. In this manner, the time was consumed till near the close of April, when an express reached Major Lawrence, that the English garrison had only three weeks' provision remaining in the fort. No alternative was left but to march to its aid. He was followed by the French;

* Major Lawrence, much to his honour, disapproved of the attempt to retain Trichinopoly after the promise to give it up.—Wilks, I. 388.

† Dupleix bitterly complained, that, with the exception of M. Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability, or zeal, he could place the smallest reliance.

and this unimportant place once more became the seat of a tedious warfare. From the 6th of May, 1753, to the 11th of October, 1754, the most active operations were carried on. Neither were the French, with their allies, sufficiently powerful to reduce the place; nor had the English sufficient force to compel them to raise the siege. Severe conflicts took place, in some of which, decisive advantages, now on one side, then on the other, were on the point of being gained; but, when more than a year had been thus spent, neither party seemed nearer their object. "Never did English troops display more gallantry and good conduct," remarks Mr. Mill, "than in defence of the unimportant city of Trichinopoly." Nor could any cause be more worthless than the professed object of the contest; for the grand point in dispute was, whether or not the perfidious Mohammed Ali should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic.*

The English Company had, from an early period of

* The clearest and most detailed account of the military transactions of this period, will be found in the interesting volumes of Orme (History of Military Transactions in Hindostan, 3 v. 4to.); to whose extreme accuracy, Colonel Wilks bears his testimony. In this extraordinary war, remarks the latter writer, "the operations of a handful of troops assumed the political importance, and outstripped the military glory of the mightiest armies." On one occasion, nearly 30,000 men, including 400 French and 1500 Sepoys, were defeated and foiled by Major Lawrence, with a force not exceeding 1040 men. The particulars of this wonderful achievement are given by Colonel Wilks, vol. I. pp. 301—303. Mr. Mill has not done justice to the British commander; denying to him the character of "a man of talents," while he admits that he was "an active and clear-headed soldier." (Mill, iii. 117.) It is impossible to read the detailed account of his achievements, without being satisfied, that he possessed a mind of very high order; steady and cool in danger, fertile in resources, prompt and skilful in enterprise, persevering in its purpose; to which must be added, the praise of a keener sense of rectitude, than most of those who were concerned in the contest. "The troops whom he commanded, both officers

the war, importuned the ministry with complaints, that, during the existence of a treaty of peace between England and France, they were oppressed by the burden of a dangerous war, prolonged by the ambition of a French governor in India. The subject had also formed the matter of remonstrance between the English and French governments; and it was at last agreed, that the dispute should be terminated by a distinct negotiation.* Dupleix, who had sacrificed his own fortune to the prosecution of his patriotic or ambitious views,† was now accused by the French Company of wasting their resources; and the tide of prejudice set in strongly against him both in France and England. It was ultimately agreed, that commissioners should be sent out from each country, to terminate the costly dispute; and in August, 1754, M. Godeheu, the French commissioner, arrived at Pondicherry, vested with authority to supersede Dupleix in

and men," Mr. Mill remarks, "appeared, by a happy contingency, to combine in their little body all the virtues of a British army." A strong presumption in favour of the talents of their general.

* Aware of "the passion for peace" which now animated his employers, Dupleix had opened a negotiation with Saunders, the governor of Madras, in January, 1754; and to carry his point, he produced *forged* patents from Salabat Jung, placing the subahship at his disposal. The detection of these forgeries appears to have led to the breaking off of the conference.—See Mill, iii. 122.—Wilks, i. 388.

† On delivering in his accounts with the Company to his successor, it appeared that he had disbursed nearly three millions of rupees more than he had received during the course of the war. A great part of this sum was furnished out of his own estate, and the rest from monies borrowed at interest, upon his own bonds, from the French settlers at Pondicherry. The Company refused to pay the balance which he claimed; and a lawsuit which he commenced against them, was put a stop to by the French Government. All he could obtain was, letters of protection to secure him against his creditors; an unworthy requital of his services. Voltaire says, he died of grief and vexation ("*chagrin*").—Mill, iii., 136, 155.

the government of all the French possessions in India. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was established for three months; and, on the 26th of December, a provisional treaty was signed at Pondichorry, by which "every thing for which they had been contending, was gained by the English; every advantage of which they had come into the possession, was given up by the French." By the stipulation, to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native princes, Mohammed Ali was left, in fact, Nabob of the Carnatic. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars recently ceded by the Soubahdar,* was resigned by the French. Till the ratification of the treaty by the two Companies, the contracting parties were to abstain from hostilities, and their possessions were to remain as they were. In a short time after the conclusion of the treaty, both Saunders (the Madras President, who had acted as English commissioner in the negotiation) and Godehen took their departure for Europe; pleasing themselves with the idea, that they had succeeded in establishing peace between the two nations in India.

"Never," continues Mr. Mill, "was expectation

* In the latter end of 1753, Bussy obtained for his countrymen, in reward of the eminent services he had rendered to the Soubahdar, the four important provinces of Mustafa-nagur (or Condapilly), Ellore, Rajamundry, and Chicacole, called the Northern Circars; which made the French masters of the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 900 miles, from Mulapilly to the Pagoda of Juggernaut. The first article of the treaty provided, that both Companies should "renounce for ever all Mootish government and dignity."—See Mill, iii. 126, note. Col. Wilks contends, that the treaty related only to the Carnatic, and that Bussy continued to possess his government.

more completely deceived. Their treaty procured not so much as a moment's repose. The English proceeded to reduce to the obedience of their nabob, the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. The French exclaimed against these transactions as an infringement of the treaty with Godelieu; but, finding their remonstrances without avail, they followed the English example, and sent a body of troops to reduce to their obedience the petty sovereignty of Terriore." Murtezа Ali Khan, the governor of Velore, disputed the authority of the Nabob, and a large detachment of troops from Madras accompanied the force which was sent to compel his submission. Murtezа Khan applied to the governor of Pondicherry, who informed the English Presidency, that he regarded their proceedings at Velore as a violation of the treaty, and that he should commence hostilities, if their troops were not withdrawn. This threat produced its effect. The disturbances in Madura and Tinnevelly, however, were prolonged for several years, with much uneasiness and loss to the English.

In the mean time, the French appear to have put the same construction on the treaty as the English; regarding it as restraining them only from hostilities against their European rivals. About the same time that the English invaded Madura, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops, marched against the kingdom of Mysore, to extort arrears of tribute. Upon this emergency, the Mysorean army before Trichinopoly (for the Mysoreans had refused to abandon their pretensions, upon the conclusion of the treaty between the English and the French) was recalled. As, however, Mysore was threatened at the same time by an army of Mahrattas under Balajee Row, its government were glad to acquire the pe-

tection of the Soubahdar, by acknowledging his authority, and paying as large a sum as they were able to raise.

The situation of Bussy at the court of the feeble-minded Salabat Jung, was a difficult and precarious one. He was opposed by a numerous party whose views were obstructed by his personal influence, and whose jealousy was excited by his success. His enemies succeeded at length in wakening the distrust of the Soubahdar, and the French troops were ordered to quit his territories without delay. "Bussy, in expectation, probably, that the necessities of the Soubahdar would speedily make him eager to retract his command, shewed no hesitation in commencing his march. It was continued for eight days without interruption; but his enemies had a very different intention from that of allowing him to depart in safety. When he approached the city of *Hyderabad*, he found his progress impeded by large bodies of troops, and the road obstructed by all the chiefs of the neighbouring countries, who had orders to intercept his march. Upon this, he resolved to occupy a post of considerable strength, adjoining the city of Hyderabad; to defend himself, and try the effect of his arms and of his intrigues among the chiefs, whom he well knew, till the reinforcements which he expected from Pondicherry, should arrive. Though surrounded by the whole of the army of the Soubahdar, and so feeble in pecuniary means, that his sepoys deserted for want of pay, and he durst not venture them in sallies for fear of their joining the enemy, he found the means of supplying himself fully with provisions, and of resisting every attack, till his succours arrived; when the Soubahdar sent to demand a reconciliation, and he was restored to a still higher degree

of influence and authority than he had previously enjoyed.

"Among the means which had been employed to reconcile the mind of Salabut Jung to the dismissal of the French, was the prospect held up to him of replacing them by the English. No sooner, therefore, were the measures against Bussy devised, than an application was made for a body of troops to the Presidency of Madras. To the Presidency of Madras, few things could have presented a more dazzling prospect of advantage; and in any ordinary situation of their affairs, the requisition of the Soubahdar would have met with an eager acceptance. But events had before this time taken place in Bengal, which demanded the utmost exertions of the English from every quarter; made them unable to comply with the proposal of the Soubahdar; and thenceforward rendered Bengal the principal scene of the English adventures in India."*

Jaffier Khan, to protect themselves against whose exactions, the Company first obtained the imperial firmauns, exempting their merchandise from duty,† was succeeded, in 1725, by his son, Sujah Khan. At his death, in 1739, his brother Aliverdi, by means of his influence at Delhi, obtained his nomination to the vicegroyalty, which now included the provinces of Bahar; and Sereffraz Khan, the son of Sujah, lost his life in the contest with his uncle. Aliverdi governed his territories with unusual humanity and justice; and to the splendid ability and unwearied perseverance with which he defended them, it was entirely owing, that the Mahrattas, who had spread themselves at that time over a great part of Hindostan Proper, were unable to effect the conquest of Bengal. But the produce

* Mill, vol. iii. p. 136, 7. † See p. 34, of this volume.

of his dominions was greatly impaired, and his subjects were grievously harassed, by their ruinous incursions. At one time, they had possessed themselves of almost the whole of Orissa; while in Bahar, two Afghan officers, having murdered the Nabob, Aliverdi's own nephew, erected the standard of revolt, supported by a formidable body of Mahrattas and Doorannees. Aliverdi, with a very inferior force, gained a complete victory, the Afghan lords being slain in the battle. The Mahrattas, however, only halted at Midnapoor, till the Soubahdar came up with them, drove them into Orissa with great slaughter, and even recovered Cuttak, the capital. But he was obliged to leave the province in so defenceless a condition, that the Mahrattas were not long deprived of their former acquisitions. During the infirmities of his latter years, Aliverdi purchased some repose by a tributary payment. He died in April 1756, at the age of eighty, and was succeeded, without opposition, (having never had a son,) by his adopted heir, the eldest son of his youngest nephew, Suraja Dowla.

This weak and vicious young prince had, even during the life of Aliverdi, manifested an aversion towards the English; and it was not long before the shelter given at Calcutta to a revenue-officer in the service of his uncle, the governor of Dacca, led to open hostilities. The Presidency, anxious to appease the new Soubahdar, humbly and timidly offered to submit to any conditions which he might please to impose; and trusting to the efficacy of their pacific representations, they neglected too long the means of defence. The Soubahdar was avaricious, and Calcutta presented to his imagination a glittering prize. The English factory at Cossimbazar had already been seized. The outposts of Calcutta were attacked on the 18th of June,

1756; and after a short and feeble experiment of resistance, it was resolved to take to the ships. In the general confusion that ensued, all plan and order, and indeed every humane and honourable consideration, appear to have been abandoned. The governor and captain-commander effected their retreat; and shortly afterwards, an apprehension arising on board the ships respecting the security of their situation, they began to move down the river. In vain were signals thrown out from every part of the fort, by those who were thus selfishly and cruelly abandoned to the mercy of a barbarous enemy, to induce the ships to return to their stations. Not a single effort was made, during the two days that the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison. A single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away every man. The place was soon carried by storm, and the garrison were committed, for security for the night, to a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon, which the English had used as a jail. It was now the most sultry season of the Bengal year; and the horrors of the Black Hole (as this prison was familiarly called) were by this circumstance fatally aggravated. Out of 146 unfortunate individuals thrust into this dreadful place, only twenty-three were taken out alive in the morning. Some expired very soon after being put in; others lost their senses, and died in a high delirium.*

* Mr. Mill, in his anxiety to divest himself of national partiality, goes rather too far when he says: "The English had their own practice to thank for suggesting it to the officers of the nabobship as a fit place of confinement"—for *prisoners of war*. It was the number of the prisoners that rendered it so fatal. The Hindoo-

The news of the capture of Calcutta reached Madras on the 5th of August; and it was fortunate, that both Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive were upon the coast. The latter had returned from England with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in his majesty's service, and the appointment of deputy-governor of Fort St. David; and he had but just repaired to his government after assisting in the reduction of the Mahratta pirate, Conajee Angria, whose fleets had long been the terror of all commercial navigators on the western coast. It was now resolved, after a protracted debate of two months, that the re-establishment of the Company's affairs in Bengal should be pursued in preference to every other enterprise; and the command of the expedition was bestowed upon Clive, with powers independent of the Calcutta presidency. The force, which sailed from Madras on the 16th of October, consisted of five king's ships and five Company's vessels, having on board 900 European troops and 1500 sepoys. On the 2d of January, 1757, the armament arrived at Calcutta.* The garrison, after a cannonade of less than two hours, evacuated the place. The merchandise belonging to the Company was found almost untouched, having been reserved for the Soubahdar, it is said, but no idea of the capacity of the room; "and indeed the English themselves had none of it." If so, it could not have been often employed. It is very true, that the "atrocities of English imprisonment," even at home, were, previously to the days of Howard, enormously great and notorious. But how can this palliate the cruelty (Mr. Mill calls it thoughtlessness) of the Moslems? Is it credible that no "convenient apartment" could be found?

* The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town at some distance down the river, where the ships found it practicable to remain. Between this place and Calcutta a fort was captured, and a skirmish occurred. The other forts were abandoned at the approach of the English.

kabdar; but the houses of individuals had been thoroughly plundered. On the 19th, an attack was made upon Hooghly, a considerable town about 26 miles up the river; and the assailants no sooner mounted the rampart, than the garrison fled and escaped.

At this moment, news arrived of the re-commencement of hostilities between England and France. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans, and a train of field-artillery, which, if added to the army of the Soubahdar, would render him an irresistible enemy. The English were now very desirous to make their peace with that formidable ruler; but the capture of Hooghly, undertaken solely with a view to plunder, had so augmented his rage, that he was not in a frame of mind to accept from them any proposition; and his army received its orders to march. Happily for the English, the same spirit by which Dupleix was reproached for not having negotiated a neutrality between the French and English Companies in India, though the nations were at war in Europe, prevailed in the councils at Chandernagore. The rulers at that settlement refused to assist Suraja Dowla; and proposed that they and the English should engage by treaty, notwithstanding the war between their respective countries, to abstain from hostilities against one another in Bengal. Still, the power of the Soubahdar presented an appalling aspect to Clive; and no sooner had he received intimation of an abatement in the irritation of that enemy, than he renewed his application for peace. The Soubahdar received his letter, and even proposed a conference; but continued his march, and on the 3d of Feb., surrounded Calcutta with his camp. Clive resolved to surprise it before the dawn of the following morning.

The design was not less politic than bold; both as the audacity of it was likely to alarm a timorous enemy, and as the difficulty of procuring provisions, surrounded by a large body of cavalry, must soon have been great. The enterprise, however, was badly planned, and a thick mist augmented the causes of misfortune. The troops suffered considerably, and were several times exposed to the greatest dangers. Yet, they marched through the camp, and produced on the minds of the Soubahdar and his army the intended effect. Eager to be removed from an enemy capable of these daring attempts, Suraja Dowla was now in earnest to effect an accommodation. Overtures were received and returned, and on the 9th of Feb., a treaty was concluded, by which the Nabob (as he was styled by the English) agreed to restore to the Company their factories and all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed; to permit them to fortify Calcutta; and to make compensation to them for such of the plundered effects as had been brought to account in the books of his government. So greatly was he pleased with this treaty, that, two days after its completion, he proposed to conclude with the English an alliance offensive and defensive; a contract which the English eagerly formed, and which both parties ratified on that very day."*

In spite of the neutrality maintained by the French at Chandernagore, to which the English were so greatly indebted, Clive resolved upon taking possession of that settlement. The opposition of the Soubahdar was neutralised by his alarm on hearing that Ahmed Abdallah, the Doorannee Shah, had taken Delhi; but he afforded protection to the French

* Mill, iii. 136—138.

troops, who made their escape on the fall of the fort. It was taken by the English forces, not till after a gallant resistance, on March 23d, 1757. The time was now arrived when, according to one of the most peremptory of his instructions, Clive ought to have returned with all his troops to Madras, where the protection of the whole military force was rendered the more necessary by the expectation of the arrival of a French armament. The Presidency of Madras had not left themselves even troops sufficient to make head against the French then in the country. Clive, however, who saw only the opening which Bengal presented for exploits at once splendid and profitable, overlooked all other considerations, violated his instructions, and remained. He had not resolved on attacking Chandernagore without calculating the consequences, which embraced, in his view, not only the expulsion of the French, but the destruction of the Soubahdar. A complicated scene of intrigue now ensued, for the purpose of forcibly deposing Suraja Dowla, and making the best possible bargain with the adventurer, Meer Jaffier Khan, then paymaster-general of the Soubahdar's forces, whom it was agreed to elevate in his stead. The great temptation with the committee of government was, the supposed wealth of Suraja Dowla, of which the most extravagant calculations had been formed. Clive, it may be believed, looked farther than any temporary gain: his views were less sordid, though equally unprincipled. The terms of this dishonourable confederacy being at length adjusted, the English took the field; and that which has been termed the battle of Plassy,* decided

* Plassy (Palasi) is in the district of Nuddea, 20 miles S. of Moorshedabad. The battle's being attended with so little blood-

the fate of Bengal. In this action, fought on the 23d of June, 1757, a native army of 18,000 horse and 50,000 foot, supported by fifty pieces of cannon, was broken up and put to flight by an English force, consisting of 900 Europeans, 100 Topasses, and 2100 Sepoys, with eight six-pounders and two howitzers. The battle was nothing but a distant cannonade, which was maintained during the greater part of the day, and sufficed to terrify the Soubahdar; and by the treacherous advice of those who had conspired against him, he issued orders for retreat. Clive then ordered the English to advance to the attack; and the victory, if it deserves the name, was accomplished, with the loss of twenty Europeans killed and wounded, sixteen Sepoys killed, and thirty-six wounded. Suraja Dowla fled to his capital, whence, finding himself deserted, he endeavoured to make his escape in disguise into Bahar. At Rajemahal, he was discovered by a man whom he had formerly treated with cruelty, and betrayed to the governor, who sent him prisoner to Meer Jaffier at Moorshedabad; and on the same night, he was assassinated.

When the confederates proceeded to divide the spoil, it was found, to the great disappointment of the English, that the whole of Suraja Dowla's treasures were inadequate to meet their demands; which, under the

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shed, arose, according to Clive's own report, from two causes: first, the army was sheltered by so high a bank, that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief; and secondly, "Suraja Dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore, they did not do their duty upon that occasion." Mill, iii. 103. M. Law, the commander of the French forces, had received a summons to join the Nabob, and had reached Tierriguilly, when he received reports of the battle of Plassy. "Had he immediately proceeded twenty miles further, he would, the next day, have met and saved Suraja Dowla," and a new turn might have been given to affairs.

heads of compensation for losses in the capture of Calcutta, donations to the squadron and army, and private plunder, amounted to 22,000,000 of *sicca rupees*, equal to 2,750,000*l*. They were obliged at last to consent to receive one half immediately, in specie, jewels, and other effects, and the other half in three yearly instalments.

It will now be necessary to suspend our narrative of the transactions in Bengal, and to return to the state of affairs in the Carnatic.

Upon the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A splendid armament was fitted out, the command of which was given to the Count de Lally, a member of one of those Irish families which had transported themselves into France along with James II., and whose reputation for courage, added to his hatred of the English, pointed him out as the fittest person to crush the interests of the rival nation on the coast of Coromandel. It was even laid down in his instructions, that he should commence his operations with the siege of Fort St. David. The armament reached the coast on the 25th of April, 1758. They were soon followed and discovered by an English fleet; and an indecisive naval engagement took place, the only result of which was, the loss of a few men on both sides, and some damage to the ships. In the mean time, Lally had landed with a division of his troops, and had proceeded towards Fort St. David, with the whole force of Pondicherry; and the troops from the fleet were sent after him as fast as they came on shore.

"The English were thrown into the greatest alarm. So much was the power of the enemy now superior to their own, that they scarcely anticipated any other

result, that their expulsion from the country; and had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy's affairs, it is more than probable, that their most gloomy apprehensions would have been realised. Not only had an overwhelming addition been made to a force, against which they had previously found it difficult to maintain themselves; but in the mean time, Bussy, in the northern parts of Deccan, had obtained the most important advantages, and brought upon the English the heaviest disasters. After the brilliant exploit of 1756, when he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the Soubahdar, and imposed his own terms upon his enemies, he had proceeded to the Northern Circars, where his presence was necessary, to collect the revenues, and, by an adjustment of the government, to provide for the future regularity of their payment. He began his march on the 16th of November of that year, with 500 Europeans and 4000 Sepoys; leaving only a small detachment to attend the person of the Soubahdar. In accomplishing his progress through the country, he encountered no considerable resistance. The Polygar of Bobiles defended his fort to the last extremity; and exhibited the customary spectacle of Hindoo desperation,—the fortress in flames, and the people in garrison butchered by their own hands. He was excited to this desperation by the command to exchange the government of his present, for that of another district, on account of the annoyance he gave to a neighbouring chief, from whom Bussy had received a train of important services. When Bussy had nearly completed the arrangement which he intended to make, he received, about the 1st of April, letters from Suraja Dowla, inviting him, by the largest offers, to assist him in expelling the English from Ben-

gal. Bussy waited on his northern frontier, ready to march through Orissa into Bengal, as soon as he should receive satisfactory intelligence; but, learning the capture of Chandernagore, and the imbecility of the Soubahdar, he changed his purpose, and proceeded to the attack of the English establishments within the Circars. There were three factories, on three different branches of the Godavery, in a district remarkable for the excellence and cheapness of its cloths. They were places of no strength, and surrendered on the first requisition. Vizigapatam, however, was one of the places of greatest importance belonging to the English in India. It was a fort, garrisoned by 150 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; but so injudiciously constructed, that the attempt to defend it was unanimously determined to be vain. The van of Bussy's army appeared before it on the 24th of June; and a capitulation was concluded, that all the Europeans, both military and civil, should be regarded as prisoners, and all the effects of the Company as prize of war. The Sepoys and other natives, Bussy allowed to go where they pleased; he also promised to respect the property of individuals. 'And he kept his word,' says Mr. Orme, 'with the utmost liberality, resigning, without discussion, whatsoever property any one claimed as his own.'

"During these transactions, however, a great revolution was preparing in the army of Salabut Jung. He had two younger brothers, whom Bussy, acquainted with the temper of Oriental governments had advised the Soubahdar to provide with establishments, and every indulgence suitable to their rank, but from whom he had exhorted him carefully to withhold those governments and places of power which, in the

hands of the near relations of the prince, were the cause of so many revolutions in India. This prudent course was pursued till the period of the alienation from Bussy of the mind of the Soubahdar; when that prince was easily persuaded by his designing courtiers, to reverse the policy which the sagacity of Bussy had established. The elder of the two brothers, Bassalut Jung, was appointed governor of the strong fort and country of Adoni; and Nizam Ali, the youngest and most dangerous, was made governor of Berar, the most extensive province of Decan, of which the Mahrattas now possessed the principal part.

"Towards the end of the year 1757, while a body of Mahrattas insulted Aurungabad, which was then the residence of the Soubahdar, a mutiny, under the usual shape of clamour for pay, was excited in his army. The utmost alarm was affected by the dewan, or minister, who took shelter in a strong fort. The Soubahdar, without resources, was driven to dismay. Nizam Ali, who had acquired some reputation, and intrigued successfully with the troops, offered to interpose and allay the tumults, provided the requisite powers, and among other things the great seal of the soubah, were committed to his hands. The requisition was obeyed; and Nizam Ali, leaving only the name of Soubahdar to his brother, grasped the whole powers of the state. With an affectation of indifference, he committed the seal to his brother, Bassalut Jung, but under sufficient security that it would be used agreeably to his directions.

"Bussy received intelligence of these events in the beginning of January; he immediately began his march with the whole of his army; and by a road never travelled before by European troops, arrived in twenty-

one days at Aurungabad, a distance, by the perambulator, of nearly 400 miles. Four separate armies were encamped about the city: that of Nizam Ali from Berar; that of the soubah, of which Nizam Ali had now the command; that of Bassalut Jung from Adoni; and that of the Mahrattas, commanded by Balagee Row. The presence of Bussy, with his handful of Europeans, imposed respect upon them all; and every eye was fixed upon his movements. His first care was to restore the authority of the Soubahdar, whom the presence alone of the French detachment, which had vigilantly guarded his person, had probably saved from the assassination which generally forms the main ingredient of Indian revolutions.

"The two brothers at first assumed a high tone; and when obliged to part with the seal, exhibited unusual marks of rage and indignation. Bussy clearly saw that the safety of the Soubahdar, and the existence of the present government, demanded the resumption of the power which had been entrusted to Nizam Ali; but when the proposition of a large pension was made to him in lieu of his government, he had the art to interest his troops in his behalf, and Bussy found it necessary to temporize. To remove still further the umbrage which he found was gaining ground at the uncontrollable authority with which a stranger disposed of the powers of Deccan, and of the sons of the great Nizam al Mulk, he re-committed the seal of state to Bassalut Jung, but under securities which precluded any improper use.

"To provide a permanent security for his predominating influence in the government of the soubah, there was wanting, besides the distant provinces which yielded him the necessary revenue, a place of strength near the seat of government, to render him indepen-

ent of the sudden machinations of his enemies. The celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad, both from locality and strength, was admirably adapted to his views. It was at present in possession of the prime minister, the mortal foe of Bussy, the chief actor in the late commotions, and the assured instrument of others in every hostile design. By a sum of money, Bussy gained the deputy-governor to admit him secretly with his troops into the fort; and this invaluable instrument of power was gained without the loss of a man. As the utmost efforts, however, of the resentment of the minister were now assured, Bussy secured the means of rendering him a prisoner in the midst of the camp of the Soubahdar, at the very hour when he himself was received into the fort of Dowlatabad. These events alarmed Nizam Ali into submission; and an accommodation was effected, by which he agreed to divest himself of his government of Berar, and to accept of Hyderabad in its stead. When holding his court, to receive the compliments of the principal persons, before his departure for his new government, he was waited upon, among others, by Hyder Jung, the dum of Bussy. This personage was the son of a governor of Masulipatam, who had been friendly to the French; and he had attached himself to Bussy since his first arrival at Golconda. Bussy was soon aware of his talents, and soon discovered the great benefit he might derive from them. He became a grand and dexterous instrument for unravelling the plots and intrigues against which it was necessary for Bussy to be incessantly on his guard, and a not less consummate agent in laying the trains which led to the accomplishment of Bussy's designs. To give him the greater weight with his countrymen, and more complete access to the persons

and the minds of the people of consequence, he obtained for him titles of nobility, dignities, and riches; and enabled him to hold his durbar, like the greatest chiefs. He was known to have been actively employed in the late masterly transactions of Bussy; and an occasion was chosen, on which a blow might be struck both at his life and that of Salabut Jung. A day was appointed by the Soubahdar for paying his devotions at the tomb of his father, distant about twenty miles from Aurungabad; and on the second day of his absence, Nizam Ali held his court. Hyder Jung was received with marked respect; but, on some pretext, was detained behind the rest of the assembly, and assassinated. The first care of Bussy, upon this new emergency, was, to strengthen the slender escort of Salabut Jung. The next was, to secure the person of the late minister, of whose share in the present perfidy he had no doubt, and whom he had hitherto allowed to remain under a slight restraint in the camp. That veteran intriguer, concluding that his life was in danger, excited his attendants to resist, and was slain in the scuffle. Struck with dismay upon the news of this unexpected result, Nizam Ali abandoned the camp in the night, taking with him his select cavalry alone, and pursued his flight towards Boorhanpore, about 150 miles north from Aurungabad, with all the speed which the horses could endure. Thus was Bussy delivered from his two most formidable enemies, by the very stroke which they had aimed against him; and in this state of uncontrollable power in the widely extended government of Deccan, was he placed, when the arrival of Lally produced an extraordinary change in his views, and insured a new train of events in the soubah.

"The character of that new governor was ill

adapted to the circumstances in which he was appointed to act. Ardent and impetuous by the original structure of his mind, his early success and distinction had rendered him vain and presumptuous. With natural talents of considerable force, his knowledge was scanty and superficial.

"He began by what he conceived a very justifiable act of authority, but which was, in reality, a cruel violation of the customs, the religion, and, in truth, the legal rights of the natives. As there was not at Pondicherry, of the persons of the lower castes, who are employed in the servile occupations of the camp, a sufficient number to answer the impatience of M. Lally, in forwarding the troops to Fort St. David, he ordered the native inhabitants of the town to be pressed and employed, without distinction of caste, in carrying burdens and performing whatever labour might be required. The terror and consternation created by such an act, were greater than if he had set fire to the town and butchered every man whom it contained. The consequence was, that the natives were afraid to trust themselves in his power; and he thus insured a deficiency of attendants.

"On the 1st of May, Lally himself arrived at Fort St. David; and when joined by the troops from the ships, and those whom he had drawn from the forts in the Carnatic, he had, according to Mr. Orme, 2500 Europeans, exclusive of officers, and about the same number of Sepoys, assembled for the attack. The garrison consisted of 1600 natives, and 619 Europeans, of whom eighty-three were sick or infirm, and 250 were seamen. The place held out till the 1st of June, when, having nearly expended its ammunition, it yielded on capitulation. It was expected to have made a better defence; and the English

historians have not spared the conduct of the commanding officer. He had courage and spirit in sufficient abundance, but was not very rich in mental resources, or very accurate in ascertaining the conduciveness of his means. In consequence of instructions brought from France, Lally immediately issued orders for razing the fortifications to the ground. As soon as the fort capitulated, he sent a detachment against Dévi-Cotah, which the garrison immediately abandoned; and on the 7th of June, he returned with the army, in triumph, and sang *Te Deum* at Pondicherry.

"The English, in full expectation that the next operation of Lally would be the siege of Madras, had called in the troops from all the forts in the interior, except Trichinopoly; and had even debated whether they should not abandon that city itself. All the troops from Tinivelly and Madura were ordered to return to Trichinopoly, and, together with the garrison, to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency.

"The great poverty, however, of the French exchequer; and the inability, created or greatly enhanced by the unpopular proceedings of Lally, of supplying its deficiencies by credit; cramped his operations, and sharpened the asperities of his temper.

"Despairing of funds from any other source, he resolved to devote to this object the next operations of the war. He at the same time recalled Bussy, against whose character he fostered the strongest prejudices, and the importance of whose transactions under the Soubahdar, he treated as interested pretence and imposture.

"Two plans presented themselves for the supply of his wants. All the western and northern districts of

the nabobship, evacuated by the English, lay open to his incursions, and, in the rents which might be collected, offered a certain resource. But the collection of rents was a tedious operation, and the expected produce, a scanty supply. The King of Tanjore, when pressed, in 1751, by Chunda Saheb and the French, had, among his other efforts to procrastinate and evade, given his bond, which still remained at Pondicherry, for 5,000,000 rupées. This sum, could it only be extorted from him, was a large and present resource; and in Fort St. David, as a prisoner, had been found the pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who might now be employed as an instrument to frighten the rajah into compliance. The expedition against Tanjore was accordingly undertaken; and, on the 18th of June, Lally took the field.

"From the terror of the natives, the alienation of the Europeans, and the want of money, the equipment of the expedition, in attendants, draught cattle, and even provisions and ammunition, was in the highest degree defective. In seven days the army arrived at Carical, not without suffering, at this early stage, both from fatigue and from hunger. At this place, Lally was met by a messenger from the King, who was desirous to treat. Lally understood, that some of his predecessors had been duped into impolitic delay by the artful negotiations of the King of Tanjore. He resolved to display superior wisdom, by a conduct directly the reverse. He proceeded to Nagore, a town accounted rich, about four miles to the north of Negapatnam; but the merchants had time to remove their most valuable effects, and the acquisition yielded only a trifle. On the 29th, he arrived at Kivelour, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, which eastern exaggeration represented as containing enormous riches,

the accumulated offerings of the piety of ages. Had it been plundered by a Mohamedan conqueror, and the transaction recorded by a Persian historian, he would have described his hero as bearing away, in his fortunate chariots, a mountain of gold. Under the vulgar persuasion, Lally ransacked, and even dug the houses; dragged the tanks, and took away the idols; but no treasures were found, and the idols, instead of gold, were only of brass. Six unhappy Brahmans lingered about the camp, in hopes, it is probable, of recovering some of their beloved divinities. The suspicions of Lally took them for spies; his violence and precipitation took his suspicions for realities; and he ordered the six Brahmans to be treated as the Europeans are accustomed to treat the natives convicted as spies; that is, to be shot away from the mouths of the guns. The King's army took the field; but, after a slight show of resistance, retreated to the capital, near which Lally arrived on the 18th of July. Conferences ensued: the King offered a sum of money, but greatly inferior to what was required. Lally offered to abate in his pecuniary demand, provided he were furnished with 600 bullocks and a supply of gunpowder. His agents were more prudent than himself, and suppressed the article of gunpowder, the deficiency of which, if known to the King, was not likely to improve his disposition to compliance; and the bullocks, the King observed, that his religion did not permit him to grant. The commande and bombardment began. After a few days, the King renewed his efforts for an accommodation. The obliquities of eastern negotiation wore out the temper of Lally; and he threatened to carry the King and all his family slaves to Mauritius. This outrage produced in the Hindoo a final resolution to

defend himself to the last extremity. He had early, among his applications for assistance, implored the co-operation of the English; and Captain Calliaud, at Trichinopoly, was commissioned to make all those efforts in his favour which his own security might appear to allow. That officer sent to him, without delay, a small detachment, which might feed his hopes of a more efficient support, and afford him no apology for making his peace with the French. But he was afraid to entrust with him any considerable portion of his troops; fully aware that the French might, at any time, make with him an accommodation, and receive his assistance to destroy the very men who had come to protect him. Upon this last occurrence, Calliaud inferred that the time for accommodation was elapsed, and sent an additional detachment. Lally continued his operations, and on the 7th of August, effected a breach.

"At this time, however, only 150 charges of powder for the cannon, not twenty cartouches a man for the troops, and not provisions for two days, remained in the camp. The next morning, intelligence was received, that the English fleet, after a fresh engagement with the French, had anchored before Carical, from which alone the French army could derive its supplies. Lally summoned a council of war out of thirteen officers; two only advised an immediate assault; and it was determined, in conformity with the opinions of the other eleven, to raise the siege. Intelligence of this resolution of the enemy, and of the negligence and security in which they encamped, encouraged the Tanjorines to attempt a surprise; which brought Lally and his army into imminent danger. After a disastrous march, in which they suffered severely from the enemy, from fatigue, and

from famine, they arrived at Carical, and saw the English fleet at anchor off the mouth of the river..... The French had steered for Pondicherry, and the admiral declared his intention of returning to Mauritius. Lally sent forward the Comte D'Estaign, to remonstrate with him on the disgrace of quitting the sea before an inferior enemy, and to urge him to renewed operations. Lally himself moved with the army from Carical on the 24th of August, and, having passed the Coleroon, hurried on with a small detachment to Pondicherry. He immediately summoned a mixed council of the administration and army, who joined in a fresh expostulation to the admiral on the necessity of repairing to Madras, where the success of an attack must altogether depend upon the union of the naval and military operations. That commander, representing his ships as in a state of the greatest disablement, and his crews extremely enfeebled and diminished by disease, would yield to no persuasion, and set sail with his whole fleet for Mauritius." *

Lally, abandoning his designs upon Madras, now resolved on an expedition against Arcot, with a view to relieve the cruel pressure of his pecuniary embarrassments. A correspondence was opened with the governor, Rajah Saheb, (the son of Chunda Saheb,) who consented to deliver up the place, on condition of receiving 13,000 rupees, and being taken into the pay of Lally; and on the terms of a pretended capitulation, on the 4th of October, Lally made his entrance into Arcot. About this time, he was joined by Bussy. "That officer, who had conducted himself with such rare ability in the dominions of the Soubahdar, and with his handful of French had raised him-

* Mill, iii. 180—204.

self to an elevated station among the princes of India, had left the Soubahdar on a tottering throne, which nothing but his strong support could much longer uphold. The Soubahdar, when informed of the intended departure of the French, was too much amazed to believe the dreadful intelligence; and, when too well assured of its ominous reality, took his leave of Bussy, in an agony of grief and despair. Bussy, it is possible, took his departure with the more alacrity, as he hoped, through the representations which in person he would be able to make, that he could prevail upon Lally to send him back, and with augmented force, to his important station. Having, on his march, been joined by Moracin, the governor of Masulipatam, who with his troops was also recalled, he left the march to be conducted by Moracin, and, under a safe-guard granted to him from Madras, hastened to the meeting with Lally.

"Bussy employed every effort to convince him of the importance of retaining the advantages which he had gained in the dominions of the Soubahdar; and the most pressing and passionate letters arrived from the Soubahdar himself. But Lally, who had already treated the representations of Bussy as the visions of a madman, and had told the governor of Pondicherry, that he thought himself too condescending in reading his letters, lent a deaf ear to remonstrances which inwardly he regarded as the fruit of delusion or imposture. Apprised of the money which Dupleix had raised on his personal credit, he was not without hopes that Bussy might be possessed of similar resources; and he states, as a matter of great surprise mixed with incredulity, the averment of Bussy, that in this way he was altogether incapable of aiding the general cause.

"To whatever quarter Lally turned his eyes, he found himself beset with the greatest difficulties. The Government at Pondicherry declared, that, in their exhausted situation, it was altogether impossible for them to find the means of subsisting the army at Pondicherry. When a council of war was called, the Count D'Estaign and other officers pronounced it better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within those of Pondicherry. The idea of undertaking a siege, (Lally says,) the want of funds excluded from the mind of every one; but it was deemed expedient to bombard the place, to shut up the English within the fort, to obtain the pillage of the Black Town, and to lay waste the surrounding country."*

The continuance of the rains retarded the execution of this measure till the beginning of December, by which time Lally had not funds to ensure the subsistence of the army for a single week. On the 14th, they took possession of the Black Town; and a sally made by the English garrison, was repulsed with considerable loss on both sides. With the funds obtained by this capture, Lally began to construct his batteries; and, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to contend against, his want of officers upon whom he could depend, and the strenuous exertions of the besieged to destroy the works, he had succeeded in effecting a breach, and was preparing for the assault, when, on the 16th of February, an English fleet of six sail arrived at Madras, and a precipitate retreat became unavoidable. It is difficult to say whether the situation of the besieged, or that of the besieging force was the more critical. A very small quantity of gunpowder

* Mill, iii. pp. 303, 4.

remained in the camp: the bombs had been consumed three weeks before: the supplies, both of money and provisions, were exhausted; the sepoys were clamorous for their pay; and had the assault failed of its object, the French army must have been broken up.

The retreat of Lally, such was his unpopularity among his countrymen, was matter of triumph at Pondicherry; although, from that moment, the interests of the French colonists rapidly fell to ruin.—The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October 1759, decided the unequal struggle. Wandewash was attacked and carried on the 29th of the following month. Lally, who had advanced to attempt its recovery, was defeated, Bussy being taken prisoner. Chittapet fell two days after. Arcot surrendered after a short siege: and this was followed by the reduction of Devi-Cotah, Carical, Vahlore, Cuddalore, and all the other forts in the possession of the French. By the 1st of May, the French army was confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English encamped within four miles of the town, having in the mean while received further reinforcements. As the last remaining chance of prolonging the struggle for the preservation of the French colony, Lally, whose unconquerable fortitude and energy must command respect, turned his eyes towards the native powers. The adventurer, Hyder Ali, was now at the head of a formidable army; and though not as yet without powerful opponents, had nearly at his disposal the resources of Mysore. With him, Lally now entered into a negotiation; and an agreement was concluded, in virtue of which, the Mysorean chief undertook to supply a certain quantity of bullocks for the provision of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3000 horse and 5000 sepoys. A detachment of

the English army, sent to interrupt their march, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, the Mysoreans suddenly decamped in the night, being recalled by an emergency which deeply affected Hyder at home. The rains suspended further operations on the part of the English till December, when the active siege of Pondicherry was commenced. The French were now reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick, worn out with vexation and fatigue; and the dissensions which continued to rage within the fort, had deprived him of almost all authority. On the 14th of January, Pondicherry surrendered to the English; and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling with the ground the town and fortifications of its once powerful rival. Thiagar and the strong fort of Ginjee still remained in possession of the French; but the garrisons, seeing no hope of relief, made but a feeble resistance. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had already wrested from the French all their possessions in those important districts. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been attacked and reduced by the English a few months before the fall of Pondicherry; and after the fall of Ginjee, on the 5th of April, 1761, the French had not a single military post left in India.

Lally's fate was as dreadful as it was unmerited. On his return to France, he was thrown into the Bastile, and thence removed to a common prison. The public indignation, encouraged by the French ministry in order to screen themselves, demanded its victim; and the grand tribunal of the nation, the parliament of Paris, found no difficulty in seconding the wishes of the ministry, and gratifying the popular clamour, by

condemning him to an ignominious death. "Thus," remarks Mr. Mill, "had the French East India Company, within a few years, destroyed three, the only eminent men who had ever been placed at the head of their affairs in India; Labourdonnais,* Dupleix, and Lally. It did not long survive this last display of its imbecility and injustice."†

In the mean time, Colonel Clive, with better fortune, if not better intentions, was prosecuting his daring plans of personal aggrandisement, at the expense or risk of every other interest. A commission had been received at Calcutta, from the Directors in England, new-modelling the colonial government, which was thenceforth to consist of a council of ten, with four governors, each of whom was to preside for three months in rotation. Clive did not conceal his resentment at finding himself passed over in this new establishment; and the council, (including the four gentlemen who were appointed governors,) convinced that he alone had sufficient authority to overawe the Nabob into the performance of his obligations, took upon them to set aside this high legislative act of the Company, and with one accord tendered to Clive the undivided office of president. With this invitation, he declares that he hesitated not one moment to comply. Shortly afterwards, advices arrived from Madras, that Fort St.

* Labourdonnais, on his return to France, was thrown into the Bastile, where he remained three years, and died soon after his liberation. He was one of the ablest and best governors which France ever sent out. The fate of Dupleix (see p. 47) may be regarded as almost retributive.

† "It was the son of this very man, who, under the name of Lally Tolendal, was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and by his eloquence and ardour in the cause of liberty, contributed to crumble into dust a monarchy under which acts of this atrocious description were as liable to happen."—See Mill, iii. pp. 253-6.

David had been taken by the French, that Bussy was on his march to join Lally, and that Madras was in jeopardy: the most earnest solicitations were subjoined, that as large a portion of the troops as possible might be sent, to avert the impending ruin of the Company's affairs in the Carnatic. Clive, however, chose to remain in Bengal, where he was master, rather than go to Madras, where he would be subordinate; and he determined not to lessen his power by sending troops to Madras, which the Presidency, after his own example, might forget to send back. An enterprise at the same time presented itself, which bore the appearance of a co-operation in the struggle, and afforded a pretext for detaining the troops. Rajah Annanderauz, one of the chief polygars in the Northern Circars, had invited the English in Bengal to co-operate with him in driving out the French, while Bussy was involved in the contest with the brothers of the Soubahdar. The project met with the decided condemnation of the council; yet Clive, disregarding all opposition, prepared his armament. It proceeded by sea, and its brilliant success atoned for the rashness of the enterprise. Masulipatam, the principal fort of the French on that part of the coast, was taken after a short siege; and the Soubahdar, who had advanced to the support of his allies, found it convenient, on his arrival, to transfer his friendship to the conquerors. A considerable territory about Masulipatam was ceded to the English; and the Soubahdar engaged to allow no French settlement to exist for the future within his dominions.

While the detachment from the Bengal army was engaged in these operations, the solicitude of Clive was attracted by an enemy of high pretensions in another quarter. The dominions of Jaffier Khan were threat-

ened with invasion from a powerful confederacy, which had for its ostensible head the *Shazada*, or eldest son of the Mogul Emperor, who had obtained the formal investiture of the Soubahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and was supported by the Nabobs of Allahabad and Oude. The Emperor (Allumghire II.) was legitimate sovereign of Bengal, and as such, might seem to have had undoubted right to appoint his eldest son to the government of that province. The Prince is stated to have offered to grant the English their own terms, if they would assist him in recovering his rights. But Clive, whose hardihood was seldom overcome by scruples, decided on the safer policy of opposing him.* The Prince and his confederates had advanced to Patna, when the treacherous conduct of the Nabob of Oude, who took that opportunity of seizing the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the Soubahdar of that province to march back, in order to recover his own dominions;† and the unfortunate Shazada, bereft at once of friends and resources, was reduced to the necessity of soliciting a sum of money from the English general, as the requital of his withdrawing from the province. Upon these easy terms was Clive extricated from a situation of considerable difficulty; and so unbounded was the gratitude of Jaffier, that, after obtaining for his de-

* In fact, the claim of the Prince was a mere pretence on the part of the Soubahdar of Allahabad and the other leaders of the expedition. The Emperor was himself little better than a state prisoner at Delhi, and the Prince was a fugitive. He might, with equal pretensions, have claimed possession of the Deccan. Under these circumstances, we cannot agree with Mr. Mill, that "to oppose him was undisguised rebellion." All the soubahs had become independent hereditary principalities; and a tribute was all that could have been legitimately claimed.

† Being persuaded by the Soubahdar of Oude to throw himself upon his generosity, he was first made prisoner, and afterwards put to death.

fender the rank of an omrah of the empire, he bestowed upon him as a *jagheer*, the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company were bound to pay for the zemindaree of Calcutta and the adjacent territory, amounting to 30,000*l.* a year.

Scarcely had this expedition been thus fortunately terminated, and the detachment returned from the conquest of Masulipatam, than the Bengal Government were alarmed by tidings of a great armament, fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia, and destined for Bengal. The Dutch were not then at war with Great Britain, but their designs in sending out so large a force, might justly excite suspicion. Seven ships ascended the river, as far as a few miles below Calcutta, where they landed the troops, consisting of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays, who were thence to march to the Dutch factory at Chinsura. Although they had received encouragement from Jaffier, he was now easily induced to issue an order commanding them to leave the river, which afforded Clive a pretext for hostilities. A detachment under Colonel Forde was sent to intercept the troops; and of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken prisoners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to prevent their total expulsion from Bengal, were contented to put themselves in the wrong by paying the expenses of the war; and Clive, aware of the irregularity of his interference, was well pleased to close the dispute, by restoring the ships, with all their treasure and effects. This agreement was ratified December 5, 1759. Early in the following year, Clive, anxious to lodge his princely fortune in his own country, resigned the government, and sailed for England.

Notwithstanding the dazzling success which had crowned Clive's political measures, and the immense fortune which he had contrived to secure for himself, he left the affairs of the Company in a most disordered condition, and the country by no means in a settled state. Before the conclusion of the Dutch treaty, intelligence had reached Calcutta, that the Mogul Prince was meditating a fresh invasion; and he had already entered Bahar, when the tragical death of his father, the unhappy Allumghire, enabled the Shazada to assume the state and title of Emperor.* The majesty of the imperial name had not yet wholly lost its influence on the minds of the natives; and it was now clear rebellion to resist him. The English, however, had no scruples on the subject, and they supported, as they were bound to do, their own ally. Meeran, the son of Jaffier, took the field, and was joined by the Bengal forces under Colonel Calliaud. Near Patna, an engagement with the imperial army took place, in which the latter was defeated, and the Emperor fled to Bahar. He was still able, however, to maintain a feeble contest; and, conscious of his weakness, he invoked the aid of the Doorannee Shah, who now commanded the whole of the upper country. While he was awaiting the result of his application, the *Naib* of the Poorneah district of Bengal, had raised an army, with which he was marching to join him, when he was overtaken and attacked by Calliaud and Meeran. In consequence of this defeat, the Naib marched towards the north, closely pursued by the enemy, notwithstanding that the rains had set in with unusual violence; but, on the fourth night of the pursuit, (July 2,) the tent of Meeran was struck by lightning, and he, with

* See vol. i. p. 357.

his attendants, was killed on the spot. The death of their leader is, to an Indian army, the signal to disband; and to prevent this disaster, the English commander marched back with all possible expedition to Patna, and distributed the troops into quarters for the rainy season.

When Clive resigned the government, his influence was successfully exerted to procure the nomination of Mr. Vansittart as his successor, who was called from Madras. On his arrival in July, he found the treasury at Calcutta empty; the English troops quartered at Patna, were mutinous and deserting for want of pay, the allowance paid by the Nabob being several months in arrear; the government of Jaffier was in a state approaching to dissolution; and the seeds of violent discord were sown in the English council. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were totally dependent upon Bengal for pecuniary resources, while the income of the Company was scarcely sufficient for the current expenses of Calcutta. Some change, by which the revenue could be placed on a par with the expenditure, was indispensable.* From the administration of Jaffier, resigned as he was to a set of unworthy favourites, old, indolent, voluptuous, estranged from the English, and without authority, no change for the better was to be expected. Under these circumstances, it was resolved to compel Jaffier to surrender the powers of government into the hands of his son-in-law, Meer Cassim; who, in return, agreed to assign to the Com-

* They might have retired, Mr. Mill remarks, from all concern with the government of the country, contenting themselves with the protection of Calcutta, for which a small body of troops and a small expenditure would have sufficed. But, "not to speak of the golden hopes which had been so fondly cherished," it was justly feared, that the place and power which the Company might resign, would be seized by the French or the Dutch.

pany the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, to pay the balance due from Jaffier, and to present five laks towards the expenses of the war in the Carnatic. Jaffier was still to have retained the honours of royalty; but not deeming himself safe at Moorshedabad, his capital, he desired permission to lead a private life at Calcutta, under the English protection.

By the money obtained from the new Nabob, the English commander, Major Carnac, was enabled to take the field early in the year 1761; and advancing towards the Emperor, who was encamped at Gyah Mauupore, he forced him to an engagement, and gained a victory. Immediately after the battle, the Major sent to him the Rajah Shitabroy, to make an overture of peace, which the Emperor at first declined, but, on second thoughts, eagerly closed with. Major Carnac paid his compliments to him as Emperor in his own camp, and, after the usual ceremonies, conducted him to Patna. Meer Cassim, who hastened thither to observe and share in these proceedings, consented, on receiving investiture as soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, to pay an annual tribute or revenue of twenty-four laks of rupees. After a short stay at Patna, Shah Allum accepted the invitation of the Nabob of Oude, of Nujeeb ud Dowla, and other Affghan chiefs, (to whom his cause had been recommended by the Doorannee Shah,) to place himself under their protection, and marched towards his capital, being escorted by the English commander as far as the frontier of Bahar.

The remainder of the presidency of Vansittart was occupied with a disgusting series of disputes, disorders, and misconduct on the part of the Company's servants, into the detail of which it is unnecessary to enter.

Vansittart appears to have been a meritorious governor, but his authority was a divided one. Circumstances had given the majority to his opponents in the council, who availed themselves of their ascendancy, to thwart his measures, and to push their own fortunes, at the expense not only of justice and right, but of decency; and the violent proceedings of Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, drove the Nabob at length into open hostility. The immediate cause of the war was the illegitimate private traffic carried on by individuals in the Company's name, in defiance of the native government, and with the most shameless extortion and oppression.* In vain Vansittart en-

* In a letter to the Governor, dated March 28, 1763, Meer Cassim complained, that, "from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, sirkars, and agents in every district of the government, acted as collectors, renters, and magistrates, and setting up the Company's colours, allowed no power" to the Nabob's officers. "And besides this, the gomastahs and other servants in every district, in every market and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betel-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's dustuk in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company." "At the present time," remarks Mr. Mill, "it is difficult to believe, even after the most indubitable proof, that it became a common practice, to force the unhappy natives, both to buy the goods of the Company's servants, and of all those who procured the use of their name, at a greater than the market price; and to sell to the Company's servants the goods which they desired to purchase, at a less than the market price. The native judges and magistrates were resisted in the discharge of their duties, and even their functions were usurped." "Many black merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of any young writer in the Company's service, by loans of money, and, under this sanction, harassed and oppressed the natives. So plentiful a supply was derived from this source, that many young writers were enabled to spend 1000*l.* and 2000*l.* per annum, were clothed in fine linen, and dined sumptuously every day." Mill, iii. 201—3. See also pp. 317, 393, and 450. The depopulation of the country, the failure of trade, and the deficiencies of the revenue, could not but be the result of this nefarious system.

deavoured to check these enormities. His representations were treated by the council as the effect of a weak and interested subservience to the views of the Nabob; while they were themselves deriving vast emoluments from the abuses the existence of which they denied. Hitherto, Meer Cassim had conducted his government with no ordinary success. He had reduced to obedience all the rebellious zemindars; had discharged the whole of his pecuniary obligations to the English; and had made considerable progress in disciplining and arranging his army, as far as possible on the European model. In this, he was assisted by Sumroo, a German adventurer, not destitute, apparently, of talent and enterprise, but an unscrupulous instrument of the sanguinary mandates of his ferocious master. Ellis precipitated the rupture by surprising Patna; but it was retaken by the Nabob's troops, and he, together with a number of his countrymen, was made prisoner, while Mr. Amyatt and some other Englishmen were killed in an unsuccessful struggle. The Calcutta Government immediately re-invested Meer Jaffier with the ensigns of royalty; and the English forces marched to the encounter with Meer Cassim's troops. The conflict was long, severe, and, for a time, even doubtful; such was the improved discipline of the native army. And even after victory had declared for the British, they were baffled during nearly a month by a strong intrenchment, behind which the enemy retired. Cassim, exasperated by defeat, indulged his appetite for slaughter. Several natives of wealth and rank were put to death by his command; and when his passions were inflamed to the highest degree by the storming of his lines, and the subsequent reduction of his strongly fortified capital, Mongheer, he gave orders for the massacre of Mr.

Ellis and all the English prisoners, with the exception of a surgeon, whose professional skill had recommended him to his favour.

After the loss of Patna, Meer Cassim resolved to throw himself upon the protection of Sujah Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, to whose army the disciplined sepoys of Bengal were an important reinforcement. At that time, the Emperor and his vizir (for to that dignity the Nabob of Oude had been elevated) were encamped at Allahabad, preparing an expedition against Bundelcund, the predatory inhabitants of which district had refused to pay their revenues. Meer Cassim offered to reduce them with his own battalions. Crossing the Jumna, he took one of their fortresses, and so alarmed them by his artillery and his disciplined sepoys, that they hastened to make their submission; and Sujah Dowla, who, under pretence of supporting Meer Cassim, aimed at the sovereignty of the eastern provinces, marched with his allies to Benares, to make preparations for his ambitious enterprise. Early in April 1764, he crossed the Ganges; and on the 3d of May, he encountered the English, commanded by Major Carnac, under the walls of Patna, from whom he sustained a decisive repulse. Soon after this, Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro arrived from Bombay with a reinforcement of troops, and took the command of the army. The rains suspended all hostile operations until September, when Munro advanced towards the Soane; and on the 22d of October, he encamped within shot of the enemy's intrenchment, near the fort of Buxar. The battle which ensued on the day following, was one of the most critical and important victories in the history of the British wars in India. It broke completely the force of Sujah Dowla, the only Mogul chief who

retained any considerable strength; it placed the Emperor himself, who had been little better than his state-prisoner, under the protection of the English, and left them, without dispute, the greatest power in India.

In the mean time, the Council and the Company's servants were pushing to the utmost their infamous extortions. The interests and the commands of their employers were alike slighted, in their shameless scramble for the spoils of oppressed and exhausted India. Meer Jaffier was now "no more than a banker for the Company's servants," who could draw upon him for presents as often and to as great an amount as they pleased. Harassed on all sides, he complained bitterly, but in vain, of the fresh and rapacious demands which were made upon him. The importunities to which he was subjected, conspired with the infirmities of age and a constitution exhausted by debauchery, to hurry him to his grave. He died at Moorshedabad in Jan. 1765.

Shah Allum might now have recovered the immediate sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa at the word of the English; and he would willingly have bestowed upon them the *seubahdaree*, as he had repeatedly offered the *duannee* or collection of the revenue. It suited, however, the crooked, selfish policy of the men who then represented the English in India, to shun the appearance and name of sovereignty, while they grasped all the power; and Nujeeb ul Dowla, the next surviving son of Jaffier, was invested with the shadow of royalty. In the mean time, the disastrous events which followed the rupture with Meer Cassim, together with the reports of mutual crimination transmitted to Europe by Vansittart and his opponents, had roused the Directors to some acts of authority. After considerable discussion and stre-

nuous opposition, it was determined by a small majority of the Court, to send out Clive a second time, (now raised to the peerage,) armed with extraordinary powers, and uniting in his own person, the offices of commander-in-chief, president, and governor in Bengal. Although he had quitted India with an act of insult and defiance to his employers,* and had, after his arrival in England, commenced a suit against the Company in the Court of Chancery for the proceeds of his *jaghier*, which the Directors withheld, all objection was overruled by the conviction, that he was the only man capable of retrieving their disordered and desperate affairs.

On his arrival at Madras in April 1765, Clive learned that the dangers, the alarm of which had led to his being sent out, were entirely dissipated; that the troops were obedient; that Meer Cassim had been expelled and all his supporters subdued; that the Emperor had cast himself upon the protection of the English; and that the Nabob Meer Jaffier was dead. These changes seemed to justify his entering upon a line of policy very different from the cautious and temporising system which had been hitherto pursued.† He ar-

* In one of the last of the despatches to which he affixed his name, he complained of the asperity of a letter received from the Directors, as unworthy of themselves or the parties addressed, "either as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen." The Directors, roused to resentment by "the gross insults upon and indignities offered to the Court," in this document, sent out an order to dismiss from the service all the parties still remaining in India, who had signed it.—Mill. iii. 304.

† In a private letter, dated seven days after his arrival, Clive uses these memorable expressions: "We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen; I mean that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. It is scarcely hyperbole to say, to-morrow, the whole Mogul empire is in our power." In a letter of the same date to his private agent in London, he directed him to

rived at Calcutta in May, and immediately assumed the whole power of government, civil and military. Towards the end of June, he set off on a progress up the country, for the purpose of forming his projected arrangements with the new Nabob, and of concluding a treaty of peace with Sujah Dowla. The first negotiation was easily managed. Whatever the English were pleased to command, Nujeeb ud Dowla was constrained to obey. He was now required to resign the whole of the revenues, and to make over the management of the *soubahdaree*, with every advantage arising from it, to the Company; by whom an annual pension of fifty laks of rupees was to be allowed to himself. There was not much more difficulty in making arrangements with the Vizir. Lucknow, his capital, and the important fortress of Allahabad had been captured by the English; and the desperate state of his affairs had induced him to throw himself upon the generosity of the conquerors, by placing his person in their hands. He was received by General Carnac with the highest marks of distinction; and on Clive's arrival, it was agreed to restore to him the whole of his dominions, with the exception of Allahabad and Corah, which were to be reserved for the Emperor.* Of these territories, Shah Allum was subsequently put in possession; besides which, he was to continue to receive a revenue of twenty-six laks of rupees from the

forces all the money he had in the funds or elsewhere, and as much as could be borrowed in his name, without loss of a minute, in East India stock.—Mill, iii. 338, 3.

* The motives which led to this arrangement sprang, Mr. Mill says, from the conviction that it would cost the Company more to defend the territory of the Vizir, than it would yield in revenue; that Sujah Dowla was more capable of defending it than the Emperor, to whom it had formerly been promised; and that, in his hands, it might form a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghauns.

provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the duannee being vested in the Calcutta government. The imperial *firmaun* conveying the grant of the duannee, and thereby constituting the Company masters in name and responsibility, as well as in power, of that extensive portion of the empire, was dated August 12, 1765. They obtained from the Emperor at the same time, a formal confirmation of their possessions throughout the nominal extent of the Mogul empire.

The next measure to which Clive, agreeably to his directions, turned his attention, was the reduction of the military expenses, which absorbed all the revenues of the Company. He began by reducing the extraordinary allowances, which, under the name of *batta*, had been hitherto given to the officers during the time of campaign. An extensive and formidable conspiracy was the result, which was defeated by the boldness and energy of Clive. Some of the officers, upon profession of repentance, were allowed to resume the service: others, including Sir Robert Fletcher, were tried and cashiered. On the 8th of May, 1766, Nujeeb ud Dowla died suddenly. His brother, Syeff ud Dowla, a youth of sixteen, was then elevated to the nominal office of Nabob; "a change of less importance now, than that of the chief of a factory." In the following February, Lord Clive embarked for England, leaving the government in the hands of a Select Committee, with Mr. Verelst as president.

The arrangements established by Clive, produced a brilliant appearance of immediate prosperity, but were fraught with the elements of future difficulty and distress. The policy upon which he prided himself, was that of a form of government resting upon deception; an administration carried on in the name of the Soubahdar or Nabob, but in reality by the Company.

"The collection of the revenues was still made as for the exchequer of the Nabob; justice was still administered by his officers, and in his name; and all transactions with foreign powers were covered with the mask of his authority. For the benefit of certain false pretexts, which imposed upon nobody, the government of the country, as far as regarded the protection of the people, was dissolved. Neither the Nabob nor his officers dared exert any authority against the English, of whatsoever injustice and oppression they might be guilty. The *gomastahs* or Indian agents employed by the Company's servants, not only practised unbounded tyranny, but, overawing the Nabob and his highest officers, converted the tribunals of justice themselves into instruments of cruelty. While the ancient administration of the country was rendered inefficient, this suspension of the powers of government was supplied by nothing in the regulations of the English. Beyond the ancient limits of the Presidency, the Company had no legal power over the natives. Beyond these limits, the English themselves were not amenable to the British laws; and the Company had no power of coercion, except by sending persons out of the country... The natural consequence was, that the crimes of the English and their agents were in a great measure secured from punishment, and the unhappy natives lay prostrate at their feet... Under the feebleness of Sujah Dowla, and the quarrels which occupied the Mahrattas at home, the Company enjoyed profound tranquillity in Bengal for a considerable number of years; and during the administrations of Mr. Verlest and Mr. Cartier, who occupied the chair till the elevation of Mr. Hastings, and were calm, unambitious men, few events of historical importance occurred. It was during a period like this, if ever, that the Com-

pany ought to have replenished their exchequer, and to have attained financial prosperity. During this period, on the contrary, financial difficulties were continually increasing, and rose at last to a height which threatened them with immediate destruction."*

The anarchical state in which, by the double government, the provinces were placed, powerfully contributed to their impoverishment; and the abuses introduced into every department of administration, at once swelled the expenses, and lessened the resources of the Government. Clive, however, when called to defend himself from the charges and reproaches which assailed him from all quarters, on the dissipation of the golden hopes he had raised, boldly threw the blame upon his successors and the Directors; imputing all the evils which had arisen, to a relaxation of government and negligent administration on the part of the one, and to notorious misconduct and violent proceedings on the part of the Company at home.† The affairs of the

* Mill, iii. 505–7; 525. In September 1768, notwithstanding a falling revenue and an accumulating debt, the Directors declared a dividend at the rate of 12 per cent. On the 14th of March, and the 8th of Sept. 1771, it was resolved to recommend to the General Court, an augmentation of the dividend to six and a quarter *per cent.*, for the six months respectively ensuing; which, as well as a similar resolution in May 1772, was approved by a large majority. These desperate proceedings hurried the affairs of the Company to a crisis. On the 15th of July, 1772, the Directors were reduced to the necessity of applying to the Bank for a loan of 400,000*l.* On the 29th, they applied for an additional loan of 200,000*l.*, of which the Bank could be prevailed upon to advance only two-thirds. And on the 10th of August, they waited upon the Minister, to apprise him, that, unless Government would advance at least one million, the Company's affairs would terminate in a total failure of the means of payment. *Ib.* 453, 4.

† Mill, iii. 427. "With regard to the increase of the expenses," says Clive, "I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the *Dewanee*, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at

Company at length became the subject of Parliamentary investigation, which led to a complete alteration in the system of management. In May 1773, it was proposed by the Minister, and determined by the Legislature, that a qualification of a voter in the General Court should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*; that, instead of an annual election of the whole body of the Directors, one-fourth only of the twenty-four should be subject to the ballot; that the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa should be placed under the administration of a governor-general, with an annual salary of 25,000*l.*, assisted by four counsellors with 8000*l.* *per annum*; that the presidencies of Madras and Bombay should be subordinate to that of Bengal; and that at Calcutta, there should be established a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice with 8000*l.* a year, and three other judges, with 6000*l.* a year, appointed by the Crown. Every thing in the Company's

an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel; the channel of the civil and military charges. *Every man now, who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.*" Ib., p. 208. It is certain, however, that the short-sighted regulations established by Clive, together with the unfounded and extravagant hopes he raised, were the chief causes of the embarrassment of the Company's affairs. Clive, in Mr. Mill's judgement, "though never inattentive to his own interests, was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the Company: and it would have required an extraordinary man to have acted with greater disinterestedness." (p. 434.) "With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation of the future." (p. 437.) His admired scheme of a double administration, is justly stigmatised as the invention of a mind to which "a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself in the light of profound and skilful politics." (p. 395.) Colonel Wilks cannot believe that so weak and shallow a policy would be "the spontaneous growth of the great mind of the great Clive." (Wilks, ii. 57.) Whether it was his invention or his adoption, he claimed the merit of it.

correspondence from India, relating to either civil or military affairs, was to be laid before the ministry of the Crown, to which, in effect, the supreme control of the Indian government was, by these regulations, transferred. Notwithstanding the vehement and indignant complaints and the strenuous opposition which these measures excited, they were carried by great and decisive majorities.* By the new parliamentary authority, Mr. Hastings was appointed governor-general; and the members of council nominated were, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis; not removable, during the period assigned in the act, except by the Crown.

Mr. Hastings had already, in the April of 1772, succeeded Mr. Cartier in the presidency, on the appointment of the Directors; and, under his administration, important changes had taken place. With a view to remedy some of the disorders connected with the collection of the duan, the Directors had declared their resolution to break through the system of ambiguity established by Clive, and to take the collection as well as the disbursement of the revenues into their own hands. By this change, of the nature and consequences of which the Directors appear to have had no adequate conception, the whole property of the country, and along with it the administration of justice, were placed upon a new foundation; and a revolution was produced, more deeply affecting the condition of

* These regulations are ably but severely analysed by Mr. Mill, who labours to shew, that the plan had not the smallest tendency to remedy the principal evils which it was sought to remedy, while it was fraught with mischiefs which did not previously exist. The new jurisprudential system is shewn to have been more especially objectionable. See Mill, iii. 443—52; 467—71.

the people of India, than any mere change of masters. The office of *Naib Diwan*, which had been held by Mahomed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad, and by Rajah Shitabroy at Patna, were abolished;* and in its place, a board of revenue was instituted at Calcutta. The guardianship of the young Nabob, which had been hitherto entrusted to the *Naib Nizam*, or supreme magistrate, was now confided to a female chamberlain, Munny Begum, the second wife of Meer Jaffier.

While this great revolution was being silently effected in the government, the situation of the neighbouring powers was preparing another field of action for the ambition and enterprise of the Company's servants. Nujeeb ud Dowla, the Rohilla chieftain who had been made *Ameer ul Omrah* by Alhumghire II., and to whom the Doorannee Shah had delegated the chief power at Delhi, succeeded in preserving, by his wise and vigorous administration, order and tranquillity in the northern provinces. His death, in 1770, determined Shah Allum to attempt the hazardous project of recovering possession of the capital of his ancestors by means of a Mahratta alliance. With or without the concert of the Emperor, three powerful chiefs, Tookajee, Sindia, and Besajee, had taken a position northward of the river Chumbul, and hovered over the adjoining provinces with 30,000 horse. In the beginning of 1771, Shah Allum despatched an envoy to Calcutta, to bespeak, if not the assistance, at least the

* Both Mahomed Reza and Shitabroy were arrested on the groundless suspicion of having abused their trust, and were sent prisoners to Calcutta. After two years confinement, it was *publickly* declared, that no guilt had been proved to attach to them. Shitabroy died of a broken heart, a short time after his return to Patna. As some compensation for this ill-usage, Mr. Hastings afterwards appointed his son *ray-royan*, or chief native agent of finance in the provinces of Bahar.

approbation of the English in his projected enterprise, and he was not restrained by their dissensions. By the exertions of the Mogul nobles and the sinister assistance of the Vizir, he was enabled, in May, to march from Allahabad at the head of 16,000 men. At Nabbee Gunge, about thirty miles beyond Furrukabad on the road to Delhi, where he was constrained to canton his army during the rains, he was met by a Mahratta *vakeel*, or ambassador, who presented the demands of his imperious masters. With these, Shah Allum had no alternative but to comply; and when the rains were over, he was joined by the Mahratta chiefs and the nobles of Delhi. On the 25th of December, he made his entry into the capital, with all the display which his circumstances would allow.

The Mahrattas afforded the Emperor but a few days to enjoy the pomp and pleasures of his capital, when they hurried him into the field. The Rohilla country, which, under the vigorous administration of Nujeeb ud Dowla, had been rendered one of the most flourishing districts in India, now promised to afford a field of plunder. Seharunpore, the *jaghire* of the late *Ameer ul Omrah*, was the first object of attack; and the consent of the Emperor is said to have been yielded to the expedition, on the ground of the danger to be apprehended from the resentment of Zabita Khan, the son and successor of Nujeeb ud Dowla, at being dispossessed of the government of Delhi. Although that chief made a spirited defence, he was unable to withstand the united power of the Mogul and Mahratta forces, and he escaped, with only a few attendants, to the camp of the Vizir. The Rohillas were now placed in the most critical situation. They had every reason to regard with suspicion and dread, the Nabob of Oude, to whom their territory had long been an object of

desire; but, pressed upon by the superior power of the Mahrattas from the south, they were induced to propose an alliance with their less dangerous enemy. Little exertion was made, however, by the Vizir to expel the Mahrattas, who, after ravaging the country, crossed the Ganges of their own accord at the commencement of the rains. Having extorted from the Emperor a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the English, they again returned to the banks of the Ganges; and the Vizir, alarmed, now invoked the assistance of the Bengal Government. But, though the combined forces of the Vizir and the English passed into the Rohilla territory, and encamped near the river, opposite the main army of the Mahrattas, a large body of those marauders crossed the Ganges, over-ran a great part of Rohilcund, destroyed the cities of Moradabad and Sumbul, and continued to ravage the country till the end of March. The English general was restrained by peremptory orders from acting on the offensive; and in May, the Mahrattas retired.

The sequel is alike melancholy and disgraceful to the English name. The Vizir requested the assistance of his allies in seizing upon the Rohilla country; and Hastings, far from revolting at the proposal, encouraged the project, as affording a fair occasion for extracting money from the Vizir, to meet the public exigencies. He *sold* the Rohillas to their enemy; his council sanctioned the infamous bargain; and Colonel Champion with his brigade marched to execute it. The struggle was nobly and skilfully maintained by the high-spirited chief and his intrepid people; but European discipline prevailed, and Hafez Rhamet Khan, their leader, fell in the battle of his country. The Vizir had taken no part in the engagement, but his troops after-

wards spread themselves in every direction, and reduced to a desolate and miserable waste, the once flourishing and richly cultivated Rohilcund.* Allahabad and Corah, which the Emperor's governor had placed under the protection of the English, were also made over to the Vizir for the sum of fifty lahs of rupees. Nor was this the whole of the measure of injustice dealed out to the unhappy sovereign. His having flung himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, was seized as an opportunity and pretext for depriving him at the same time of the imperial tribute or pension of twenty-six lahs of rupees, which the Company had agreed to pay him from the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The discredit of this transaction belongs chiefly to the Directors, who suggested it; and although they condemned the use made of their troops in subduing the Rohilla country, they gave their unqualified sanction and approbation to the treaty of Benares, by which the bargain was adjusted. Strongly as we may reprobate, however, the want of generosity shewn in the treatment of Shah Allum, his claim to commiseration is materially lessened by the fact, that he had given his formal sanction, in a treaty with the Vizir, to the reduction of the Rohillas, on condition of receiving a share of the plunder and half of the conquered country. Before the Delhi troops reached the scene of action, the struggle had been terminated by the victorious pro-

* Mill, iii. 506—510. "The inhumanity and dishonour," says Colonel Champion, "with which the late proprietors of this country and their families have been used, is known over all these parts. I could not help compassionating such unparalleled misery; and my requests to the Vizir to shew lenity, were frequent, but as fruitless as even those advices which I almost hourly gave him, regarding the destruction of the villages. . . . He did not cease to overspread the country with flames till three days after the fate of Rohilcund was decided. Above a lack of people have deserted their abodes in consequence of the defeat of Hafez."—Mill, iii. 509.

ceedings of the English, and the Vizir made no scruple of evading the performance of his engagements.

All these transactions had occurred previously to the arrival of the new council appointed by Parliament, the members of which did not reach Calcutta till October 1774. The first business which engaged its attention, was the Rohilla war, which Clavering, Monson, and Francis united in condemning; and the refusal of Hastings to produce the correspondence with the commander of the troops and the political agent at the court of the Vizir, gave rise to the most injurious suspicions. His subsequent administration, owing to the violent contentions which ensued, was stormy and beset with both difficulty and danger. Additional force was given to the imputations against his personal character, by his continual anxiety to crush or to evade inquiry. The death of Colonel Monson, in 1776, destroyed the numerical ascendancy of his opponents in the council, giving the decision to the Governor by means of his own casting vote; and this event induced him to retract the tender of his resignation, which had been already transmitted to Europe, and accepted. In 1780, the disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded, and he soon afterwards returned to England. The Governor-general was now left to prosecute his plans without control; and in 1781, while war was raging in the Carnatic, he took the extraordinary resolution to leave the seat of government, for the purpose of personally enforcing fresh exactions upon the Rajah of Benares, and the Nabob of Oude.

The city and district of Benares had hitherto, under its native Rajahs, enjoyed the honours of a distinct principality, tributary to the viceroy of Oude, but otherwise independent of his authority; and on the breaking out

of the war between the Bengal Government and Sujah Dowla, in 1764, Bulwunt Sing, the reigning Rajah, had placed himself under the protection of the English. At his death, in 1770, their influence was exerted to secure the succession to his son, Cheyte Sing; and by the new arrangements made with Asof ul Dowla, the son and successor of Sujah Dowla, in 1774, the sovereignty of Benares was transferred from the Nabob of Oude to the Company. The Rajah had faithfully kept his engagements, and had continued to pay his tribute with an exactness rarely exemplified in the history of the tributary princes of Hindostan; but, unhappily, he was supposed to have accumulated considerable treasure, which Hastings, pressed with financial difficulties, had marked for appropriation. It appears, too, that he had incurred the Governor's resentment; and pique or revenge seems to have mingled with the prudential motives which stimulated Hastings to accomplish his ruin. He first harassed the Rajah with vexatious requisitions, answered his expostulations with menace, and treated remonstrance as guilt.* At length, on his sole responsibility, having removed the British resident at Benares, who had been placed there by the express command of the Directors, he proceeded thither in person, and placed the Rajah under arrest. This outrage upon their prince, who was much beloved, provoked the timid natives to rise upon the troops, and effect his rescue. Hastings, who had not provided against any such result, found himself placed in imminent personal danger, and he escaped to the

* "I was resolved," says Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses." "If," remarks Mr. Mill, in his severe exposure of this infamous transaction, "a zeal for the government he served, could sanctify his actions, then may Jefferies be regarded as a virtuous judge.

strong fortress of Chunar. Cheyte Sing made repeated overtures for an amicable negotiation, protesting his innocence, and tendering his submission; but Hastings treated all his applications with contempt, and the Rajah, collecting all his forces, appealed by a manifesto to the princes of Hindostan. Hastings evidently wished to push him to actual hostilities; and though the Rajah abstained from all operations not purely defensive, he was attacked, defeated, and stripped of all his possessions; his family being treated with shameful indignities. After all, the Governor-general was disappointed of the pecuniary aid on which he had calculated; for, while the unfortunate prince was entirely ruined, whatever treasure was derived from the plunder of his palace and strong holds, was claimed as prize-money by the army, who refused to give it up. A youth of nineteen, a grandson of Bulwunt Sing by a daughter, was made Rajah of Benares, but none of the functions of royalty were left to him.

Disappointed in this quarter, and under the most pressing difficulties from want of money, the fertile genius of Hastings directed him to another resource. The Nabob of Oude had been absolutely drained by repeated exactions, and had himself nothing more to give; but both the mother and the widow of the late Vizir (the latter also the mother of the present Nabob) were reputed to be immensely rich. Considerable *jaghires* had been held by them ever since the death of Sujah Dowla, who had also bequeathed to them the greater part of whatever personal wealth he possessed. Large sums had been already extorted by the Nabob from his mother and grandmother, but more remained, which his Highness, on condition of being relieved from certain payments, undertook to seize and transfer to the Governor-general. The rumour of seditious move-

ments on the part of the Begums, as these aged Princesses were styled, was alleged by Hastings as an apology for this proceeding. The Nabob, though he afterwards discovered or feigned a reluctance to execute the agreement, proceeded with the Resident and a body of English troops, to Fyzabad, the abode of the Begums, and took possession of the palace. In order to obtain the treasure without violating the female apartments, two aged eunuchs, the confidential agents of the Begums, were imprisoned and tortured, till their mistresses had consented to surrender the last rupee in their possession. This detestable transaction produced the sum of upwards of 500,000*l.**

The Governor's next step was, to extort fifteen laks of rupees from Fyzoolla Khan, the only Rohilla chief who had escaped the ruin of his nation. Having occupied a strong post on the hills, he concluded a treaty with the Vizir in 1774, under the sanction and guarantee of the British Government, by which he received in jaghire the district of Rampore and some other territories in Rohilcund. In return, he was bound to keep up a certain military force; and the sum abovementioned was extorted from him on the condition of being exempted from all future claims of military service.

In February 1784, Mr. Hastings undertook a second journey to Lucknow, for the purpose of a private interview with the Nabob. In proceeding through the province of Benares, he was, according to his own account, "followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants." From Buxar to the opposite boundary, nothing was visible but traces of devastation in every village, arising chiefly from the oppres-

* The jaghire was, some years after, in part restored to the Begums, in consequence of directions from England.

sion to which the people were exposed under the administration set up by the English governor, but which Hastings ascribed only to the misconduct of his deputy, on whom his vengeance fell. He arrived at Lucknow in the end of March, and remained there five months. In November, he resumed his seat at the council-board at Calcutta, and in February 1785, resigned his office, and embarked for England. The financial result of his administration was, the addition of about twelve millions and a half to the debt of the East India Company, the interest of which far exceeded the amount of the additional revenue; and the total revenue of the Indian Government, at the close of his administration, was unequal to its ordinary expense.*

On the return of Mr. Hastings to England, the violent censures which the opposition party in the House of Commons had long pronounced upon the Government in India, assumed the determinate character of an accusation of the late Governor-general. Mr. Pitt at first protected him with all the weight of his ministerial influence; and the treatment of the Rohillas was voted by a majority of 119 to 67, to involve no criminality on the part of Mr. Hastings. A fortnight after, when the charge respecting the treatment of the Rajah of Benares was brought forward, the minister suddenly changed his tone, and concurred in the vote for his impeachment. On the 13th of February, 1788, commenced the memorable trial of Mr. Hastings, in Westminster Hall, which, being protracted through eight years, afforded time for a singular revolution in the state of public sentiment. The tide of popular indignation, which had run strongly against the illustrious culprit at the com-

* MILL, iv. 44.—4.

mencement of the proceedings, was turned successfully against the agents and managers of the prosecution. In the end, Mr. Hastings, finding himself favoured by the aristocracy and the court, assumed the tone of an accuser; and it seemed to be Mr. Burke, the chief manager of the prosecution, rather than the party arraigned, who was upon his trial. The two Houses of Parliament were, at some stages of the proceedings, in danger of coming to a serious misunderstanding. At length, on the 23d of April, 1795, a majority of twenty-three to six of the lords who sat in judgement, pronounced Warren Hastings "not guilty." An annuity of 4000*l.* a year, to commence from June 1785, and a loan of 50,000*l.*, without interest, for eighteen years, were granted to Mr. Hastings by the Court of Directors, with the sanction of the Board of Control, as an indemnification for the legal expenses he had incurred, and a reward of his distinguished services.*

The sentence of his judges may be allowed to settle the question of the political guilt attaching to the impeached party. The question of personal merit or demerit turns very much upon the motives by which Mr. Hastings was actuated in those doubtful transactions which were supposed to imply corrupt intention; and upon the degree of connivance or participation with which he was chargeable in the crimes perpetrated under his authority. History, however, has to do only with the moral character of the transactions themselves, and with that of the administration of which they form so distinguishing a feature. State necessity, the law of self-preservation superseding the law of right, is the apology offered by Mr. Hastings

* An acute analysis of the whole of the proceedings on this memorable trial, is given by Mr. Mill, vol. v. pp. 89—256.

himself, for actions which he was aware reflected odium upon his government.* It may, indeed, be alleged in extenuation of his conduct, that his worst acts of violence or injustice might find a parallel and a precedent in the more wanton and venal criminalities of his predecessors.† In point of ability, he is pronounced by Mr. Mill to have been "beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed." "He had no genius, any more than Clive, for schemes of policy including large views of the past and large anticipations of the future; but he was hardly ever excelled in the skill of applying temporary expedients to temporary difficulties. He had not the forward and imposing audacity of Clive; but he had a calm firmness which usually, by its constancy, wore out resistance. He was the first, or among the first of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindoos, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had that great art of a ruler which consists in attaching to the governor those who are governed; for assuredly, his administration was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives in Bengal."‡ This fact,

* Mill, iv. 307.

† His treatment of Cheyte Sing was not more nefarious than Clive's perfidious and cruel conduct to Omichund (see Mill, iii. 170), or than the system of extortion and violence which exasperated Meer Cassim into hostilities, and harassed Jaffier into his grave.

‡ Mill, iv. 454—5. In this passage, Mr. Mill almost seems to retract, in the attempt to soften down, the unfavourable representation previously given in the same volume, of Mr. Hastings, as a man of the most consummate chicanery and duplicity (pp. 451, 452), whose naked assertion was of no value (p. 339); who was capable of acting with "a complication of fraud and cruelty, admitting of few parallels" (pp. 339, 421-2); chargeable with artful

taken in connexion with the circumstances already detailed, would seem to prove, that, in his hands, the British yoke did not, upon the whole, press more heavily upon the country, than it had done under the administration of his predecessors; that the acts of oppression which stand so prominently forward, being but occasional, and partial in their effects, did not, in the eyes of the natives, give their colour to his rule.* "It is admitted," says Sir John Malcolm, "that, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have derived support, Mr. Hastings shewed all the active energy of a great statesman; and, by his spirited and extraordinary exertions, saved the interests of his country from the ruin in which they would undoubtedly have been involved, had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius held the reins of government. This is his praise.... But the most strenuous advocates of this distinguished

and self-contradictory falsehood (pp. 34, 371, 415); repeatedly disowning his own agents (pp. 404, 56); selfish in his motives (p. 330); and in his conduct towards his colleagues and rivals, (in particular Mr. Bristow and Lord Macartney,) mean, arbitrary, and vindictive. "But," remarks Mr. Mill, "he was placed in difficulties, and acted upon by temptations, such as few public men have been called upon to overcome."

* The popularity of Mr. Hastings among the natives, appears to have resulted from his conciliatory manners and policy. "Warren Hastings," says Bishop Heber, "in the height of his power and conquests, gained infinite popularity (at Benares), by riding publicly through the city, as usual with the high functionaries of the court of Delhi, behind the back of the hereditary prince, with a fan of peacock's feathers in his hand." At Allahabad, "of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved; and a nursery rhyme, which is often sung to children, seems to shew how much they were pleased with the oriental pomp which he knew how to employ on occasions."—Heber's Travels, i. 206, 208.

person," adds Sir John, "are forced to acknowledge, that the whole system of the government over which he presided, was corrupt and full of abuses. There can be no doubt that the promoters of these inquiries, however mixed their motives may have been, became entitled to the gratitude of their country."*

It will now be necessary to go back a few years, in order to resume the narrative of operations in the South of India.

Upon the recal of Bussy, Nizam Ali, resuming the command and station which he had formerly occupied, made no delay in effecting the dethronement of his feeble-minded brother, whom, in July 1761, he committed to prison, and invested himself with the insignia of government. The treaty of Paris (Feb. 1763), by which Salabut Jung was recognized as the legitimate Soubahdar of the Deccan, after he had been nearly two years dethroned, was the signal for his being put to death by the usurper. With him, nevertheless, the

* Malcolm's Pol. Hist. i. 34, 5. Even at this distance of time, the intensity of party feeling is discoverable in the opposite language, in which the character of Mr. Hastings is panegyrized or stigmatized. "The *saviour of India*," thus Colonel Wilks speaks of him, "a title conferred on this great man by the general voice of Europe, became the convenient sacrifice to political resentment. A trial of seven years' duration terminated in his honourable acquittal, at the bar of his country, of every accusation with which his character had been blackened. To the charge of oppression, a universal people made answer with their astonishment, their blessings, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents and clandestine retentions, equal to the price of a kingdom, he answered with poverty: and to the accusation of violating his duty to the East India Company and his country, was opposed the simple fact of preserving unimpaired the territories committed to his charge, during a period which elsewhere exhibited nothing but national humiliation."—Wilks, ii. 283. This is almost an echo of Hastings's daring language on his trial. "I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment."—Mill, v. 186.

INTERIOR OF THE ROOM IN WHICH JOHN KEATS DIED

Madras Government deemed it wise to negotiate a treaty, by which they submitted to hold as a tributary dependency on this nominal viceroy, the Northern Circars, with the absolute sovereignty of which the English had been formally invested by the imperial firmaun.* Another article of the treaty (1760) stipulated for the Nizam, the assistance of English troops; by which provision, the Presidency became inevitably embroiled with other powers. The first service, in fact, upon which the auxiliary troops were to be employed, was the reduction of the fort of Bangalore, belonging to Hyder Ali. The Nizam, however, after availing himself of their assistance in collecting the tribute from the polygars on his march, listened to the overtures of Hyder, and concluded with that artful intriguer a treaty of alliance, in consequence of which their united forces began, in August 1767, to make incursions into the Carnatic.

Hyder Ali, who was destined to prove the most formidable enemy whom the English had ever encountered in India, had by this time rendered himself entire master of the kingdom of Mysore. This daring adventurer was the son of a Mohammedan *faujdar* in the service of the Nabob of Sera. His great grandfather, Mahomed Beloli, was a native of Punjaub, (probably of Afghaun descent,) who came into the Deccan in the character of a fakeer, and acquired considerable

* Pecuniary difficulties have been urged in excuse for the gratuitous surrender of the advantages obtained by Clive, by which the Company "resumed their grovelling position of tributary dependents on the Circars." Colonel Wilks, however, considers it as a part of the same weak policy which dictated the double government exercised in Bengal, the acceptance of a *firmaun* from a requested emperor, and the imbecile attempt to conceal under fictitious characters, the sovereignty acquired by their own power.—Wilks, ii. 55, 56.

wealth by the exercise of his religious talents. Young Hyder commenced his career as a volunteer in the Mysore army, in the year 1749. At that period, Mysore still remained under a pure Hindoo government; but the powers of the Rajah had been usurped by the two brothers, Deoraj and Nunjeraj, who governed absolutely in his name. Hyder, having by his valour drawn upon himself the attention of Nunjeraj, the general of the forces, gradually rose to the rank of a commander, and was, in 1755, appointed to defend the fort of Dindigul. In 1757, he made an attempt upon Madura, but met with a severe defeat at the mouth of the narrow pass of Natam. In the following year, his services in suppressing a mutiny in the army, and in effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers, as well as with the Rajah, were rewarded with the fort and district of Bangalore, as a personal *jagheer*. An invasion of the Mahrattas, which immediately followed, in the beginning of 1759, contributed more remarkably still to his elevation. Although several of the principal commanders disdained to serve under him, he was appointed general; and the vigour and success with which he conducted the campaign, secured him the obedience of the army. Deoraj being now dead, his patron Nunjeraj alone stood in the way of his obtaining the entire control of the resources of the state. To secure the countenance of the Rajah in the attempt to supersede his "gaoler," was an easy intrigue; and the troops were artfully incited to revolt against the usurping minister, while Hyder, with affected reluctance, suffered himself to be placed at their head. Nunjeraj, who was not remarkable for courage, consented to retire, upon condition of receiving an honourable provision.

The sudden decampment of the Mysorean troops

who had advanced to the support of Lally when besieged in Pondicherry,* was at the time as mysterious as it was critical. At that period, Hyder's fortunes were on the verge of utter ruin. The distant employment of his troops, and his own position, with a small detachment, under command of the guns of the palace, emboldened the queen mother, in concert with a Mahratta chief, to attempt to cut him off. A cannonade was begun, and Hyder soon discovered that his situation was desperate; but, the main attack being deferred till the arrival of the Mahrattas, night came on. Hyder, with the assistance of a few boats, crossed, unperceived, the river by which his position was surrounded, with a small body of horse; and, having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, (the first seventy-five on the same horse,) arrived at Bangalore just in time to precede the orders of the Rajah, by which the gates would have been shut against him. All his hopes now rested upon the arrival of the corps before Pondicherry, to which he despatched the most urgent orders; but, before they could join him, they were intercepted by the Mahrattas of Visajee Pundit, who had joined the Rajah, and were closely besieged in their camp. The utmost efforts of Hyder were ineffectual to relieve them; and his power was ready to drop from his hands, when the Mahrattas agreed to march off, upon being promised the cession of Baramahal, and receiving the payment of the trifling sum of three laks of rupees.†

* See page 75.

† They had engaged their services first to Lally, but had been bought off by the English. "Like a true Mahratta," says Colonel Wood, "Visajee had first sold himself to Kumlee Row, and then to his opponent Hyder; and he had made a show of selling himself to the French, in order that he might sell himself to the Eng-

Hyder was now strong enough to take the field; but was defeated, in February 1761, with severe loss, by Kunder Row, the Rajah's general. Unable to cope with his enemies by force, he resolved upon an extraordinary step, which required a strong confidence in his powers of simulation. "With a select body of 200 horse, (including about 70 French hussars,) he made a circuitous march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nunjeraj, at Cunnoor. Being admitted, he threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nunjeraj; entreating him to resume the direction of public affairs, and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nunjeraj was completely deceived; and, with his remaining household troops, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Hyder the advantage of his name and influence."* The difficulty now was, to effect a junction with his main army. All his movements were baffled by the skilful evolutions of Kunder Row, and his situation became highly perilous. The means he took to extricate himself, presents an instance of that talent for stratagem which constituted a leading trait of his character. He forged letters in the name of Nunjeraj, to the principal commanders in the hostile army, purporting to relate to a conspiracy into which they had entered to betray their general, and promising the stipulated reward. The bearer of these letters was

fish and Mohammed Ali at a better price." But secret orders of recal, in consequence of the defeat of the Mahrattas at Panipat, formed an additional, perhaps the strongest motive for their accepting the double bribe by which their retreat was purchased at this critical moment, and for their precipitate return to Poonah.

* Wilks, i. 421.

seized, of course, and his papers were delivered to Kundee Row, who, conceiving that he was betrayed by his army, instantly escaped at full speed, under the influence of panic, to Seringapatam. During the confusion that ensued, the army, assailed at once in front and rear by the two divisions of Hyder's forces, yielded an easy and decisive victory. The triumph of Hyder was now secured. He delayed, however, marching to the capital, till he had augmented his army and secured possession of the lower country. He then ascended the Ghants; and, early in May 1761, arrived at Chendgil, opposite the island of Seringapatam, where, while affecting to negotiate, he surprised and routed the remnant of Kundee Row's cavalry. Thence, he despatched a message to the Rajah, to this effect: that large sums were due to Hyder from the state; that, after the payment of these arrears, if the Rajah should be pleased to continue him in his service, it was well; if not, Hyder would depart, and seek his fortunes elsewhere. The meaning of this humble communication, no one misunderstood. It was arranged, that districts to the amount of three lahs of rupees should be reserved for the personal expenses of the Rajah, and of one lak for those of Nunjeraj; and that Hyder should assume the management of the remainder of the country, charging himself with the responsibility of defraying the arrears, and of providing for the expenses, civil and military, of the government.* From this time,

* Wilks, i. 423. By another stipulation in the treaty, Kundee Row was given up to Hyder's mercy, with an earnest recommendation that he might be treated with lenity. Hyder is said to have replied, that he would not only spare the life of his old servant, but cherish him like a parroquet; a promise which was afterwards explained by his inviting those who reproached him with his

Hyder was undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore.

"Hyder," remarks Mr. Mill, "was fortunately cast at one of those recurring periods in the history of Oriental nations, when, the springs of the ancient governments being worn out, and political dissolution impending, a proper union of audacity and intrigue has usually elevated some adventurer to the throne. The degraded situation of the Rajah, and the feeble and unskilful administration of the two brothers, opened an avenue to power, of which Hyder was well qualified to avail himself. The debilitated and distracted government of the Soubahdar of Deccan; the dreadful blow which the Mahrattas had just received at the battle of Paniput; and the fierce and exhaustive contentions which the rival strangers in Carnatic were waging against one another; left all around a wide expanse, in which, without much resistance, he might expect to reap an opulent harvest."

Not long before this, the power of the Mahrattas had threatened to swallow up the whole Indian continent. Upon the return of the Doorannee Shah to his own dominions, after the conquest of Delhi,* he left his son governor of Lahore and Moultan. The restless Seiks soon appeared again in rebellion, and they invited the Maharatta generals, Ragonaut Rasw, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar Mulhar, who had advanced into the neighbourhood of Delhi, to join them in expelling the Doorannees from Lahore and Moultan. No occupation could be more agreeable to these marauders; and the Doorannee prince made

severity, to inspect his iron cage, and the rice and milk allotted for the food of his miserable prisoner.—*Ibid.*, 484.

* See vol. i. p. 357.

but a feeble resistance, and fled. Ahmed Shah, roused by the loss of these provinces, and invited by the Hindoos groaning under the depredations of the Mahrattas, again entered India, and, on advancing to Delhi, was joined by the chiefs of Rohilcund. The Mahrattas, who had evacuated Lahore and Moultan at the approach of the Dooranee army, were there encamped in great strength. Being distressed for provisions, they came out and offered battle, and were defeated with great slaughter. Their army, consisting of 60,000 veteran cavalry, was almost entirely destroyed; Duttah Sindia, their general, being among the slain. Another body, who were marauding under Holkar, in the neighbourhood of Secundra, were surprised and put to the sword, with the exception of their general and a few others, who made their escape. These disgraceful reverses excited the Mahrattas to the greatest exertions. A vast army was collected, which, having been joined by Soorajee Mul, the Jaat Rajah, and Umad ul Mulk, marched upon Delhi, which they took, and plundered with their usual rapacity, and proclaimed Soltan Jewan Bukht, the son of Alee Gohur (Shah Allum), emperor. Burning with impatience of revenge, Ahmed Shah swam the Jumna, before it was deemed passable, with his whole army; and the Mahrattas, intimidated by this daring adventure, entrenched their camp on a plain near Panipat. For some time, the Doorannees confined themselves to skirmishing and intercepting their convoys, till famine and pestilence began to rage in the Mahratta camp, and a battle became the only resource. Bhaow, their general, was killed early in the action; confusion soon pervaded their army, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Of the Mahrattas who escaped from the field, the greater part were butchered

by the natives who had suffered from their depredations; and of an army of 140,000 horse, only three chiefs of rank, and a mere remnant of troops, found their way to Deccan. This decisive overthrow took place in 1760.

The Mahratta chiefs, though independent and often at variance, still acknowledged a nominal subjection to the central government founded by Serajee, but which had fallen into the state that the Hindoo governments seem to have had a general tendency to assume. The Mahratta Rajahs were assisted, according to the Hindoo institution, by a council of eight Brahmins, styled *Mutseddies* (ministers), who shared among them the principal offices of the state. The chief of this council, or prime minister, was styled the *Peishwa* (leader). In the reign of Sahoojee, (who was but the third in succession from Serajee,) this high office was attained by Kishwanath Balajee, who wielded, with little check from the indolent and voluptuous sovereign, the supreme powers of government. He assumed the name of Row Pundit (chief of the Pundits), and had influence enough to bequeath his office and power to his son Bajee Row,* who still further diminished the power of the sovereign, and eventually reduced him to the condition of a state prisoner at Satarah. The Peishwa established his own residence at Poonah, which henceforth became the real seat of government. In 1761, Bajee Row (the second of the name) died, it is said of grief for the death of Bhaow, who was slain in the battle of

* A similar transfer of hereditary power from the sovereign to the minister, Mr. Mill remarks, took place in the case of the Mayor of the Palace in France, in that of the Cho-gun in Tonghing, and at some periods in both the Persian and the Ottoman annals.

Panipat. The hereditary succession of the Peishwas was now so firmly established, that the title of his eldest son, Madhoo Row, though a minor, was not disputed; but the burden of government devolved upon his uncle, Ragonaut Row, more commonly known by the name of Ragoba.

The Brahmin council of eight had been reduced to comparative insignificance during the vigorous administration of preceding Peishwas; but a cabal was now formed, in concurrence with Gopicabey, the mother of Madhoo, a dissolute, intriguing woman, who twice succeeded in stripping Ragonaut Row of his power. Madhoo, on coming of age, acquitted himself with great ability: he died in 1772; and his brother, Narrain Row, who succeeded him, was assassinated about nine months after. Ragonaut Row was then acknowledged Peishwa; but, while engaged in an expedition to the south, to exact a long arrear of chout from Hyder and the Nabob of Arcot, a ministerial confederacy, supported by the Nizam, raised an army in favour of an unborn claimant to the succession. Ragonaut met and defeated his opponents; but, when within a few miles of Poonah, he was struck with a panic upon receiving intelligence that Holkar and Scindia, two Mahratta chiefs possessing extensive dominions in Malwah, had joined the Brahmin cabal, in support of the pretensions of the infant, of whom, in the interim, the widow of Narrain Row was said to have been delivered. Quitting his army in secret, he fled with a small body of men to Gujerat, where Govind Row Gulcowar engaged to support him.

The greater part of that large province had been wrested from the Mogul empire, in 1728, by Pillajee Gulcowar (or *Gaikwad*, i.e. the herdsman), and its government rendered hereditary in his family. At

the time of Ragonaut's flight, it was distracted by the rival pretensions of the two brothers, Futteh Singh Gulcowar and Govind Row. During the ascendancy of the Mussoddies, in the life-time of Madhoo Row Peishwa, Futteh Singh had obtained, by means of bribes, the nomination to the *soubah* of Gujerat, in prejudice of his elder brother. On the accession of Ragonaut Row, he acknowledged the title of Govind Row, whose protection he now claimed, and whom he found besieging his brother in his capital of Broderah.

It so happened, that a similar contention at the same time divided the Mahratta kingdom of Berar, and ranged one of the rivals on the side of Ragonaut; the other, on that of his adversaries. This vast region, together with the Cuttak district of Orissa, formed the first, in point of magnitude, of the independent Mahratta principalities. Janoojee Bhonsla, the late Rajah, dying without issue, had named for his successor, his nephew, Moodajee, then a minor, whose uncles now contended for the regency. Shahajee claimed it as the elder brother; Moodajee, as the parent of the Rajah; and the country was involved, by their conflicting pretensions, in a destructive civil war.

While these intestine revolutions and disorders were dividing and weakening the Mahratta power, Hyder was steadily pursuing his plans of aggrandisement. Having extended his conquests over the two Balipoors, over Gooti, the territory of the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Row, and the nabobship of Sera,*

* Sera, a town 84 miles N. of Seringapatam, then in the possession of the Mahrattas, was for some time the capital of a sub or provincial governor, dependent on the Soubahdar. "A pavilion on a diminutive scale, but exhibiting considerable taste, built by

he received the submission of the polygars of Rai-droog, Harponelly, and Chittledroog; and, early in 1763, marched, at the invitation of an impostor, who pretended to be the young Rajah of Bednore, to the conquest of that mountain capital.* The treasure which he acquired by this expedition was, according to his own confession, the grand instrument of his future greatness. He then took possession of the district of Soonda, to the north of Bednore; reduced

the last Nabob, Dilawar Khan, is still standing at Sera, and is the model followed in the erection of those splendid palaces built by Hyder and Tippoo at Bangalore and Seringapatam."—Wilks, i. 427. Hyder agreed to purchase this subahship of Bassut Jung, the Soubahdar's brother, for three lahs of rupees, although he had to gain possession by his sword; and the title of Nabob and the name of Hyder Ali Khan Bahauder, by which he was designated in the deed of investiture, were thenceforth assumed by Hyder. His original signet was Futteh Hyder, which he never changed, except on state occasions; but he was always more gratified by the single appellation of Bahauder being applied to him, than with any other.

* "The district of Bednore Proper is situated on the summit of that range of western hills which overlooks the provinces of Canara and Malabar.... The dominions of this state not only embraced the mountainous range, but extended to the west, over the maritime province now named Canara, and to the east, over a tract of more open country, stretching to Santa Bednore and Hoolulkera, within 20 miles of Chittledroog, the residence of its constant rival and enemy."—Wilks, i. 440. At Sirooga, a fort on the skirt of the woods, 41 miles from the capital, Hyder is said to have found a lak of pagodas, equal to 864,000*l.* Colonel Wilks supposes the whole amount of the plunder gained in this expedition to have equalled at least 12,000,000*l.* sterling. Mr. Mill thinks it more likely, that it was not above a third of that sum. The former capital of Bednore was Ikeri, near Sagur, on the Varada. Bednore (Bidenore or Bider-ooru) was originally called Bilerhully (bamboo village), but changed its name on becoming the seat of government. Hyder afterwards called it Hyder-nuggur, intending to make it the seat of his government. Seringapatam and its dependencies, he affected to consider as belonging to the puppet Rajah of Mysore. Bednore, he spoke of as his own kingdom; and he now assumed a new splendour and a more royal etiquette.—Ibid., 433—437."

to submission and dependence the Nabob of Savanoor; and rapidly extended his northern frontier across the rivers Werda, Malpurba, and Gotpurba, almost to the banks of the Krishna. These daring encroachments received a severe check from the army of the Peishwa, Madhoo Row, who, in 1764, crossed the Krishna to chastise an enemy whom as yet the Mahrattas despised. After a long and tedious conflict, which greatly reduced and disheartened his army, Hyder was glad to come to an accommodation, on condition of restoring all the dominions wrested from Morari Row, relinquishing all claims upon the territory of Savanoor, and paying 32 laks of rupees.

He employed the greater part of the year 1765 in regulating the affairs of his government and repairing his losses. In the beginning of 1766, he descended into Canara, with the avowed intention of making the conquest of Malabar. After an irregular war of some duration with the Nairs, the whole country submitted; * and a few subsequent struggles only afforded an opportunity for cutting off the most refractory subjects, and establishing a more complete subjection. He had accomplished this important enterprise before the close of that year, when he was recalled to Seringapatam, by the alarming intelligence, that Madhoo Row had again issued from Poonah; that Nizam Ali, with an English corps, was advancing from Hyderabad; that the Madras Presidency had already sent to

* The Nairs are the military class of Malabar. The rajahs are generally of the second Hindoo caste; the nairs are of the fourth, and are distinguished by some peculiar customs. After destroying great numbers, and finding their spirit still invincible, Hyder conceived the plan of transporting the natives of Malabar to Mysore. Of 15,000 who were removed, it is supposed that not 500 survived the effects of the sudden change of climate, superadded to hunger and mental misery.—Wilks, i. 478.

attack some of his districts bordering upon the Carnatic; and that all these powers, including the Nabob, Mohammed Ali, were joined in one grand confederacy for the conquest of Mysore. Nizam Ali and the English were the only enemies whom it was immediately necessary to oppose. The former, his intrigues converted into an ally; and the English corps which had followed the faithless usurper into the dominions of Hyder, sustained, in its retreat, an attack from their united forces. While the English lay encamped between Trinomalee and Callahy Waoun, Hyder planned an expedition from which important consequences might have ensued. He detached into the Carnatic 5000 horse, who marched without opposition to the very precincts of Madras. The place was taken completely by surprise. The President and Council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had not the Mysoreans been more eager to plunder than to improve the advantage given them by their unexpected arrival, the seizure of the English chiefs might have enabled them to dictate their own terms.

Before the rains compelled the English army to retire into cantonments at Wandewash, Colonel Smith attacked the enemy, with some advantage, before Trinomalee. In December, Hyder and his ally received a more decisive defeat between Amboor and Wanumbaddy; and the Nizam, who had grown heartily sick of the war, lost no time in commencing a separate negotiation with the English. In Feb. 1768, a treaty was concluded between the Soubahdar on the one part, and the English and their worthless Nabob on the other, by which the former conditions respecting the Northern Circars were renewed; and the *dunnaw* of the Balaghaut, a country in the pos-

session of Hyder, was nominally consigned to the English, subject to a payment of seven laks *per annum* to the Nizam, and the *chout* to the Mahrattas.

The Madras Government, elated with their victory, now projected the conquest of the Mysore; but still adhering to the system of duplicity, it was to be undertaken in the name of Mohammed Ali, who was pressed to join the army. The summer passed away, however, in unavailing movements and feeble attempts. In September, Hyder made an overture for peace, which was haughtily rejected by the Presidency. The events which followed, were not very honourable to the British arms. Before the end of the year, Hyder had recovered all the conquered districts; and early in 1769, renewing his ravages in the Carnatic, he penetrated into the district of Trichinopoly, while one of his generals laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly. No part of the southern Carnatic escaped his ravages, except the dominions of the Rajah of Tanjore, who saved himself by a timely alliance with Hyder. The English army, being unprovided with horse, could neither overtake the march of Hyder, nor interrupt his ravages. At length, having, by a series of artful movements, drawn the English to a considerable distance from Madras, Hyder put himself at the head of 6000 cavalry, and performing a march of 120 miles in three days, suddenly appeared on the mount of San Tomé, in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Thence, he dispatched a message to the governor, requiring that a negotiation for peace should be immediately opened, and that in the mean time the approach of the army should be forbidden. The Presidency, struck with consternation, agreed to the terms thus dictated; and a treaty was concluded in April 1769, embracing as conditions, first, a mutual restitu-

tion of conquests, and secondly, mutual aid and alliance.*

Hyder had not long returned to his own dominions, when he was again called to take the field against the Mahrattas under Mulhar Row, whose military talents appear to have been of a high order. At an early period of this contest, Hyder, conscious of his inability to contend with this powerful enemy, was most importunate in his demands of assistance from the English; but the complicated state of their political relations occasioned its being withheld. The consequence was, that Hyder was stripped of almost all his conquests to the northward, his frontier being driven back within narrower limits than had been possessed by the Hindoo house of Mysore at the commencement of the century. The Mahratta territory was thus brought into immediate contact with the province of Arcot, along the whole extent of the Ghauts, from the great pass of Damalcherry to that of Peddanaik-deorgum. The illness of Mulhar Row, which disposed the Mahratta general, in 1772, to listen to Hyder's overtures for peace, together with the unskilful nature of the Mahratta tactics, alone saved Hyder from total ruin.† Yet, greatly as his finances had suffered, he found means to replenish his coffers by unmercifully mulcting his subjects; and in one short campaign, from Sept. 1773 to Feb. 1774,

* Mill, iii. 415—48. These disasters, together with the disorders which pervaded the government of Bengal, reduced the price of East India Stock 60 *per cent.* For the detailed history of the Mysore war of 1767—8, the reader may be referred to Colonel Wilks's valuable work.—*Hist. Sketches*, ii. ch. 15—17.

† In his retreat to Seringapatam, Hyder was attacked by the Mahrattas near the hills of Chercondee; and owing in part to the accidental explosion of a tumbril, his troops were seized with panic terror, and routed with great slaughter. Had the Mahrattas followed up their advantage, they might have captured Seringapatam without difficulty.

he not only completely reconquered every place that had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas, but recovered the province of Malabar, which he had wisely abandoned during the pressure of difficulties, in his former war with the English. Ragonaut Row was advancing to meet him, when intelligence of the confederacy formed against him at Poonah, occasioned him to hasten to the northward. A treaty was, however, concluded between him and Hyder, by which the latter agreed to pay to him, and him only, as the lawful head of the Mahratta states, the reduced tribute of six lâks of rupees, and to act with his whole force, when required, in support of Ragonaut's pretensions.

Hitherto, Hyder had professed to hold the kingdom of Mysore in behalf of the Hindoo sovereign; and he amused his subjects, on every annual feast of the *Dessera*,* by exhibiting the pageant Rajah seated on his ivory throne in the balcony of state, himself occupying the place of minister and commander-in-chief. In April 1766, the Rajah Chick Kishen Raj Wadeyar died, while Hyder was occupied with the conquest of Malabar; and by his orders, Nunjeraj Wadeyar, the eldest son of the deceased Rajah, then about eighteen years of age, was proclaimed in his stead. Hyder, on his return, went through the farce of paying to him his public obeisance; but he thought proper to deprive him of the revenues assigned to his father, and, on his testifying some impatience, to reduce his household, and abridge his liberty. During the low state of

* The feast of Dessera or Maha-nowmi (the great ninth), celebrated on the ninth day of the increasing moon, "is the supposed anniversary of a great event in the history of the celebrated Pandoos. The feast is kept with a creditable degree of splendour by the present Raja of Mysore; and athletic contests and various sports are exhibited before him during nine successive days."—Wilks, I. 52.

Hyder's fortunes in 1771, this youth made a vain attempt to open a communication with the Mahratta general; and Hyder made no scruple, on detecting it, to order him to be strangled in the bath. His brother, Cham Raj, was registered as the successor to this perilous distinction. At his death in 1775, the lineal male line became extinct; and Hyder resolved upon an extraordinary method of determining the succession. "He ordered all the children to be collected from the different branches of the reigning House, who, according to ancient precedent, were entitled to furnish a successor to the throne. The hall of audience was strewed round with fruits, sweetmeats, and flowers, play-things of various descriptions, arms, books, male and female ornaments, bags of money, and every varied object of puerile or manly pursuit. The children were introduced together, and were all invited to help themselves to whatever they liked best. The greater number were quickly engaged in a scramble for the fruits, sweetmeats, and toys; but one child was attracted by a brilliant little dagger, which he took up in his right hand, and soon afterwards a lime in his left. 'That is the Rajah,' exclaimed Hyder; 'his first care is military protection; his second is, to realize the produce of his dominions: bring him hither, and let me embrace him.' The assembly was in a universal murmur of applause; and he ordered the child to be conducted to the Hindoo palace, and prepared for installation. He was of the same name as his predecessor, Cham Raj, and was the father of the Rajah who was placed by the English at the head of the Hindoo house of Mysore, on the subversion of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799."*

* Wilks, ii. 132—4.

In 1770, Mysore was again threatened with an invasion from the confederate armies of Poonah and the Nizam. The former, after some timid manœuvring, retired behind the Krishna, to wait for reinforcements; and the second was bought off by a private bargain with the general. In the following year, the Mahratta army again crossed the Toombuddra; but the treachery of a chief whom Hyder had gained over, defeated the whole project of the campaign, by rendering a retreat expedient. Hyder had now an open field for the realization of the plan concerted with Ragonaut Row, for the occupation of the Mahratta territory between the Toombuddra and the Krishna;* and by the close of the year, he had made the latter river his boundary. Returning to the south, he then resumed the siege of Chittledroog, which surrendered in March 1779, not till after an obstinate defence. To secure himself against future insurrection, Hyder was induced to transport the whole of the remaining population, amounting to about 20,000, to people the island of Seringapatam. From the boys of a proper age, he formed the first regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries, which, under the name of *chela* battalions, arrived at maturity, and were so much augmented, during the government of his successor.†

In the mean while, Ragoba, the deposed and fugitive Peishwa, had applied for assistance to the English

* "This, like the territory inclosed between the branches of the Indus, is sometimes called the *Doab*, or country of the two rivers; viz. Toombudgra, Werda, Malpurba, Gutpurba, and Kistna (Krishna)."—Wilks, ii. 185.

† Wilks, ii. 119.—"*Chela*, in Hindostanee, signifies disciple as well as slave." These captives were chiefly Brahmans.

Presidency at Bombay; and by a treaty concluded on the 6th of March, 1775, he consented to yield up Salsette and Bassein, (of which the English had taken possession, to prevent their again falling into the hands of the Portuguese,) together with the Mahratta share of the revenues of Baroach and other places in the Surat districts, on condition of being supported by an English army. In pursuance of this agreement, a detachment under Colonel Keating took the field; and on the plain of Arras, the allies obtained a dear-bought victory over the Poonah army, which drove them out of Gujerat. Ragoba's affairs now assumed so favourable a complexion,* that Futteh Singh joined the alliance, consenting to confirm to the English all the grants within the Guicowar dominions that had been yielded by Ragoba. This advantageous treaty was, with unaccountable fatuity or perverseness, deprecated and counteracted by the Supreme Council at Calcutta, who regarded with jealousy any attempt to originate important measures independently of their authority. They condemned the President and Council of Bombay for taking part in the quarrels of the Mahrattas; and they hastened to do the very thing they condemned, by sending an agent of their own to treat with the ministers at Poonah. Colonel Upton, who was selected for the service, departed in July 1775, with letters to Siccaram Rabon, at head of the ministerial party; and with much difficulty, he concluded a treaty, on the 1st of March, by which the cause of Ragoba was abandoned, Bassein and the

* The army of the Mutsuddies had been previously deserted by Sindia with 12,000 of the best horse; Shahbajee Bhonsla, who favoured their cause in Berar, had been cut off by his brother, who befriended Ragoba; the fidelity of Holkar was doubtful; and the Nizam was temporising.

other cessions were renounced, and the conduct of the Bombay Presidency was thus disowned and condemned.* This treaty (called the treaty of Poorunder), the latter Government justly characterised as highly injurious to the reputation, honour, and interests of the nation; and it is not a little remarkable, that intelligence of the conclusion of this treaty had not reached Calcutta, when letters arrived from the Court of Directors, applauding the *first* treaty, which the Bombay Presidency had concluded with Ragoba, and commanding the Supreme Council to co-operate for its fulfilment. Encouraged by their approbation, the Bombay rulers stood on the watch for a plausible opportunity of eluding or infringing the second treaty; and the Poonah rulers shewed no disposition to carry its stipulations into effect. Considerable alarm was occasioned, about this time, by the arrival of a French ship in one of the Mahratta ports, and by the favourable reception given at Poonah to an adventurer who assumed the character of an envoy from the Court of France. Shortly afterwards, news arrived, that war had been declared between the English and the French. In the interim, repeated fluctuations took place in the state of parties at Poonah; and the minority, led by a chief named Moraba, offered to combine with the English in restoring Ragoba. After much vacillation, in Nov. 1778, a fresh treaty was concluded with Ragoba, in pursuance of a resolution of the Supreme Council; a loan to a considerable amount was advanced to him; and an English army of 4500 men began their march towards Poonah. The expedition was ill-planned, and issued accordingly in disaster and disgrace. When

* Mill, iii. 539—550.—Wilks, ii. 178. Mr. Hastings was at this period in the minority of the Supreme Council; but he joined in condemning the Bombay Presidency.

within sixteen miles of Poonah, the troops found an army assembled to oppose them; an event upon which they appear never to have calculated. An immediate retreat was commenced by night; but the Mahratta cavalry came up with them, and part of their baggage and above 300 men were lost before they could reach Wurgaum. The English commander declared it impossible to carry back the army to Bombay in the face of the enemy; and, as the only alternative, a convention was submitted to, by which every thing that the Mahrattas demanded, was given up; Ragoba was placed in the hands of Sindia; and two Englishmen of distinction were left as hostages for the due fulfilment of these humiliating terms. The indignation and resentment of the Court of Directors at this disgraceful termination of the enterprise, were expressed by dismissing from their service the two military officers who shared in the conduct of the expedition, and in degrading from his office, the member of the Bombay Council who had accompanied it.

A detachment from Bengal under Colonel Goddard, originally designed to co-operate with the Bombay army, had advanced as far as Boorampoor, when intelligence reached the commander, of the disasters which had occurred. It was in consequence resolved to proceed to Surat, where, owing to the admirable discipline observed on the retreat, the army arrived in safety towards the end of January 1779, having marched nearly 300 miles in nineteen days. Colonel (now General) Goddard, being invested with full powers by the Supreme Council, now attempted to open a negotiation with the Poonah Government on the basis of the treaty of Poorunder; and the discordance which prevailed among the Mahratta chiefs, disposed them to affect to listen to the overture. The negotiation

lingered to the end of October. While it was pending, Ragoba made his escape from the captivity in which he had been held by Sindia, and took refuge at Surat. The reception given to him, suddenly induced the ministerial party at Surat to propose to Hyder an alliance, instead of prosecuting military operations against him, as had been previously determined. With the English, the surrender of Ragoba and the restoration of Salsette were insisted upon as indispensable conditions of any agreement; and General Goddard, breaking off the negotiation, repaired to Bombay, to lay the plan of hostilities. On the other hand, it was arranged at Seringapatam between Hyder and the Poonah envoy, that the former, on condition of having all the grant made by Ragoba confirmed to him, should put forth his whole force in conjunction with the confederates, to expel the English from India. Nizam Ali was to invade the Northern Circars; the Mahrattas of Berar, Malwah, and the northern provinces, were to attack their territories in Bengal and Bahar; those of Poonah and the Deccan were to operate on the side of Bombay; while Hyder, accompanied by 2000 chosen Mahrattas, should direct his whole force towards Madras.

On the 2d of Jan. 1780, General Goddard crossed the Taptee; and on the 19th, took possession, in the name of the Company, of the fortified town and district of Dhaboy, which was evacuated at his approach. Futteh Singh Gaikowar was now, with some reluctance, brought to accede to a treaty, by which the Gujerat country was to be divided between him and the Company; the latter obtaining that proportion which had formerly belonged to the Mahrattas. Being joined by the cavalry of this chief, the English

General marched to Ahmedabad, the capital, which he carried by storm in five days, with inconsiderable loss. The united armies of Sindia and Holkar, amounting to 40,000 men, were in the mean time advancing on Surat. By rapid marches, Goddard arrived in the neighbourhood of their encampment near Broderah, on the 8th of March. Sindia appeared desirous to enter into amicable arrangements; and he gave a plausible indication of his sincerity, by sending back the English hostages with the Vakeel empowered to treat. His chief object, however, was to get Ragoba and his son into his hands, as an instrument for aggrandizing himself in the Mahratta state; a proposition to which the English general would by no means accede. He was at the same time offering terms to Govind Row, the brother and opponent of Futteh Singh, and had actually received him into his camp. It was therefore determined to bring him to action; and on the 3d of April, he was surprised by General Goddard in his camp, and routed. The Mahrattas, dispersing, left the English masters not only of the field, but of the country. A detachment from Bombay took possession also of Parsek, Bellapore, Panwell, and Callian, and extended the territory of the Presidency along the coast and towards the passes in the road to Poonah. The rainy season having now commenced, Sindia and Holkar withdrew into their own countries, and the English army went into cantonments.

While these affairs were taking place, a series of brilliant exploits in another quarter, contributed to redeem the credit of the British arms. The Rajah (or Ranna) of Gohud, a hilly district of the province of Agra, lying between the territories of Sindia and the Nabob of Oude, had invoked the assistance of the

Bengal Government against the Mahrattas; and in Feb. 1780, a detachment of the Company's army, under the command of Captain Popham, originally intended to join the forces of Gohland, was despatched to this quarter. With a small force and little assistance from the Rauna, Captain Popham expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, and crossing the Sind into their own territory, laid siege to the fortress of Lahaur, the chief town in the district of Cutch Wagar. On the 21st of April, having effected an imperfect breach, he took the fort by assault. After completing with great activity the reduction of the district, he turned his attention, in the true spirit of military ardour, to the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, situated within the territory of the Rauna of Gohud, but which had been wrested from his father by the Mahrattas. Built on the summit of a stupendous rock, scarped almost entirely round, it had always been regarded by the native princes as impregnable, and was now garrisoned by 1000 men.* Captain Popham moved to the village of Ripore, about five cos distant from Gwalior, and employed his spies in searching if a spot fit for escalading could be found. "After many and dangerous experiments, they at last brought him advice, that one part only afforded any appearance of practicability. At this place, the height of the scarp was about sixteen feet; from the scarp to the wall was a steep ascent of about forty yards; and the wall itself was thirty feet high. At break of day, on the 3d of August, the van of the storming party arrived at the foot of the rock. Wooden ladders were

* General Sir Eyre Coote himself, in a letter to the Supreme Council, had pronounced it "totally repugnant to his military ideas, and even absolute madness," to attack it with so feeble a detachment, and without a covering army.

applied to the scarp, and the troops ascended to the foot of the wall. The spies climbed up, and fixed the rope ladders, when the sepoys mounted with amazing activity. The guards assembled within, but were quickly repulsed by the fire of the assailants. The detachment entered with rapidity, and pushed on to the main body of the place. In the mean time, the greater part of the garrison escaped by another quarter, and left the English masters of one of the greatest and most celebrated strong-holds in that quarter of the globe. This brilliant achievement (for which Captain Popham was rewarded with the rank of Major) struck the Mahrattas with so much consternation, that they abandoned the circumjacent country, and conveyed the alarm to Sindia in his capital." *

In the Carnatic, the usual course of intrigues and oppressions, cabals and contentions, had been going on. As if the triple system of government, carried on by the Madras Presidency, their Nabob, and the Supreme Council of Calcutta, subject to the control of the Directors at home, was not sufficiently complicated, a Minister Plenipotentiary, sent out by the British Government, arrived at Madras in July 1770, and at once surprised and alarmed the Company's servants by the announcement of his extraordinary, indefinite, and independent powers. By this ill-advised measure, Mohammed Ali, whose despicable and faithless character rendered even his alliance a disgrace, was suddenly elevated from a dependent and pensioner upon the Company, to the rank of an ally of the King of Great Britain.† "Corresponding to the jealousy and

* Mill, iv. 52. Gwalior baffled all the attempts of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni.—See vol. i. p. 172.

† "The band of Englishmen and others who surrounded the

dislike with which Sir John Lindsay (the royal envoy) was received by the President and Council, were the cordiality and pleasure with which he was received by the Nabob, and those who surrounded him. To the Nabob he explained, that he was come to recognise him as a fellow sovereign with the King of Great Britain, and to afford him the protection of that great King against all his enemies. The Nabob, who had a keen oriental eye for the detection of personal feelings, was not long a stranger to the sentiments with which his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and the Company's President and Council regarded each other. He described the President and Council as his greatest enemies; for they withdrew the greater part of his revenues and power. Sir John, who was already prejudiced, and ignorant of the scene in which he was appointed to act, fell at once into all the views of the Nabob and the crowd by whom he was beset.....The King's commissioner, measuring his own consequence by that of the master whom he served, and treating the Company and their servants as not worthy of much regard, on the score either of wisdom or of virtue, widened the difference between the partnership sovereigns of the Carnatic. The contempt which the Nabob saw bestowed upon the authority to which he had been accustomed to bend, and the dignity to which he appeared to be exalted as an ally of the British

Nabob, for the purpose of preying upon him, wished of course to see all power in his hands, that they might prey the more abundantly. They filled every place with their outcries against every restraint which was placed upon him; and in particular had endeavoured, and with great success, to disseminate an opinion in England, that he was an oppressed and ill-treated prince, while the servants of the Company were his plunderers and tyrants."—Mill. iv. 62.

King, augmented his opinion of the injustice under which he appeared to himself to groan."*

Mohammed Ali was bent upon a Mahratta alliance for the purpose of overwhelming Hyder, to whom he had a personal antipathy. Sir John completely adopted his views; nor was there any reproach, exhortation, or threat which he spared, to entice or drive the Presidency into that measure. The English Ministry, alarmed at length at the accounts which reached them of the contentions between their envoy and the Company's servants, recalled Sir John Lindsay, but sent out Sir Robert Harland, with similar powers, in his stead; and the only difference between them was, that he was rather more intemperate than his predecessor. The state of things assumed the extraordinary posture of a league between the creature of the British Ministry and a Mohammedan Nabob, supported by a secret monied interest, to destroy the power of the East India Company in the Carnatic. The Presidency would have deemed it advisable to support Hyder, in adherence to their treaty, as a barrier against the Mahrattas, who had, in 1771, so nearly conquered Mysore; but, as the opposition of the Nabob, supported as he was by the Minister of the King, placed this, for want of resources, out of their power, they resolved to remain neutral. The Court of Directors remained strangely

* Mill, iv. 68, 6. Col. Wilks represents the sending out of this envoy as the result of a most disgraceful intrigue on the part of Mohammed Ali's "European adviser," at whose suggestion the Nabob was induced to send an agent to England in 1767, for the purpose of establishing a separate interest in the administration and legislature of this country. Mr. Burke, "who was not himself a mere spectator in the Indian transactions of that period," in his celebrated speech on the Carnatic debts, asserted, that the Nabob's gold returned eight members to one parliament.—Wilks ii., 312.

passive, and left their servants totally without instructions in this embarrassing predicament.

The Nabob had long earnestly importuned the Madras Government to engage in the reduction of Tanjore, for the purpose of adding it to his own dominions. In 1773, their honourable reluctance to lend themselves to his ambitious views, suddenly gave way, and, without even a colourable pretext, the Rajah was subdued and deposed;* but, on the assumption of the Government of Madras by Lord Pigot, in 1776, he was restored to his throne. This event gave, of course, the greatest umbrage to the Nabob and his secret advisers;† (the Indian plenipotentiary had been in the mean while recalled, in consequence of the change introduced by the act of 1773;) and it was followed by a train of disgusting cabals, which terminated in the arrest of Lord Pigot, by a majority of his council, and in the recal, prosecution, and conviction of the four principal offenders. When brought up for judgement, a fine of 1000*l.* was imposed upon each; to men of their fortunes, a punishment hardly to be felt. Lord Pigot was restored to his office, but with directions to resign. Before the orders reached India, his constitution, enfeebled by age, had sunk under the effects of

* The assigned ground was, the danger, under the new system, of having such a power in the heart of the province. The secret reason is said to have been applying to that the Rajah had been guilty of borrowing money of the Dutch, instead of, the "good folks" at Madras.—Mill, iv. 97, note.

† "Admiral Pigot declared, in the House of Commons, that his brother had been offered ten lacs of pagodas, and afterwards fifteen, (a bribe amounting to about 600,000*l.* of English money,) only to defer, and that for a short and specified time, the re-instatement of the Rajah." The notorious Paul Benfield, the Nabob's broker, was a principal party in these nefarious transactions.

the climate and the feelings which preyed upon his mind, after a confinement of somewhat more than eight months. His successor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, who arrived in 1778, subjected himself to the most degrading imputations, and in 1781, was dismissed from his office.

Hyder had, during all this time, been pressing for an English alliance; and though deeply exasperated against the Madras Government for their continued evasion of the treaty of 1769, he was induced by the state of affairs to renew his proposals, in 1778, to co-operate in the re-instatement of Ragonaut Row. The Supreme Council of Calcutta, to whom reference was now become necessary, approved in general of an alliance with Hyder; but the misunderstanding with the Bombay Government, led them to throw difficulties in the way, till the time had gone by, and Hyder resolved to do without the *English*. In this determination, he was confirmed by the connexion which he had now formed with their European rivals, who were making preparations in all directions, to attempt the recovery of their ascendancy in India.

"The ill-fated councils which had estranged the English from Hyder Ali, had forced that chief into an intimate correspondence with M. Bellecombe, the Governor of Pondicherry; military stores of every description required, were furnished to him, through the medium of the French fortress of Mahé, on the coast of Malabar; and the plans were concerted of future co-operation at a more convenient season. At Guntoor, on the Coromandel coast, French troops were introduced into the service of Bussalut Jung; and Monsieur Lubin had now a real mission from the Court of France, and was negotiating at Poonah a treaty with the minister, by which the part of Chaul was to be

ceded to France, for the purpose of introducing a body of French troops to unite with that party in their hostile designs against the English power." *

When intelligence reached India, in 1778, that hostilities had commenced between England and France, it was resolved by the Supreme Council to take possession of the whole of the French settlements. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatan and Carical, surrendered without resistance; and Pondicherry, the fortifications of which had been diligently reconstructed, capitulated after a short siege, and was again dismantled. There only remained to the French, the small fort and settlement of Mahé, situated in the territory of a petty prince, who ranked among the tributaries of Hyder. A desire to save appearances had led Hyder to congratulate the English on the reduction of Pondicherry; but, anticipating the design of attacking Mahé, he gave early intimation of the resentment with which he should regard any such attempt. The Presidency resolved, however, to brave all risks and difficulties. Mahé, though strongly situated, was destitute of supplies; and it surrendered in March 1779, before a cannon was fired. It was occupied by the English till November, when, the detachment being ordered to Surat, the fort was blown up. Hyder was too busily engaged at the time to take measures to defeat the expedition; but he never forgave it; and he now readily entertained the proposals of the Poonah Government, to unite in a confederacy against the English.† Mohammed Ali, whose intel-

* Wilks, ii., 397.

† Hyder's troops are said to have assisted in the defence of the place, and his colours were hoisted with those of the French, when it fell. In a letter written the following month, Hyder pretty distinctly intimated to the Madras Government his intention to retaliate: which drew forth an awkward reply from Sir Thomas

ligence respecting the designs of the Indian powers was in general pretty accurate, gave early information of the impending storm; but his predictions were discredited; and, such had been the supineness and improvidence of the Madras Government, though forewarned in every possible way, that "black columns of smoke were everywhere in view from St. Thomas's Mount, (distant only nine miles from Madras,) before an order was issued for the movement of a single soldier." *

The army with which Hyder had arrived, was no less than 100,000 strong. Of his infantry, 20,000 were formed into regular battalions, mostly commanded by Europeans. His cavalry amounted to 30,000: 10,000 of these were Carnatic cavalry, well disciplined, of whom one-half had belonged to the Nabob, and, after having been trained by English officers, had either deserted, or been disbanded for

Boisbold, expressing surprise at Hyder's partiality to the French! With a view to conciliate the chief who had thus been trifled with and defied, or at least to ascertain the extent of his designs, the Governor, without the knowledge of his council, requested the reverend Missionary, Swartz, to undertake a secret mission to the court of Hyder; which he accepted in the vain hope of "preserving the blessing of peace." Hyder received him with respect, but accused the English of violating all their engagements and promises; and the mission was, as might have been expected, fruitless. "The Nabob at Madras, and others," Swartz remarks, "found means to frustrate all hopes of peace."—See extracts from Swartz's Letter, Wilks, ii., App. 8. In the following year (1781), a Mr. Gray was sent to Seringapatam, to demand the release of some English subjects, and to make another vain and ill-judged attempt at coming to a better understanding with Hyder. He was contemptuously treated; and the only result was, to betray the imbecility of the Madras Government to the enemy.

* Wilks, ii., 250. "I have tried them already," said Hyder, "and I know them well; they have no conduct; and even now, when I have assembled my whole force to enter the country, they have not shown the least glimmering of ability."—*Ib.* p. 254.

want of ability to pay them. He had 100 pieces of cannon, managed either by Europeans or by natives trained by the English; a rocket corps of 2000 men; and a corps of 5000 pioneers, well instructed and equipped; together with a commissariat admirably organized, under the direction of a Brahmin, named Poornuh. Prayers for the success of this expedition had been directed to be offered up in the mosques; and the *jebbas*, a Hindoo form of incantation, to be performed in the pagodas. His progress to the frontier was slow and circumspect, and all his movements were planned and executed with the nicest precision. Around Madras and its maritime communications, he drew a line of merciless desolation, marked by the continuous blaze of flaming towns and villages; extending inland from thirty to fifty-five miles, and from the head of Lake Pallicate northward, to within a few miles of Pondicherry. Round Vellore, he drew a similar circle, not exceeding a radius of thirteen miles. The rest of the country was spared with a view to its permanent occupation. Notwithstanding the devastation that he spread, Hyder was less detested as a destroyer by the inhabitants in general, than hailed as a deliverer; so oppressive and odious had been the partnership sovereignty of the Nabob and the Company. Almost every fort opened its gates at his approach; and the whole country north of the Coleroon, submitted at once to the conqueror. In consequence of this general disaffection, every movement of the British was promptly communicated to Hyder, whereas they found themselves unable to gain any accurate intelligence.

While pressed by dangers thus extraordinary, the Presidency found their own treasury empty, and Mohammed Ali had, as usual, no money for public purposes. Add to which, his mis-government had

been so complete, that not the slightest reliance could be placed on the fidelity of any of his native officers; it became indispensable, therefore, to adopt the measure, strangely neglected till too late, of superseding them by English commandants. In the execution of this service, instances of uncommon gallantry occurred. Lieutenant Flint, who was detached by Colonel Brathwaite, then at Carangooly, to take the command of Wandewash, accomplished in safety a fatiguing march of thirty miles, by deviating to unfrequented paths; and by a bold stratagem, he obtained possession of the place, the gates of which he found shut against him, the Nabob's *killedar* being upon the point of surrendering it to Hyder. Lieut. Flint found the works in a ruinous state, the cannon dismounted, and little powder. He repaired the works, constructed carriages, and manufactured powder. He had not a single artillery-man; but he prevailed on the silversmiths, who, according to the routine of Hindoo warfare, are the apology for cannoneers, not only to submit to his instructions, but, in the subsequent siege, to perform their duties in a respectable manner. "From the 12th of August, 1782, until the 12th of February 1783, during which the flower of Hyder's army were before the place, including seventy-eight days of open trenches, this officer, never once casting off his clothes at the uncertain periods of repose, not only provided the means of internal defence, but raised a little corps of cavalry for exterior enterprise; and during a protracted period of famine and diversified misery elsewhere, not only fed his own garrison, but procured important supplies for the use of the main army, for which he was justly deemed the centre of all correct intelligence." *

* Wilks, ii., 262—265. Lieut. Flint afterwards rose to the rank of Colonel, and returned to England; but his services procured him no reward of public distinction.

Hyder had descended through the pass of Changama, on the 26th of July, whence he detached bodies of cavalry to lay waste the tracts already mentioned. The advance of the main army was retarded by the embarrassing number of places to be occupied. After various speculations and reports respecting the plan of hostilities which he would pursue, uncertainty was at length removed by his marching towards Arcot, and taking ground before it on the 21st of August; but on the 29th, hearing that the English army had made its first march from the neighbourhood of Madras on the 26th, he moved with his whole force towards Conjeveram. The whole of the Madras army, under General Munro, did not much exceed 5000 men; and with great difficulty sufficient rice had been provided to serve the troops for eight days. Another strong detachment, under Colonel Baillie, in advancing to form a junction with the main army, was, after a brave struggle against overpowering numbers, annihilated. About two hundred Europeans only were taken prisoners, reserved to the horrors of a captivity more terrible than death. Hyder had acted, during the whole of these operations, under the apprehension that Munro was manœuvring upon his rear; and had not that general been deterred, through his total want of intelligence, from marching to the support of Baillie, it is probable that the army of Hyder would have sustained a total defeat.* He

* Col. Wilks shews, that the movements of both commanders were a series of blunders. See for the details, vol. ii. pp. 368–378. The following anecdote must not be suppressed. "Among the prisoners was a son of Colonel Lang, who commanded Vellore: a child, rather than a youth, born in India, who was serving as a volunteer. Hyder sent for the boy, and ordered him instantly to write a letter to his father, offering him a splendid establishment on the condition of surrendering the place, and announcing that his own death would be the result of refusal. The boy at first

had now no alternative but to retreat to Chingleput, where he left the sick and part of his baggage, and on the next day, marched for the Mount. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the Presidency, who now trembled for Madras; and had Hyder followed the English with his usual impetuosity, it is hard to say how nearly he might have involved the Carnatic interests of the nation in ruin.

In this extremity, the Governor-general (Hastings) deemed it necessary to interfere, and to remedy as far as possible the disasters produced by the imbecility of the Madras administration, and the incapacity of the commander, by sending out Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal with independent powers. He took the field, in Jan. 1781, against the numerous host of Hyder, with an army not exceeding 7000 men, of whom only 1709 were Europeans. The want of provisions and equipments soon placed them in the most discouraging difficulties; and a battle, which Hyder's policy led him anxiously to avoid, was looked to as the only means of relief. Several months passed without any operations of importance. In the mean time, the fall of Arcot and Ambour had been followed by the surrender of Thingar; Hyder's cavalry overran and plundered the open country of Tanjore; and Tippoo Saib, with a large division of his army, laid siege to Wandewash. Hy-

received the proposition with a cool rejection; but on being pressed with direct threats, he burst into tears, and addressing Hyder in his own language: 'If you consider me, (said he) base enough to write such a letter, on what ground can you think so meanly of my father? It is in your power to present me before the ramparts of Vellore, and cut me in a thousand pieces in my father's presence; but it is out of your power to make him a traitor.' The threats were, however, renewed by the attendants in a separate tent; but, being found ineffectual, the child (afterwards Major-General Lang) was remanded to the quarters of the other prisoners."—Wilks, ii. 298.

der was preparing to march against Trichinopoly, when, elated by an advantage gained over General Coote in an affair at Chillumbrum, he resolved to hazard a battle, and was defeated after a contest of six hours. This victory was gained on the 1st of July, near Porto Novo, and its consequences were most important. Hyder abandoned his designs upon the southern provinces; Tippoo raised the siege of Wandewash; and both retired, with the whole of their army, to Arcot. The English followed; an action of dubious character was fought at Pollilóor, in which the English suffered severely; but, at the pass of Sholinghur on the road to Vellore, Hyder was surprised and sustained considerable loss. This was on the 27th of September; and in November, the fall of the rains terminated the campaign.

The "duplicity and infquity" of the English ally were, throughout this conflict, a prominent subject of complaint. In all cases to which his power extended, he is charged with having clandestinely sold the grain which might have mitigated the distresses of the army, in order to enrich his private coffers.* It is difficult to ascertain what degree of truth there is in the allegation, which would involve in infamy not the Nabob alone. Having successfully tried the effect of an agency in England, he was now advised to make trial of the same expedient on the controlling Board in India; and in 1781, he sent his dewan, together with an English agent, on a secret mission to Calcutta. To this embassy, the rulers of Bengal gave a cordial reception; and having already conferred the exclusive power over the military operations upon their general, Sir Eyre Coote, they now attempted to wrest the civil power out of the hands of the Madras Govern-

* Wilks, ii., 369.

ment, by setting up an independent agency. Lord Macartney was at this time governor and president of Fort St. George, having arrived at Madras in June 1781; a nobleman whose urbanity, moderation, and firmness admirably qualified him to cope with the difficulties of his situation. Instead of resenting this new assumption of power on the part of the Bengal Government as an injury, he coolly withstood its interference, expressing his apprehensions, that the Governor and Council of Madras were not free to divest themselves of the powers with which they had been entrusted. He availed himself, however, of one part of the plan laid down by the Supreme Council, which authorized the temporary transfer to the Company of the whole of the Nabob's revenues, a sixth of the proceeds being reserved for his use; and by this deed, dated Dec. 2, 1781, the inconveniences of a double government were so far got rid of. With equal wisdom and calmness of temper, Lord Macartney endeavoured to soothe the ill humour of the veteran general, whose natural irritability was heightened by the infirmities of age, by the difficulties of his situation, and by want of success.* When, however, Sir Eyre refused to concur in his designs against the Dutch settlements, Macartney boldly took the responsibility upon himself. Sadras and Pulicat had already surrendered; but their principal settlement on the Coromandel coast was Negapatam, near the southern boundary of

* In a private letter, Lord Macartney says: "I court him like a mistress, and humour him like a child; but, with all this, I have a most sincere regard for him, and honour him highly. But I am truly grieved at heart, to see a man of his military reputation, at his time of life, made miserable by those who ought to make him happy, and, from a great public character, worked into the little business of private malignity and disappointed avarice."—MS. iv. 292.

Tanjore. Against this important fort, the President sent out a force under Sir Hector Munro,* which, supported by the British fleet, soon compelled the garrison to capitulate. The troops who surrendered, amounted to 6350, being considerably more in number than the besieging army. With Negapatam, the whole of the Dutch settlements on that coast fell into the hands of the English; and Hyder's troops immediately began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in the province of Tanjore. The expedition then sailed for Trincomalee, a celebrated Dutch settlement on the Island of Ceylon, which was soon taken, but was shortly afterwards recovered by the French admiral.

The year 1782 was an eventful one. In the month of January, a French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast, and, after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed at Porto Novo 2000 men. They were soon joined by a large detachment of Hyder's army, under the command of his son Tippoo, who had just been employed in inflicting upon the English one of the deepest wounds which they had sustained during the war. Colonel Brathwaite, with 100 Europeans, 1500 native troops, and 300 cavalry, stationed for the purpose of protecting Tanjore, lay encamped on the banks of the Coleroon. Here he was surprised by Tippoo, with 10,000 horse, an equal number of infantry, 20 pieces of cannon, and a European corps under M. Lally, 400 strong. From the 16th to the 18th of February, surrounded on all sides by an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, they withstood incessant attacks. At last, after

* Sir Hector had withdrawn from the army in consequence of an affront received from General Coote during the affair at Pollilore.

twenty-six hours' unintermitted conflict, when great numbers of the English had fallen, and the rest were worn out with wounds and fatigue, Lally advanced at the head of his corps with fixed bayonets, supported by a large body of infantry, and covered by cavalry. At this tremendous appearance, the resolution of the sepoys failed, and they were thrown into confusion.*

The arrival of so important an aid augmented to an alarming degree the army of Tippoo. Cuddalore yielded to their united force on the 3d of April, affording a convenient military and naval station for the French. The English army left their cantonments about the middle of April; but Hyder baffled every attempt to bring him to battle, while he continually harassed and wasted his enemy. Towards the end of October, Sir Eyre Coote, having sustained a second paralytic attack, resigned the command to Gen. Stuart, and set sail for Bengal. Madras was at this time suffering under an accumulation of evils. The ravages of Hyder had driven crowds of the inhabitants from all parts of the country to seek refuge in the capital, where multitudes were daily perishing of want. "Famine now raged in all its horrors, and the multitude of the dead and dying threatened to superadd the evils of pestilence. The bodies of those who expired in the streets or the houses, without any one to inter them, were daily collected and piled in carts, to be buried in large trenches made for

* MSS. Ir. 218.—Tippoo is stated to have treated his prisoners, on this occasion, especially the officers and wounded men, with real attention and humanity.... It appears that Brathwaite had trusted to a system of false intelligence conducted by Hyder's spies, and received with incredulity the timely warning of a native.

the purpose out of the town; of the regular, for several weeks, of not fewer, it is said, than twelve or fifteen hundred a week.... Fortunately for the English, the French had no information or conception of the unprotected and starving condition in which Madras had been left. It remained unvisited even by a few frigates to intercept the corn ships; and from Bengal and the Circars, considerable supplies were received. An event also occurred, of such magnitude as to affect the views of almost every state in India, and suddenly to cheer the gloom which darkened the prospects of the English. Their great enemy, Hyder Ali, died at Chitore in the beginning of December, at an age not exactly ascertained, but certainly exceeding eighty."*

Tippoo, at the time of his father's death, was at a great distance; the weakness of the English in the Carnatic having enabled Hyder to detach him to repel an invasion of his western provinces under Colonel Humberstoon. No sooner was Lord Macartney informed of the event, than, aware of the feeble cement of an Indian army deprived of its leader, he earnestly pressed on General Stuart the expediency of immediately marching against the enemy. The General

* Mill, iv. 575—4. The health of Hyder had been for some months declining; and in Nov., symptoms appeared of the fatal disease called *Bijpoke* (the royal boil). He died Dec. 7. Previously to his death, he is stated to have meditated an entire change in the conduct of the war, of which the prospect of a Mahratta invasion, together with insurrections in Malabar, Bullum, and Coorg, and an English invasion of his western territories, had made him repent; and he was preparing to destroy and then abandon the country he had conquered on the Coromandel coast. "I have committed a great error," he said to his minister, Poorneа, "I have purchased a draught of sherbet (date-wine) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I can ruin the resources of the English by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."—Wilks, ii. 573—413.

affected to disbelieve the intelligence, and obstinately refused, from mere opposition to the civil authority, to put his troops in readiness.

When the fact could no longer be doubted, and the commanding officer at Tripassore sent express intelligence that the enemy's camp was in consternation, numbers having deserted, and that the whole army, if attacked before the arrival of Tippoo, would immediately disband, the English General coolly declared the army deficient in equipments; nor did he commence his march till thirty-four days after Tippoo's arrival and accession had been quietly proclaimed, and sixty after the death of Hyder. The address and fidelity of the leading officers of the Mysorean army, who concealed the fatal event from the troops,* had succeeded in preserving some obedience and order; and the immediate payment of their arrears, with a few popular regulations, firmly established Tippoo on his father's throne. The alarming aspect of affairs on the western coast, and the actual capture of Bednore by the English, rendered it expedient for him to hasten back with the main body of his army to defend his own dominions; and when at length, the British General, after withdrawing the garrisons from Wandewash and Carangooly, and demolishing the fortifications, had marched to the relief of Vellore, he learnt that Tippoo had ordered Arcot to be evacuated and dismantled, and that he was himself retreating from the Carnatic. General Stuart then proceeded to besiege Cuddalore;

* Suspicions of the fact had, from the first, been whispered about the camp; but it soon became evident, that the government was in vigorous hands, and that obedience was the safest course. A conspiracy to proclaim Abdul Kereem, Hyder's second son, was detected, and suppressed with singular ability. All the arrangements of the army and the business of state went on as usual. The interesting details are given by Col. Wilks, ii. 613—19.

but M. Bussy, being re-inforced by a French fleet, found himself at the head of a garrison which out-numbered the besieging force; and the English were relieved from a critical situation, by the arrival, in July, of a flag of truce from Madras, announcing the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and France.* Along with the flag of truce, the Madras Government sent orders for the recal of General Stuart, and he was, by a unanimous vote of the Committee, dismissed from the Company's service. On his intimating his intention to resist their authority, he was arrested and sent to England.†

It is now necessary to advert more specifically to the operations which had been going forward on the western coast.

After the capture and destruction of Mahé in 1779, the Madras detachment marched to the relief of the chief and factory of Tellicherry, which was besieged by Hyder's tributary Nairs. In May 1781, Colonel

* In one of the sallies made by the garrison, a young French serjeant was taken prisoner, of the name of Bernadotte, whose interesting appearance particularly attracted the attention of Colonel Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service; and he ordered him to be treated with every attention. When the French army under Bernadotte entered Hanover, Gen. Wangenheim attended the levee of the conqueror, who recognised him, and publicly acknowledged his obligations.—Wilks, ii. 462.

† General Stuart was the officer employed by the faction who arrested Lord Pigot in 1776; and the retributive act gave rise to some effusions of wit. It is said, that Lord Macartney was in apprehension of being himself arrested, his Lordship's suspension from the government, having been in the avowed contemplation of Mr. Hastings. Gen. Coote had been, in April, sent back from Bengal, with powers subversive of the authority of the subordinate presidency; to which his Lordship was determined not to submit. The death of the aged general on the third day after landing, happily prevented the struggle; and in the following year, Mr. Hastings's own situation became too alarming to leave him inclination for a stretch of his authority.—Wilks, ii. 433.—Mill, iv. 354.

Braithwaite was relieved by Major Abington with a force from Bombay, who was at length enabled by re-inforcements to act on the offensive, and to clear the country of the besieging force. He then marched against Calicut, which surrendered on the 13th of February, 1782. Here, a few days after, he was joined by Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie with 1000 men, originally destined for Madras, but which apprehensions of the French fleet led the commander to land at Calicut, with a view to attempt a diversion on the Malabar side of Hyder's dominions. At the head of their united force, the Colonel took the field, and driving before him the army which was left for the protection of those parts, captured several forts before the approach of the monsoon compelled him to return to Calicut, to place his little army in cantonments. After remaining here from the end of May till the beginning of September, he again proceeded, and had advanced as far as Palaghautcherry, when the approach of Tippoo at the head of a far superior army, rendered it necessary to retreat to Paniané. Tippoo was engaged in operations against this place, when he was recalled by news of his father's death; and the English army met with no further obstruction in returning, the sepoys by land to Tellicherry, the Europeans by sea to Merjee.

In January 1783, General Mathews arrived at Merjee with an army from Bombay, and summoned to his standard the rest of the troops on that part of the coast. He took by storm the fort of Onore (Honáver); reduced some other places of smaller consequence; and, about the middle of the month, moved towards the great pass called the Hossaingherry Ghaut. The ascent consists of a winding road of about five miles* in

* Col. Wilks says, "a rugged acclivity of seven miles."

length, defended by batteries and redoubts at every turning. The army entered the pass on the morning of the 25th, and, chiefly with the bayonet, carried every thing before them till they reached a strong redoubt at the top of the Ghaut. This appeared impregnable; but a party clambering up the rocks, came round upon it behind, and the whole of the pass was placed in their power. The next day, they advanced to Hyder-nuggur, the name now given to the capital of Bednore. They were on their march, with no more than six rounds of ammunition for each man, when an English prisoner arrived with proposals from the governor to surrender not only the city, but the country and all its dependencies. With the capital, most of the minor forts made a ready submission. Annanpore stood the storm, and was carried on the 14th of February. Mangalore, after a breach had been effected, surrendered. But now, the alleged rapacity and misconduct of the English general ruined all, and the whole results of this brilliant success were lost. A vast treasure was supposed to have been found in Bednore, of which, although the troops had received no pay for twelve months, the General positively refused to divide any part; and the refractory proceedings to which this conduct gave rise, were punished with a severity which only served to increase the general discontent. Three of the leading officers left the army, to lay their complaints before the Bombay Government; and so flagrant did the General's conduct appear, that Colonel Macleod was sent back to supersede him; but the ship in which he went out, was taken by a Mahratta fleet.*

* Such is the statement adopted by Mr. Mill. In Colonel Wilks's narrative, some additional details are given with important variations. It appears, that General Mathews made the push for

In the mean time, the forty-second regiment was sent from Bednore to seize some forts below the Ghauts; and the army was dispersed in detachments, to occupy almost every town and mud fort in the country. Nothing was dreamed of but riches; fortifications, intelligence, the means of subsistence were all equally neglected; when, suddenly, on the 9th of April, Tippoo appeared, and, after driving in a detachment stationed at Fattehpur, seized the town of Bednore, with a considerable quantity of ammunition which he found there unsecured, and laid siege to the fort, while detachments were sent to occupy the Ghauts and surrounding country. The English in Bednore, cut off from retreat, their ammunition expended, their provisions low, and their numbers thinned by disease, capitulated on the 30th; but, instead of being sent to the coast, according to the terms of the surrender, they were marched off in irons to the strong fortresses of Mysore.

Bednore, in consequence of positive orders from Bombay, contrary to his own plan of securing by a strong occupation the country in his rear, and declining responsibility on account of the treachery of his troops. "Without the enemy's rice and powder and ball," he declares, that they must have stopped till the army could be furnished. The surrender of Bednore by Sheikh Ayaz, the governor, is sufficiently explained by his having intercepted a letter from Tippoo, giving orders for his being put to death. The story of the barbarities practised by the English at Onore, referred to by Mr. Mill on the authority of the Annual Register, is asserted to have been the fabrication of a "silly young man," and destitute of the shadow of truth. With regard to the countless treasures said to be found at Bednore, it is remarked, that "General Mathews, in a testamentary memorandum delivered to his fellow-prisoners, to be used only in the event of his death, declares, that the public was indebted to him in the sum of 33,000 rupees, advanced from his private fortune during his command, besides the arrears of his military allowances." The blind confidence with which he frittered away his means of defence, receives no adequate explanation.—Wilks, ii., ch. 2.

Tippoo now proceeded to invest Mangalore, in which the remains of the English army had collected. The besieging force is stated at 60,000 horse, 30,000 disciplined sepoys, 600 French infantry, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry, irregular troops to the amount of many thousands, and nearly one hundred pieces of artillery. The British garrison, under Col. Campbell, consisted of 626 Europeans, including officers, and 2350 black troops, besides pioneers and camp-followers; yet, for nine months did this little garrison, in a place of contemptible strength, occupy the services of Tippoo's main army. At one time, Tippoo had agreed to an armistice, in consequence of intelligence being brought of the peace between Great Britain and France; and one condition was, that the besieged should be allowed to purchase provisions at the rate of Tippoo's camp. This agreement was evaded; and he continued his operations, while the garrison were reduced to the greatest extremities, and the most loathsome food was greedily consumed. At length, when two-thirds of the garrison were sick, and the rest had scarcely strength to sustain their arms, the deaths amounting to twelve and fifteen a day; when the sepoys began to desert, and the Europeans shewed signs of mutiny, owing to the scandalous delay of promised succours; the gallant Campbell, on the 26th of January, offered to capitulate; and the remains of the garrison were allowed to march to Tellicherry with all the honours of war. This brave officer did not, however, long survive the fatigues of the service, but died on the 23d of March.*

* For further details relating to this memorable siege, see Wilks, ii. 402—403; Mill, iv. 244—247; and for a very interesting detail of the defence of Onore, which was maintained with similar

This unimportant triumph was dearly purchased. Measures had in the mean time been taken by the Madras Government to create a diversion; and Colonel Fullarton had penetrated from the south into the very heart of Mysore. In April and May 1783, the forts of Caroor, Aravarcoochy, and Dindigul* were reduced; and Daraporam fell on the 24 of June. At this point in the career of conquest, the army was stopped by intelligence of the armistice, which Tippoo alone did not respect. In October, on hearing that he was renewing his operations against Mangalore, Colonel Fullarton marched through incessant rain to Palaghautcherry,† which fell after a short siege; and Coimbetoor, which they reached on the 26th of November, surrendered before they had effected a breach. "A chain of connected operations could now be carried on by the army of Colonel Macleod on the western coast, and that of Fullarton in the south. The army of the north was acting in Cudapah, in which and the neighbouring provinces, the power of Tippoo was ill-established. All the petty princes on the western coast were supposed ready to shake off their dependence. The co-operation was confidently expected of the Hindoo inhabitants of Mysore, of whom the Brahmins were in correspondence with the English.‡ Fullarton had provided his army with

ability and heroism till the conclusion of the treaty, see Forbes's Or. Memoirs, iv. 111—175.

* Caroor was, at this time, the frontier post of Mysore in Coimbatoor.

† The difficult route by which the army penetrated to Palaghaut, is cut through the centre of a stately teak forest, which covers this immense break in the Alpine chain of the Peninsula, having the stupendous hills close on the left.—Wilks, ii. 466.

‡ A conspiracy was formed at Seringapatam, which appears to have been defeated by the precipitancy and imprudence of its leaders. For the details, see Wilks, ii. 495—501.

ten days' grain, repaired the carriages, and made every arrangement for pushing forward to Seringapatam, with victory sparkling in his eye; when he received, on the 23th of November, commands from the Commissioners appointed to treat with Tippoo, to restore immediately all posts, forts, and countries lately reduced, and to retire within the limits occupied on the 26th of July. He had made some progress in the execution of these commands, when he received, on the 26th of January, directions to re-assemble the army, and prepare for a renewal of the war."* At length, after encountering the most harassing difficulties and vexatious delays, and meeting the crafty and deceitful practices of Tippoo with temper and perseverance, the negotiators succeeded, on the 11th of March, in gaining his signature to a treaty, by which, on the general condition of a mutual restitution of conquests, peace was obtained at the price of the most complete national humiliation.†

* Mill, iv. 242, 3.

† The precipitation and credulity with which the Madras Government abandoned their conquests before the negotiation was concluded, and after repeated instances of Tippoo's breach of faith, drew from the venerable Swartz, the exclamation of surprise: "Alas! is the peace so certain, that you quit all before the negotiation is ended?" It is painful to read in the narrative of Colonel Wilks, the studied insult and humiliation to which the British Commissioners submitted. "Three gibbets were erected opposite to the tent doors of each of the Commissioners, and every species of indignity was studiously practised." Pending the negotiation, intelligence was received of the murder of General Mathews and several other officers in prison. Mr. Mill seems to doubt the fact of their assassination, taking no notice of the circumstance, except in his apology for the character of Tippoo, in which his zealous bias leads him to explain away the cold-blooded cruelties of the barbarian prince, by affirming the accounts to be greatly exaggerated. "Of his cruelty," he says, "we have heard the more, because our own countrymen were among the victims of it. But it is to be observed, that, unless in certain instances, the proof of

One of the first acts by which Tippoo signalized his accession to the throne, after the return of the army to the upper country, was the deportation and forcible conversion of upwards of 30,000 Christians from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Canara. The account of this achievement, as given by himself, is to the following effect. "The Portuguese Nazarenes, who, for a long period, have possessed factories on the sea-coasts, obtained, about three hundred years ago, an establishment of this nature, on pretence of trade, on the coast of Soonda, at a place situated midway in the course of a large river and estuary;* and, in process of time, watching their opportunity, obtained from the Rajah a country yielding a revenue of three or four laks of rupees. They then proceeded to prohibit the Mohammedan worship within these limits, and to expel its votaries. To the Brahmins and other Hindoos, they proclaimed a notice of three days, within which time they were at liberty to depart, and, in failure, to be enrolled in the new religion. Some, alarmed at the proposal, abandoned their property and possessions; others, deeming the whole to be an empty threat, ventured to remain; and, on the appointed day, the Nazarenes enrolled them in their own foolish religion. In process of time, and

which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their sufferings, *however intense, were only the sufferings of a very righteous imprisonment*; of which, considering the manner in which it is lavished by their own laws, Englishmen ought not to be very forward to complain."—Mill, vi. 130. According to this reasoning, there is no treatment, however perfidious, of which Englishmen ought to complain: no atrocity which may not be palliated. The fact, as stated by Colonel Wilks, is, that almost all the captains taken at Bednore, were singled out and destroyed by Tippoo's orders. See Wilks, ii. 223—4.

* Goa is intended. Soonda is a district now comprehended in North Canara.

by means of rare presents, and flattery, and pecuniary offerings, they prevailed on the senseless Rajahs of Nuggur, Courial (Mangalore), and Soonda, to tolerate their further proceedings, and began gradually to erect shrines and chapels; and in each of these idol temples, they established one or two *padres*, that is to say, monks.....In this manner, they made a multitude of Christians, and continued to this day the same practices. When his Majesty, the Shadow of God, was informed of these circumstances, the rage of Islam began to boil in his breast. He first gave orders, that a special enumeration and description should be made and transmitted, of the houses of the Christians in each district. Detachments under trusty officers were then distributed in the proper places, with sealed orders, to be opened and executed on one and the same day, after the devotions of the morning; and, in conformity to these instructions, 60,000 persons, great and small, of both sexes, were seized and carried to the resplendent presence; whence, being placed under proper guardians, and provided with every thing needful, they were despatched to the royal capital; and, being formed into battalions of five hundred each, under the command of officers well instructed in the faith, they were honoured with the distinction of Islam. They were finally distributed to the principal garrisons, with orders for a daily provision of food, apparel, and other requisites." The true numbers, Colonel Wilks says, were about half his Majesty's estimate; and "as far as could be ascertained from conjecture, one-third of the number did not survive the first year." *

* Wilks, ii. 329—30. The Cholia of the western coast who were thus pressed into the pale of Islam, received the name of *Mamaly*: those from Coromandel were named *Awul Ullah*, Liege of the Lord.

In returning to the upper countries, the route through Bullum afforded an opportunity of quelling, for a long time, the protracted rebellion of the mountaineers of that province; and thence, the army proceeded, for a similar purpose, into the adjacent hills and forests of Coorg, where a temporary submission was produced. It was not long, however, before they were again in revolt; and Tippoo, entering Coorg with two columns, drew a military circle round the great mass of the population, which he gradually contracted, sending his troops to beat up the woods before them, precisely as if dislodging so much game. By these means, he enclosed about 70,000 of the inhabitants, who were driven off like a herd of cattle to Seringapatam, where they also were "honoured with the distinction of Islam." No occasion seemed more proper or auspicious than this extensive accession of infidels to the ranks of the faithful, for proclaiming the royal dignity which Tippoo had now determined to assume. His return to his capital from Coorg, took place early in January 1786. The whole of the intended ceremony was not publicly announced; but all good Mohammedans were summoned to attend the reading of the *Khootba*, at the mosque of the Lâll Baugh. When the officiating Moollah (Ali Reza) came to that part in which prayers are offered up for the reigning sovereign, instead of the name of Shah Allum, (as was still customary in the mosques all over India,) he substituted that of Tippoo Sultaun, to the astonishment of the audience. The reason assigned by the Sultan, in one of his official letters, was, that Shah Allum being the prisoner or servant of Sindia, none but an idiot could consider him as a sovereign. From that day forward, the *chobdars* and attendants were ordered, in announcing the salutations of persons who entered the

durbar, to observe the formalities of the court of Delhi, and proclaim the presence of a king, by which title (*Padsha*) he was ordered to be addressed and designated by all his subjects. It was during the march to Bangalore for the Mahratta war, that this change of title was made universally known to the army.*

We have now brought down our narrative of affairs in the South, to a period which forms a new epoch in the history of British India. In September 1786, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta as Governor General,† furnished with an extensive code of instructions, the joint production of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors; and vested with those enlarged powers which were conferred by the new act of parliament passed in that year for the better administration of Indian affairs.

The state of the connexion with the Nabob of Oude was the object which first solicited his attention. That chief bitterly complained of the pecuniary burthen imposed upon him. It appeared that, during the nine years preceding, he had paid to the Company, under different claims, at the rate of eighty-four laks of rupees *per annum*. It was now agreed, that an annual payment of fifty laks should embrace every possible claim.

His Lordship carried out with him explicit orders to demand from the Nizam the surrender of the Circar of Guntoor, the reversion of which, in consequence of the death of Basalut Jung, in 1782, devolved, in pursuance of agreement, upon the Company. It was not,

* Wilks, ii. 345, 6.

† Lord Macartney was appointed by the Directors to succeed Mr. Hastings; but he resolved to decline the appointment, till a visit to England should enable him to come to a personal understanding with the Directors and the Board of Control; and he was not allowed to make his terms.

however, till the year 1792, that the state of affairs seemed to present a favourable opportunity for pressing this demand; when the Nizam, anxious at this time to stand on good terms with the English, manifested an unexpected readiness to comply with the requisition, and surrendered the Circar in September of that year. The unfortunate issue of a recent contest with Tippoo Sultaun, had made him desirous of reviving his connexion with the Company; and he deputed Meer Abdul Cassim (Meer Allum) to Calcutta, for the purpose of conveying fully his sentiments and wishes on this head to the Governor General. This mission led to a new engagement, explanatory of the treaty of 1768, (conveyed in the form of a letter from Lord Cornwallis to the Nizam, but intended to have the force of a regular treaty,) by which, in effect, an offensive alliance against Tippoo was covertly concluded. A subsidiary force was to be granted to the Nizam, on his requisition, the employment of which was left to his discretion, with the proviso of its not being directed against the powers in alliance with the Company, among whom Tippoo alone was not specifically included.* The real character of this alliance did not escape the observation of the Sultan; and it is evident, that Lord Cornwallis must have contemplated an early war with Tippoo as inevitable.† This letter was dated July 1, 1789.

* The powers named are, "Poodit Poorbaun, Madhajee Sindia, Madhajee Bapojee Bhoosla, and other Mahratta chiefs, the Nabob of Arcot, the Nabob Vizier, or the Rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore."

† His Lordship's conduct in thus indirectly violating the act of parliament by which he was restricted from entering into any fresh treaty, has been much criticised. Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that the literal construction of the restrictions of the act, had, upon this occasion, the effect of making the Governor General

What might, perhaps, be regarded as symptoms of hostile designs in Tippoo, had, indeed, already manifested themselves. Early in the preceding year, Tippoo had descended the Ghauts at the head of an army, for the ostensible purpose of taking cognizance of his dominions on the western coast. From Calicut, he proceeded to Coimbetoor and Dindigul; and the Rajah of Travancore communicated to the Madras Government, his apprehension of being invaded at once from the east and the north, in consequence of the minute investigation of the routes on each of those frontiers. After laying waste with fire and sword the territories of such of the polygars dependent on Dindigul and Coimbetoor as had recently failed in allegiance, Tippoo returned to Seringapatam in August. In the following January, a simultaneous rebellion in Coorg and Malabar called him again into those provinces. The report of the arrival of his army drove the Nairs, as usual, into their woods and mountains; and Tippoo divided his troops into numerous detachments for the purpose of apprehending them. They were now offered the alternative of a voluntary profession of the Mohammedan faith, or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native land. So terrible was the idea of an emigration, with which was connected the apprehension of almost inevitable death,* that great numbers of Nairs, incen-

pursue a course, not only questionable, perhaps, in point of faith, but which must have been more offensive to Tippoo Sultaun, and more calculated to produce a war with that prince, than an avowed contract of a defensive engagement, framed for the express and legitimate purpose of limiting his inordinate ambition. Col. Wilks remarks, that his Lordship "assumed wrong grounds for doing right." See Malcolm's P. H. I. 53—57. Wilks, ii. 70, 93. Mill, v. 264—7.

* The singular opinion was entertained by them, and still pre-

sently hunted out of their places of concealment, at length came forward to be circumcised and eat beef, as the only mode of escaping a more cruel fate. Tippoo, in his own account of this holy war, takes to himself the credit of having destroyed 3000 idol temples, many of them roofed with gold, silver, or copper, and all containing treasures buried at the feet of the idol. The palpable exaggeration of this boast, does not detract from the importance of the statement, as an illustration at once of the character of Tippoo and of the consequences of his ruthless policy. On his return to Coimbetoor, for the rains, six divisions, consisting of two brigades each, were left in Malabar, with distinct establishments of officers, spiritual, civil, and military, charged with the threefold duty of surveying the lands, numbering the productive trees, and seizing and instructing the remaining Nairs. While at Coimbetoor, the Sultan made a further augmentation of his infantry, in preparation for the war which he evidently contemplated.

The joint duties of the spiritual and military officers entrusted with superintending the conversion of the Nairs, appear to have been executed with horrible precision.* Many of the natives, however, fled to the English settlement of Tellicherry, whence they embarked for Travancore; and some escaped by the connivance of the Rajah of Cochin. Tippoo was

valls, Colonel Wilks says, in Mysore, that small-pox is spontaneously generated by the mere combination of a crowded mass of population from Malabar to the upper country. Some curious remarks on this subject will be found in Wilks, ii. 15—25.

* On the capture of Palaghaut by the English in the ensuing year, one of the Sultan's "circular orders for conversion," under his seal and signature, was found in the fort: it directed the employment of any and all means for the universal conversion of the natives.—Wilks, iii. 24

anxious to achieve the conquest of Travancore, without appearing as a principal in the war. He had, in 1788, actually adjusted with the Zamorin of Calicut, the restoration of a part of his former territories, on the condition of his invading Travancore for the Sultan, but in his own name, on the pretext of certain antiquated claims. This project was foiled by the Sultan's precipitation in beginning the work of universal circumcision, which the Zamorin resented, and joined in the general insurrection. Tippoo now wished to make the Rajah of Cochin his instrument in effecting the same object; and when the Madras President (Sir Archibald Campbell) frankly communicated to Tippoo, in 1789, the fears and representations of the Travancore Rajah; adding, that any aggression on that ally would be considered by the English as equivalent to a declaration of war; the Sultan's answer stated, that the interposition of the territories of his dependent, the Rajah of Cochin, prevented the possibility of collision between him and Travancore.

The principality of Travancore commences near the island of Vipeen, at the mouth of the Chinnamangalam river, whence it extends southward to Cape Comorin, being bounded eastward by the chain of mountains terminating near that promontory, by which it is separated from the province of Tinnevelly. A double line of works, facing from N. to N. E., was connected with the natural defence of this mountain barrier. Part of the territory of the Cochin sovereign lay northward of this line of defence; but a considerable part, including his capital, was blended with Travancore on the southern side. The lines, constructed in 1775, consisted of a ditch about 16 feet broad and 20 deep, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and

good ramparts, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking each other. They were, however, more imposing than effectual, as, throughout the dangerous extent of thirty miles, (the distance from the island of Vipeen to the Anamalalah range,) few points were closed in the rear, and those imperfectly, so that nearly the whole would fall on carrying a single point. Some time after their construction, Hyder, who was extending his conquests over the Malabar chiefs, carried his arms against that part of the Cochin territory which was without the wall; and the Rajah, rather than lose that portion of his dominions, consented to become his tributary.

It is necessary to observe, that part of these lines were erected upon a stripe of land which, with other portions of territory, had been ceded to the Travancore Rajah by his neighbour, in recompense of the powerful aid afforded to him by the former in repelling an invasion of the Zamorin of Calicut in 1760-1. They were also continued across the island of Vipeen, in the rear of the Dutch fort of Ayacotta, and on ground purchased of the Dutch by the Travancore Rajah. Tippoo now directed his tributary to demand back those districts of Cochin which had been ceded to the Rajah of Travancore, promising the aid of the Mysore troops to enforce his claim. He contended at the same time, in his communications with the Madras Government, that the line actually intersected the country of his tributary, and was consequently built on his own territory; that the Rajah of Travancore had no right to build a wall on his (the Sultan's) territory, nor to exclude him from visiting every part of his dominions on either side of the wall. To obviate this pretence, the Travancore Rajah renewed a long-pending negotiation with the Dutch for the purchase of Cranganore and

Ayacotta (*Jeycotah*), possessions situated within Cochin, but the independent sovereignty of which had, a century before, been obtained by conquest from the Portuguese. The validity of this purchase was contested by Tippoo; and the Madras Government were guilty of the imbecility of countenancing the thin pretext, and despatched a peremptory command to the Rajah to annul the contract, and restore these places to the Dutch.* They also lent their authority to another of his alleged grievances, by requiring the Rajah to discontinue his protection to the fugitive Nairs who had sought an asylum in his dominions. Lord Cornwallis, on receiving these representations, directed, that proposals should be transmitted to Tippoo for a mutual appointment of commissioners to try the points in dispute; but that, from the moment Tippoo should invade any part of the territory of either the Rajah of Travancore or the Nabob of Arcot, he should be considered as in a state of war.

In May 1789, Tippoo, having again descended to the coast, began with summoning the fort of Cranganore; and the Rajah prepared to unite with the Dutch in defending it. But, after making several demonstrations, he retired, and placed his troops at Palghautcherry and Coimbetoor. In December, he again encamped at a place about twenty-five miles from the frontier of Travancore, whence he sent a *vakeel* to the Rajah, announcing his demands; to which a reply was returned, denying the claims on which they were founded. He then approached the lines, and began to erect his batteries. On the morning of the

* The purchase had been made at the suggestion and with the sanction of Major Kennoway; and the Sultan himself recognised the right of sale, by offering the Dutch double the sum contracted to be paid by the Rajah.—Wilks, iii. 45.

29th, he turned by surprise the right flank of the lines, where no passage was supposed to exist, and introduced a portion of his army within the wall; but, before he could gain the gate which it was his object to open, and at which he expected to admit the rest of his army, his troops were thrown into confusion by some slight resistance, and, a panic ensuing, they fled in disorder across the ditch, which was filled with the trampled and the slain. Tippoo himself was present at the attack, and not without personal danger made his escape. His palankeen remained in the ditch, the bearers having been trodden to death; his seals, rings, and personal ornaments fell as trophies into the hands of the enemy; and a lameness, to which he was occasionally subject ever after, was occasioned by the severe contusions which he received.*

No sooner did intelligence of these events reach Calcutta, than the Governor General announced to the Madras rulers, his intention to employ all the resources within his reach, "to exact a full reparation from Tippoo for this wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty." Relieved from the restrictions under which he had previously considered himself as placed, he hastened to secure, by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, the hearty co-operation of the Nizam in the war against the Sultan. And, after some delay, a similar treaty was also concluded with the court of Poonah.

After Tippoo had met with this repulse, he addressed two letters to the Madras Government, in which he disavowed the outrage, describing it as the unauthorised act of his troops, and making the most extravagant

* Wilks, iii. 46—8. Mill, v. 377.

professions of friendship for the English Government. These professions, though contradicted by the whole tenor of his conduct, were credulously received by the President of Fort St. George, (Mr. Holland,) as proofs of his pacific disposition. Lord Cornwallis, with a more just appreciation of the true character of the enemy, warmly resented the hesitation expressed to act upon his orders; remarking, in his subsequent despatch to General Medows, by whom Mr. Holland was succeeded, that if Tippoo were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." * In the mean time, Tippoo had renewed his operations, and having rendered himself master of the lines, soon obtained possession of Cranganore. The troops of the Rajah fled in all directions. All the northern quarter of Travancore was now seized by the conqueror, who razed the lines, and spread desolation over the country.

* Mill, v. 165. The civil authorities of Madras might naturally feel disinclined to be again subjected to military ascendancy; besides which, as "all payments to the private creditors of the Nabob were to be suspended in case of war, and even the advances for providing the Company's investment were to be withheld," the pacific wishes of the Madras rulers are easily accounted for. "So far am I from giving credit to the late government," said Lord Cornwallis, "for not making the necessary preparations for war, after receiving the grossest insults that could be offered to any nation, I think it very possible, that every rash of that ill-judged saving may cost to the Company a crore of rupees. Besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice which you made, by that delay, of the honour of your country, by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore, which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."—Malcolm, i. 73. Wilks, iii. 61.

The necessity, however, of defending his own dominions, soon recalled him from his prey; and on the 24th of May, he hurried back to his capital.

The first operations of the British against Mysore, were baffled by the activity of the Sultan, who, taking advantage of the separation of the invading army into three divisions, attacked them in detail, broke through their chain of communications, and compelled them ultimately to abandon the plan of the campaign. For this success, he was greatly indebted to his admirable system of intelligence, which never failed him, while the English were repeatedly at fault. The war was transferred from Mysore to the Carnatic; but, in the mean time, the whole of Malabar was wrested from Tippoo by another British division, and that province was placed in possession of the Company.*

In February 1791, Cornwallis, in person, putting himself at the head of the army, entered Mysore by the pass of Moogloe, and reached Bangalore with little opposition, on the 5th of March. On the 7th, the *pettah*, or town, was stormed; and a strong exertion made by the Sultan for its recovery, was repulsed. On the night of the 21st, the citadel was carried by assault. "The fate of the campaign," says Col. Wilks, "and perhaps of the war, was necessarily cast upon a single chance, and that chance was successful." The evil consequences of a failure, it is difficult to estimate. "The forage and grain found in the *Pettah*, had long been consumed; the neighbouring villages had all been

* See for details, Wilks, iii. chaps. 35, 36. "For the facts of this campaign," remarks Mr. Mill, "Colonel Wilks is undoubted authority; but, for opinions, his partialities deserve to be watched." See also for a luminous abstract, Mill, v. 228—237. The plan of operations resembled in its principal features, that of Col. Fullarton in 1783, 4, which had so nearly succeeded, when the result was frustrated by the fatality of the Madras Government.

effectually destroyed; and the resource of digging for the roots of grass within the limits of the piquets, had been so exhausted, that scarcely a fibre remained. The draught and carriage cattle were daily dying by hundreds, at their piquets; and those intended for food scarcely furnished the unwholesome means of satisfying hunger. Grain and every other necessary, including ammunition, were at the lowest ebb; and the most favourable result of raising the siege, under such circumstances, would have been, the loss of the whole battering train, and a retreat upon the *depôts of Coromandel*, pressed by all the energy with which such an event would have inspired the Sultan's army." *

"On the 28th, Lord Cornwallis was able to move from Bangalore, and proceeded in a northern direction, the cattle reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight. The intention of this movement was, to effect a *junction with the corps of cavalry* destined for him by the Nizam, his ally. The English and the Sultan crossed each other on the march, when the Sultan declined a rencounter. The forts of Deonhully and Little Baliporr surrendered to Cornwallis, without opposition, as he passed; and he was joined by the polygars, who paid dearly afterwards to the Sultan for their defection. Intelligence again failed the English army. After a march of about seventy miles, notwithstanding, in their situation, the unspeakable importance of time, they came to a stand, not knowing what to do; and halted for five days. False information at last induced the General, in despair of meeting the Nizam's cavalry, to terminate his movement in that direction, and proceed southward, to meet a convoy advancing by the pass of

* Wilks, iii. 130.

Amboor. After marching a day in this retrograde direction, he received fresh information, which induced him to trace back his steps; and in two days more, he was met by his ally. The force of this ally was nominally 15,000, in reality 10,000 well mounted horsemen, who were expected to render good service in performing the duties of light troops, and extending the command of the army over the resources of the country. The hope of any assistance from them, was almost immediately found to be perfectly groundless. They soon shewed themselves unequal to the protection of their own foragers on ordinary occasions; and, after the lapse of a few days from leaving Bangalore, they never stirred beyond the English picquets, consuming forage and grain, and augmenting distress of every kind, without the slightest return of even apparent utility." *

Preparations were now made at Bangalore for the siege of Seringapatam; and on the 13th of May, the English army reached Arikeram, about nine miles from the capital, where Tippoo, who had taken up a strong position about six miles in their front, was brought to action, and defeated.† The precipitation

* Mill, v. 320, 1.

† Tippoo evinced his apprehensions for the safety of his capital, by giving orders carefully to obliterate from the walls of the houses, the caricatures ridiculing the English, with which they had been ornamented; and by the savage precaution of despatching twenty English boys educated as singers and dancers, and other prisoners, whom he had detained in direct violation of the treaty of 1784. Mr. Mill is incredulous of these alleged cruelties. Col. Wilks says: "The English army had afterwards direct evidence, even to exhumation, of murders so committed, on persons who carried with them the anxious sympathy of the inhabitants. The order was extended to native state prisoners; and the horrible butcheries of this period exemplified, in the most impressive manner, the

of Lord Cornwallis, however, in pushing forward with imperfect equipments and deficient supplies, in spite of incessant rains, and with constantly defective intelligence, had again nearly led to the destruction of the army. Scanty and unwholesome food had filled the camp with disease; and in addition to other horrors, the small-pox raged with uncommon violence. After all the fatigue and misery, the loss of life, and the enormous expense which had been thus improvidently incurred, it was discovered, that not a single operation could be attempted, that the battering train and heavy equipments must be destroyed, and a retreat commenced without loss of time, to save the remainder of the army. Orders were sent at the same time to General Abercromby, who was advancing from the west, to return to Malabar; and a similar destruction of the heavy guns and equipments became necessary.

Scarcely had the eastern army commenced its melancholy return, than it found itself unexpectedly joined by the Mahrattas under two of the Poonah chiefs, Hurry Punt and Purseram Bhow; bringing provisions and draught cattle. No suspicion had been entertained of the existence of a Mahratta army within one hundred and fifty miles, although every customary means had been employed of transmitting to the English, distinct intelligence of each successive step in their advance; so completely had Tippoo's light troops succeeded in cutting off all communication. The Mahrattas had ostensibly taken the field at the same period as the English, and had been joined, in June 1790, by

natural connexion between cruelty and fear." Wilks, iii. 181. The testimony of one of the few English prisoners who made their escape, leaves no room to doubt the fact. See "The Captivity of James Scurry, written by Himself." 12mo. London, 1824.

a detachment from Bombay, under Captain Little. Their first object was, to recover the Punjaub of the Krishna, of which Darwar was deemed the capital. The siege of this place, before which they did not arrive till September, detained them, through the unskilfulness of Mahratta tactics, till the beginning of April, by which time intelligence of the fall of Bangalore had reached the *kelledar*. The surrender of Darwar was followed by the easy conquest of every thing north of the Toombudra.

The tardy arrival of the Mahrattas may certainly be regarded as the cause of the disasters sustained by the British army, although it has been said, that no dependence ought to have been placed upon their punctuality. Had Lord Cornwallis possessed, even a few days before, accurate information of their approach, the circumstances of the campaign would have assumed a different character. The relief of hunger was now the most urgent want in the English army, in which scarcely an individual had, during the preceding fortnight, partaken of a wholesome meal; and "the inimitable mercantile police of a Mahratta chief in his own camp, was never more skilfully exhibited than on this occasion, in holding up exorbitant prices, until the resources of individuals were exhausted, and gradually adapting the supply to the simple capacity of payment. The bazar of a Mahratta camp," continues Colonel Wilks, "presented a spectacle of no ordinary character, and to their famished visiters, exhibited a picture of the spoils of the East, and the industry of the West. From a web of English broad-cloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the second-hand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver ear-ring of a poor plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry,

to the dried salt fish of Concan; almost every thing was seen that could be presented by the best bazars of the richest towns. But, above all, the tables of the money-changers, overspread with the coins of every country of the East, in the open air and public street of the camp, gave evidence of an extent of mercantile activity, utterly inconceivable in any camp, excepting that of systematic plunderers by wholesale and retail. Every variety of trade appeared to be exercised with a large competition and considerable diligence; and among them one apparently the least adapted to a wandering life—the trade of tanner, was practised with eminent success. A circular hole dug in the earth, a raw hide adapted to it at the bottom and sides, and secured above with a series of skewers run through its edges into the earth, formed the tan-pit. On marching days, the tan-pit with its contents, in the shape of a bag, formed one side of a load for a horse or a bullock; and the liquid preparation was either emptied or preserved, according to the length or expected repetition of the march. The best tanning material is equally accessible and portable; and the English officers obtained from these ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports,—excellent sword-belts."*

Now that the Mahrattas had arrived, they were unable to keep the field, (so at least their leaders professed,) without receiving from the English pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis agreed to advance them a loan of twelve laks of rupees. In order to obtain the money, he had recourse to the bold expedient of writing to the Madras Government, to take

* Wilks, iii. 138, 9.

the dollars out of the China ships, and coining them into rupees, to send them to him with all possible despatch. The loss of the battering train, the return of General Abercromby, and the state of the season forbidding the siege of Seringapatam, the combined army proceeded, on the 6th of June, to fall back on Bangalore. In their way, the hill-fort of Hoolladroog, "too strong to have been taken, had the courage of the garrison allowed them to defend it," surrendered to a detachment of the English army, and was dismantled. It was now necessary that the allied armies should separate during the inactive season. The Bhow, with the detachment of Captain Little, shaped his course towards Sera, and the Hyderabad cavalry went to join the Nizam's army; Hyder Punt alone remained with the English, who proceeded towards the south-east for the purpose of opening a communication, by the Policade pass, with the Carnatic. Tippoo's garrison evacuated Oossoor at their approach; Rayacottah, another strong fort, surrendered, "although so strong and complete, that it ought to have yielded only to famine and a tedious blockade;" and the rest of the forts by which the pass was defended, either obeyed the summons, or made but a feeble resistance. By this newly-opened route, a convoy reached the camp from Madras, such as had never joined a British army on Indian ground. It consisted of 100 elephants, loaded with treasure, marching two a-breast, with the British standard displayed; 6000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundreds of coolies with other supplies. Such was the result of the new system of agency adopted by Lord Cornwallis to supply the wants of the army.*

* Nearly 40,000 bullocks had been lost in the last campaign. In order to obtain a regular supply of grain, his Lordship had adopted

While the army remained at Oossur, a vakeel from Tippoo arrived with offers to negotiate; but, being commissioned to treat only with principals, and Lord Cornwallis declining to treat with an agent, the messenger was sent back without being permitted to enter the camp. The remaining operations of the campaign consisted of the reduction of the formidable hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Outradroog, with some posts of inferior importance. The first of these, situated between Bangalore and Goorumconda, is built on the summit of a granite rock about 1,709 feet in height, absolutely inaccessible on three of its faces; and the only part which can be ascended, was defended by two excellent walls, and by an outwork which covered the gateway, and yielded a flank fire. "A road was cut, and the guns were dragged, with infinite difficulty, to the top of an adjacent hill; but there, after a battery was erected, the guns were found to be too distant even to take off the defences of the fort. No alternative remained, but to work up the face of the principal hill. The exertions demanded were excessive. Without the strength and sagacity of

the expedient of availing himself of the extensive resources of the *Brinjaries*, native corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, called in the South, *Lumbdees*. "They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies, which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity, and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies which spare nothing else, act under a species of obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjaries."—Mill, v. 522. Wilks, iii. 262.

the elephants, the steepness of the ascent would have rendered it impossible to carry up the guns. Fortunately, the shot of the fort, from a height so nearly perpendicular, seldom took effect; but the men were severely galled by the *jinjal*, a species of wall-pieces, which threw with precision, to a great distance, a ball of considerable size. Batteries were erected after a labour of fourteen days; and, in a short time, two breaches were effected." As the governor still refused to surrender, it was determined to storm. At midnight, the orders were given for the assault. The fort was instantly illuminated with blue lights; a heavy, but ill-directed fire was opened; and large masses of granite were rolled down the precipice with tremendous effect; but the ardour and rapidity of the assailants surmounted every obstacle. Both of the breaches were quickly mounted, and the storming party pressed the fugitives so closely, that time was not allowed for effectually barricading the gate of the inner rampart. It was forced after a sharp conflict; and the place was carried, with the loss, in the assault, of only two men killed and twenty-eight wounded, chiefly by the stones tumbled down the rock. The whole loss, during the siege, was 120 killed and wounded.*

Savendroog, situated in the midst of the wooded hills which extend from the vicinity of Bangalore to the river Madoor, had been previously reconnoitred, and passed by as impregnable. It was deemed the strongest place in Mysore; and the discouragement was increased by the reputed insalubrity of the woods

* Wilks, iii. 181. Mill, v. 339. A subsequent attack upon Kistnagherry, another of these stupendous hill-forts, was unsuccessful, owing to the execution made by the stones rolled down by the besieged.

and impenetrable thickets with which it is surrounded.* The enormous mass of granite upon which the fortifications had been constructed, is considerably more elevated than Nundydroog, and rises from a base at least eight miles in circumference: it is every where apparently inaccessible from below; and, at the height of about two thirds of its total elevation, is separated by a chasm into two distinct citadels, each abundantly supplied with water, and thereby doubling the labour of reduction. The first labour was immense; that of cutting a gun-road through the strong jungle, and dragging twenty-four-pounders over the intervening rocks and hills. Fortunately, the garrison, confident in the strength of the place, regarded with supineness the approach of the besiegers; and they were allowed to erect their batteries without any further opposition than the fire from the fort. Within three days after the opening of the batteries, a practicable breach was effected in what was called the lower wall of the rock, although at least 1500 feet from its base. The jungle was now of advantage; for, as it grew close up to the very wall, it enabled the troops to scramble up unseen, by the crevices and rugged parts of the rock, and effect a lodgement within twenty yards of the breach. The 21st of December was the day chosen for the assault; and Lord Cornwallis and General Medows arrived from the camp, (distant seven miles,) to witness the terrific scene. "At an hour before noon, on a signal of two guns from the batteries, the flank companies

* The name of this fortress, not less remarkable for its salubrious atmosphere than for its strength, signifies *the rock of death*. The Sultan congratulated his army upon hearing that the English army had undertaken the siege; at which, he said, one half would be destroyed by sickness, and the other by the sword.

advanced to the breach, and mounted, while the band of the 33d regiment played *Britons strike home*. The enemy, who had descended for the defence of the breach, when they beheld the Europeans advancing, were seized with a panic;* and Captain Gage had little difficulty in gaining the eastern top. The danger was, lest the flying enemy should gain the western summit, which, from the steepness of the approach and the strength of the works, might require a repetition of the siege. To provide against this contingency, Captain Monson had directions, if he thought advancing imprudent, to effect a lodgement in some part of the hill, from which the operations might be carried on. Fortunately, the enemy impeded one another in the steep and narrow path up which they crowded to the citadel; while some shot which opportunely fell among them from the batteries, increased their confusion. Captain Monson pressed after the fugitives; and so critical was the moment, that the serjeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the man who was closing the first of the gates. All the other barriers, the English entered along with the enemy, about 100 of whom were killed on the western hill; and several fell down the precipices in endeavouring to escape. The prisoners taken were few."† "Every thing was carried within one hour from the commencement of the assault; and an enter-

* The assailants, Colonel Wilks says, actually clambered up a precipice which, after the service was over, they were afraid to descend.

† Mill, v. 313, 4. The *killadar* was observed to fall, by the troops who had gained the eastern rock, just as he approached the gate of the citadel; and they had the additional satisfaction of descrying a heavy column of Mysorean infantry, destined to re-inforce the garrison, in full march to enter the place, which would have been effected, had the assault been postponed even for half an hour.

prise, which had been contemplated by Lord Cornwallis as the most doubtful operation of the war, was thus effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops, and five of open batteries, including the day of the assault; with a moderate amount of casualties in the previous operations, and, in the assault itself, without the loss of a single life."*

Ootradroog, a fortress of a similar description, about twelve miles from Savendroog, was, in like manner, carried by escalade without the loss of a man. Though many parts of the ascent were so narrow and steep, that a few resolute men might have defended themselves against any attack, so great was the alarm of the enemy, that they fled wherever they saw a single European above the walls. The *killedar*, who was taken prisoner, reported that his garrison had mutinied, and that 400 had deserted during the night. The forts of Ramgherry and Sevengherry, on the central road, surrendered to another detachment, without much resistance; and Hoolloordroog, which had been repaired and re-occupied by the enemy, was retaken and held as a post of communication.

During these proceedings, the operations of Tippoo were feeble; and the recovery of Coimbetoor by one of his generals, with some advantages gained over the Mahrattas of Purseram Bhow, were the most important of his successes.

At length, being rejoined by the Hyderabad and Poonah armies, on the 1st of February, Lord Cornwallis began his march for Seringapatam; and on the 5th, the English took up their ground across the

* Wilks, iii. 203. Mr. Mill's account says, only one private was slightly wounded.

valley of Milgotah, at the distance of about six miles from the Sultan's encampment under the walls of the capital.

"Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cavery, which, after separating to a distance of a mile and a half, again unite about four miles below the place of their separation.* Around Seringapatam run the usual hedge, called the bound hedge, composed of the bamboos and other strong and prickly shrubs of the country, forming a rampart of considerable strength. On the northern side, that on which the confederate army had taken up their ground, an oblong space of about three miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile in breadth, was enclosed between the hedge and the river. In this enclosure, Tippoo was encamped. It contained the most commanding ground on that side of the fort; and was farther guarded in front, by a large tank or canal; by rice-fields, which it watered; and by the windings of a river called the Lockany, which crossed the line of the British camp, and intersected the intermediate valley by three streams, of which one fell into the Cavery near the eastern point of the island. To the natural strength of this position, was added the assistance of six large redoubts erected on commanding ground; of which, one, called the Mosque redoubt, situated at the western extremity, on an eminence somewhat advanced beyond the line of the rest, and in the corner of the bound hedge, which was here carried out to surround it, was a post of great strength, and covered the left of the encampment. The mountainous range which protected the left of the British line,

* See vol. I. p. 36.

extended close to the river at the eastern end of the island; and by a hill called the Carighaut, the fortifications of which had been lately improved, together with the branch of the Lockany which entered the Cavery at its base, afforded strong protection to the right of the Sultan's encampment. In the western angle of the island, was situated the strong fortress of Seringapatam. The eastern part was fortified towards the river by redoubts and batteries, connected by a strong entrenchment with a deep ditch. The fort and island, therefore, constituted a second line, which supported the defences of the first; and afforded a secure retreat, as from the out-works to the body of a place. Heavy cannon in the redoubts, and the field train disposed to the best advantage, to the amount of 100 pieces of artillery, defended the first line; and at least three times that number were employed in the fort and island. The Sultan's army was supposed, at a low estimation, to amount to 5000 cavalry, and from forty to fifty thousand infantry. He commanded the centre and right of his line in person, and had his tent pitched near the most easterly of the six redoubts, which, from that circumstance, was called the Sultan's redoubt.

"Tippoo, having abandoned the design of keeping the field against so powerful a combination of foes, had directed his attention to the fortification of this position, and the improvement of his defences in the island and fort. His plan of defence was founded on the hope of being able to protract the siege, till the want of supplies in a country already exhausted, or at any rate the recurrence of the monsoon, should compel his enemies to retreat. He was, probably, the more confirmed in the anticipation of this result, because it was the same expedient by

which his father had fought the potent combination by which he was attacked in 1767.

"The British troops had just been dismissed from the parade, at six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, when they were directed to fall in again with their arms and ammunition. Every thing was in its proper place at half an hour after eight o'clock, when the order was given to march. The evening was calm and serene; the moon shone bright; and the troops advanced in silence. The security of the northern supplies, and the difficulty of crossing the river with all the stores and heavy artillery, pointed out the necessity of dislodging the enemy. But his position, every where protected by the guns of the fort or the batteries of the island, was so strong, that, in an open attack in day-light, the event was doubtful; the loss of a great number of the best soldiers was unavoidable. The night was therefore chosen, and an early night for the greater certainty of surprise. As guns could be of little service in the dark, and the state of the ground made it difficult to convey them, it was resolved that none should be employed.

"According to the plan of attack, the centre column, under the commander-in-chief, was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, while the columns on the right and left were to take possession of the forts which defended the enemy's flanks; and the front divisions of all the three columns, after carrying what was immediately opposed to them, were to cross with the fugitives, and endeavour to get possession of the batteries on the island. So early an attack, before the junction of the Bombay army, and during the darkness of the night, was probably unexpected by Tippoo. The allies, to whom the plan of the attack was not

communicated till after the columns had marched, were in the greatest consternation. To attack, with a handful of infantry and without cannon, the whole of Tippoo's army, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital, appeared to them an extraordinary attempt. And their surprise was increased when told, that Lord Cornwallis in person commanded the division which was to penetrate the centre of the enemy's camp, and had gone to fight, as they expressed it, like a common soldier.

"The Sultan had just finished his evening's repast, when the alarm was given. He mounted; and before he had time to receive intelligence of the nature and quality of the attack, not only perceived by the mass of the fugitives, that the centre of the camp was entered, but discovered, by the light of the moon, an extended column passing through his camp, and pointing directly to the main fort. As this threatened his retreat, he went off with great celerity, and having barely time to cross before the English, took his station on a part of the fort best calculated for the view, and there continued, issuing his commands, till the morning. In the retreat, a great number of his troops deserted. One corps, 10,000 strong, consisting of the persons whom he had forcibly removed from Coorg, wholly disappeared, having escaped to their native woods. And a number of Europeans in his service, from which he gave no allowance to depart, seized this opportunity of making their escape.

"The day broke only to vary the features of the conflict. The most easterly of the six redoubts (the Sultan's), and the most westerly (the Mosque redoubt), were taken; but the remaining four were in possession of the enemy. The scattered parties collected themselves, and the guns of the fort which, during the

night, had been kept silent by order of the Sultan, lest they should persuade the troops in camp that the fort was attacked, and make them imitate the example of the deserters, were opened as soon as day-light fully appeared, and fired upon the assailants wherever they could be reached. The eastern fork of the two branches of the river which surround the island, Tippoo had occupied with a palace and gardens. The English took up a strong position in front of these gardens, completely across the island, where they commanded the fort to the Carighaut hill, and occupied the lines and batteries by which it was guarded. A little after day-light, a body of the enemy's infantry approached under cover of old houses and walls; but were repulsed. The Sultan's redoubt became the next point of attack. The corps which had been left in it, amounted to only about 100 Europeans and 50 Sepoys; yet did they succeed in maintaining their position against repeated assaults. A considerable force advanced, about 5 P. M., to dislodge the troops from the island; but this assault was repulsed without much difficulty, and the night passed without any alarm. The total of killed, wounded, and missing in this brilliant attack, according to the returns of the British army, was 535. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 4000 slain; but the desertions were the principal cause of his diminution of force.* During the night of the 7th, his troops were withdrawn from the redoubts on the north side of the river; and on the morning of the 8th, the remains of his army were collected; the infantry within the

* The killed, wounded, and missing, Colonel Wilks says, amounted to 23,000. Besides the *Bheely Chiefs* from Coorg, many of the *Jumad Dilakers* decamped; and among the European fugitives, was an old Frenchman named Ristette, who had constructed most of the redoubts.

works of the fort, the cavalry and baggage on the south side of the river towards Mysore."*

Arrangements were now made and executed for besieging the fort, which occupied the western extremity of the island, and, with its works, comprehended the space of a mile: the Sultan's new palace and gardens of *Lall Bangh*, covered a similar extent at the eastern extremity. Previously to the war, the space between these gardens and the fort was occupied by the houses and streets of the most flourishing capital, at that time, in the dominions of any native prince in India. With the exception of the *pettah*, or suburb, which constituted the eastern extremity of the town, the rest had been all destroyed to make room for the batteries of the island, and to form an esplanade to the fort. The gardens in which the Sultan delighted, laid out in shady walks of large cypress-trees, and enriched with all the vegetable treasures of the East, were cut to pieces and destroyed, to furnish materials for the siege; while the gorgeous palace adjoining was converted into a hospital. The fort is of a triangular shape, to correspond to the ground on which it stands. The two longest sides are defended by the river, which is deep and broad: the northern face, towards the island, was covered with strong outworks and two broad and massy ramparts, having flank defences, a deep ditch, draw-bridges, and every advantage of modern fortification. Upon this side, however, it was resolved to carry on the attack; and upon the 18th, trenches were opened within 600 yards of the fort. In the mean time, General Abercromby with the Bombay army had effected a junction, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; and

* Mill, v. 366—374.

the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war. The soldiers, in high spirits, prosecuted with activity the operations of the siege, stimulated by the hope of speedily "liberating with their own hands the survivors of their murdered countrymen;" and they were so far advanced as to enable Lord Cornwallis to calculate with certainty on opening his breaching batteries on the 1st of March. On the 24th of February, however, orders were received by the troops in the trenches, to forbear working, and to desist from hostilities. "The soldiers," says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, could with difficulty be restrained from continuing their work." And their impatience and indignation became almost uncontrollable, when, for several hours after they had ceased, the troops of Tippoo continued to fire both with cannon and musketry; "a barbarous bravado, intended to shew that he was the last to resign the contest, and that he had effected peace by the vigour of his defence." Conferences had been for some days going on without any relaxation of the military operations on either side;*

* On the 18th of January, the Sultan had renewed his attempt to obtain Lord Cornwallis's reception of an envoy. "Send hither the garrison of Colombetoor," was his Lordship's reply, "and then we will listen to what you have to say." On the 8th of February, Tippoo sent for two of the officers whom he had detained in violation of the articles of capitulation, and charged them with presents and letters to Lord Cornwallis. On the same day, Colonel Wilks states, he despatched a body of horse to make an attempt upon his Lordship's head-quarters, which had been fixed in an exposed situation. They had penetrated to the camp without discovery, being mistaken for a part of the confederate troops, and on asking for the tent of the Burra Sahib, were without suspicion directed to that of the officer of artillery: towards this, they galloped with drawn sabres, supposing it to be that of Lord Cornwallis;

and with difficulty had the proud mind of the Sultan been brought to submit to the humiliating terms of the preliminary treaty. The substantial conditions were; that he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies, pay three crores and thirty laks of rupees, and give up two of his sons as hostages for the due execution of the treaty. But when, in adjusting the terms of the definitive treaty, the principality of Coorg was found to be included in the English share, the Sultan became frantic with rage. During the studied procrastination that ensued, it was observed, that repairs were actively carried on within the fort; and the vakeels began to bluster and temporize. Tippoo had already, indeed, sent his sons and a crore of rupees to the English camp; but these pledges of sincerity had gained him an invaluable portion of time; and on the other hand, he was aware that the three weeks which had elapsed since the commencement of the armistice, had been productive of consequences seriously detrimental to the besiegers. The troops, from inaction and the insalubrity of a standing camp, had become unhealthy; a pestilent endemic began to make its appearance; and the hospitals had been for some time increasing their numbers in an alarming degree. Much of the materials for the siege, constructed of dried cypress, had perished; and the trenches were so far damaged as to require to be made anew, in case of prosecuting the siege. Besides this, it afterwards appeared, that one of the individuals intrusted with the conduct of the joint negotiation, held a *secret correspondence* with the Sultan during the whole period. The moment was critical; and Lord Cornwallis did

but the alarm was given, and they made their escape. After the release of the prisoners taken at Colambore, Tippoo's vakeels were, on the 14th, admitted to treat.

not hesitate as to his line of action. The hostages were moved in the direction of the Carnatic; the guns were ordered into the batteries, and every other preparation was made for renewing the siege, when Tippoo, alarmed by this prompt proceeding, signed, on the 19th, the definitive treaty.

By the cessions now made, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the Toombudra, their frontier in 1779. The share allotted to the Nizam, reached from the Krishna beyond the Penna, and included the forts of Gunjeotah and Cudapa, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg; the province of Dindigul, which had jutted inconveniently into their southern provinces; and Baramahal, forming "an iron boundary" for Coromandel.*

Lord Cornwallis, having determined not to prosecute the war to the annihilation of Tippoo's power, endeavoured to reconcile him as far as possible to his humbled condition. "It is to this desire," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "that we must attribute the restoration of Bangalore; a concession which surprised the allies. There can be no doubt that our retaining that important fortress, and the districts which connected it with the lands above the Ghauts, would have been the most complete defence against his future hostility. In a military point of view, it had much more importance than Coorg, which Lord Cornwallis determined upon keeping, not from any consequence he

* Wilks, iii. 240—250. Mill, v. 393—5. The military history of this campaign has been given with clearness and precision in Major Dirom's Narrative, 1 vol. 4to., and in Mackenzie's "Sketch of the War with Tippoo Sultaun," 2 vols. 4to. Colonel Wilks's spirited narrative (vol. iii. c. 4) has supplied some interesting details; but Mr. Mill's masterly abstract is altogether the most satisfactory account of the war, and has been closely followed.

attached to it as a position for troops, but from regard to good faith, and from a knowledge that Tippoo wished to retain it that he might wreak his vengeance on a prince, whose greatest crime was the zeal and attachment he had displayed in favour of the English. It appears from the conferences with Tippoo's envoys during the negotiation, that his Lordship did every thing he could do, short of a sacrifice of faith and of essential interests, to conciliate the Sultan. His reception and treatment of the hostage princes was more than kind; it was parental. The whole course of his conduct on this memorable occasion, exhibited a union of good feeling, manly simplicity, and firmness, which added as much as his victories in the field to the fame of his country."*

No specific change was made, after the termination of the war, in the relations between the Company and the Nizam: his weakness made that chief desirous of maintaining the useful alliance he had formed, and the subsidiary force continued in his service. Between the English and the Mahrattas, jealousies quickly arose. The latter saw with regret the shield of the British power held up between them and the Nizam, whom they had long destined for their prey. But an additional cause of dissatisfaction was, the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer the British detachment to be permanently attached to the army of the Peishwa, in the same manner and on the same terms as that in

* Malcolm, i. 69—88. By Mr. Mill, the conduct of his Lordship and the treaty are severely criticised. He remarks, that the Company had added by conquest to their territories, in violation of the declared sense and enactments of parliament: that the territorial revenues of the ceded country were not equal to the interest of the money expended in the war: and that Tippoo was still left a powerful and exasperated enemy. Mill, v. 392.

the service of the Nizam. His Lordship had reason to believe, that this subsidiary force, though asked for under the pretext that it would be employed only to enable the Peishwa to reduce to obedience any of his refractory dependents, was really desired as a weapon against Madhojee Sindia, whose growing power the Poonah ministers beheld with reasonable jealousy. While the armies were before Seringapatam, and the Sultan was yet unsubdued, Sindia had marched towards Poonah with an army, and not only alarmed Nanah Furnavese, who governed in the name of the Peishwa, but was regarded with suspicion by the English themselves. When the English, before the war, were bidding so high for alliances against Tippoo, Sindia too offered his services to sale; but he asked an exorbitant price. He required that two battalions of the British troops should join his army as an auxiliary force, to assist him in the reduction of the Rajpoot princes, and in the prosecution of his schemes of aggrandisement; terms which by no means accorded with the policy of the English. Having now established the dominion given him by the policy of Mr. Hastings, over the Mogul provinces, he employed in his own favour the remaining authority of his imperial captive. He at this time possessed a large and formidable corps of regular infantry, under European officers (mostly French); he had erected foundries and arsenals, and in short, had made the most considerable accumulation of all the instruments of war belonging to any prince in India. Sensible, however, as Lord Cornwallis was of the rapid and formidable increase of his power, he regarded all direct attempts to check his career, either as imprudent, or as contrary to the act of parliament, and unlikely to obtain the concurrence of the ruling powers at home. When, however, intel-

ligence arrived in July from Delhi, that the Emperor had signified his hope of obtaining, through the exertions of the Peishwa and Sindia, some tribute from Bengal, the British Resident at Sindia's court was instructed to make a spirited remonstrance, and to caution the Mahratta how he forced the British Government to depart from the neutral and pacific system which it had hitherto observed, by any such rash insult or unjust demand.

Of the new arrangements made by Lord Cornwallis with the Nabob of Arcot and the Vizier of Oude, it is scarcely worth while to speak, as they were merely of a financial nature, and failed to accomplish the intended results. Until the last year of his Lordship's administration, peace existed between Great Britain and France; a circumstance of vast importance in the war against Tippoo, as it had enabled him to call into operation the whole of the British force in India. In 1793, when accounts were received of the declaration of war against the French Republic, Pondicherry was once more attacked and taken, by an army from Fort St. George, under Major-General Sir John Brathwaite; and Lord Cornwallis, who had hastened from Bengal to take the direction of this service, found that the enterprise was already accomplished, by which the whole of the French settlements in India were added to the English possessions. His Lordship did not return to Calcutta, but sailed for England in August 1793. In the same year, the charter of the East India Company was renewed for a term of twenty years.*

* The judicial and fiscal reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis into the administration of the Indian Government, it does not fall within our province to notice. A right and acute analysis and examination of them occupies the sixth chapter of Mr. Mill's sixth book.

For the immediate successor of Lord Cornwallis, choice was made of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Shore, a civil servant of the Company. "Pacific habits and skill in revenue," qualifications by which Mr. Shore was distinguished, "were possibly," remarks Mr. Mill, "regarded as means abundantly necessary for realizing those pecuniary promises which had been so loudly and confidently made to both the parliament and the people of England." The alternation of a military and a civil supremacy, of a vigorous and aggressive, and a pacific and economical Government, has proved, however, the bane of our Indian possessions. The General was now succeeded by the Financier, and events soon gave occasion for the display of a total revolution in the policy of the British Government. The first important circumstance which solicited the attention of the new Governor-General, was the appearance of an approaching rupture between two of the late confederates; the Nizam and the Mahrattas. The dominions of the former had long been subjected to the Mahratta *chout*; and, previously to the formation of a connexion between the Hyderabad Government and Lord Cornwallis, the Mahrattas exercised so great an authority in his dominions, that the minister of the Nizam was more attentive to the wishes of the Mahrattas, than to the commands of his

His Lordship's grand measure, that of making the zemindar the proprietor of the soil, on the payment of a fixed and unalterable land-tax, had for its object, to establish a landed aristocracy in the persons of that class: but the project, Mr. Mill affirms to have completely failed. The alterations in the judicial system have given to the subjects of the British Government in India, a heterogeneous compound of English and Mohammedan law, so ingeniously contrived as to combine the leading defects of both. The financial affairs of the Company, after all the reforms and the acquisitions of territory, proved to be left in a somewhat worse state by his Lordship, than they were left by Hastings.

master. During the necessity of their joint exertions for the subjugation of Tippoo, the Mahrattas had yielded to a temporary relaxation of their influence over the country of the Nizam; but they now intended to resume it; and a long arrear of *chout* afforded the pretext for interference. The English Government offered its mediation, which the Mahrattas met with evasion; and no sooner were they convinced that the interposition of the Governor-General would certainly not be supported by arms, than they treated his proposals with insulting indifference. At the same time, Tippoo Sultan had an army in the field, and was suspected to be meditating a confederacy with the Mahrattas for the subjugation of the Nizam. To abandon their ally to his fate, in despite of the claims which the treaty of alliance gave him on the assistance of the English, at least against Tippoo, might seem, on the one hand, to have the appearance at once of weakness and infidelity. On the other hand, the Mahrattas still sustained the character of allies; and their friendship was considered as outweighing the sacrifice of the Nizam; while the act of the legislature clearly prohibited the Company's servants from interfering in the mutual quarrels of the native princes, unless to oppose an actual invasion of the British provinces.*

Before hostilities commenced between the Soubahdar and the Mahrattas, Madhajee Sindia died; but

* Sir John Malcolm, writing in the spirit of a military statesman, strongly condemns Lord Teignmouth's pacific policy, to which he was content "to sacrifice part of that high reputation and character which the conduct of his immediate predecessor had obtained for the British Government in India." Mr. Mill gives the lawyer's view of the question, involving consequences and considerations which, he thinks, Sir John overlooks.—Mill, vi. 21—28. Malcolm, i. ch. 3.

his death produced no change in the state of parties. His nephew and successor, Dowlut Row Sindia, soon assembled his army from the remotest parts of his dominions, and obtained an ascendancy at once in the Poonah councils and in the confederacy which was forming against the Nizam. Early in March, both armies took the field. The Nizam had advanced to Beder, where Dowlut Row Sindia hastened to give him battle. An indecisive action took place; but the Nizam retreated during the night, and shut himself up in the small fort of Kurdlah. Here he was blockaded by the Mahrattas; and, after remaining for some weeks in this miserable situation, he found himself compelled to conclude a peace on such terms as they were pleased to dictate. He was required to cede territories yielding a revenue of 35 laks, including the celebrated fortress of Dowlatabad; to pay three crores of rupees; and to give up as a hostage for the performance of these conditions, his able minister, and the zealous friend of the English, Azeem ul Omrah. The death of the young Peishwa, Madhoo Row, in October 1795, was a fortunate event for the Nizam, as it led to the mitigation of these hard conditions. Nanah Furnavese desired to place upon the vacant *musnud*, an infant whom he could use as a tool; and, anxious to strengthen himself by the alliance of the Nizam, he released Azeem ul Omrah, and resigned all the cessions extorted at Kurdlah. In the mean time, Bajee Row, the son of Ragoba, and the undoubted heir, was supported by the influence of Sindia, who, hastening to Poonah, with an army which his rival was unable to oppose, placed Bajee Row upon the throne. The new treaty with the minister of the Nizam was of course annulled; but a fresh one was

concluded, by which he was required to make good, only one fourth of the cessions and payments originally imposed upon him.

The intercourse with Tippoo, during the administration of Sir John Shore, was bounded by the execution of the treaty of Seringapatam. When, in its fulfilment, the sons of Tippoo were restored, (March 29, 1794,) the officer who conducted them, was empowered to make overtures towards a more amicable connexion, provided that a favourable disposition manifested itself on the part of the Sultan. But, on this occasion, Tippoo disdained to practise hypocrisy, and received the offer with frigid civility. The only other events which demand notice, are, the death of the Vizir of Oude, Asof ul Dowlah, in 1797, and the dethronement of his son, on a charge of spuriousness, in favour of Saadut Ali, his uncle; the death of the old Nabob of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, in 1795, at the age of 78; and the complete reduction, in the same year, of the Dutch settlements on Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope. In the beginning of 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned the Government of India, and sailed for England. He was succeeded, after some mysterious intrigues and fluctuations of counsel at home, by the Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley).*

The new Governor-General arrived at Calcutta on

* Lord Hobart had been nominated successor to Marquis Cornwallis as Governor-General; agreeably to the understanding with which he had left England; but the appointment was over-ruled. In 1797, Lord Cornwallis was nominated Governor a second time; but he was induced to decline the honour.

the 17th of May, 1798; "carrying out with him," says Mr. Mill, "a mind more than usually inflamed with the ministerial passions then burning in England, and in a state peculiarly apt to be seized both with dread and with hatred of any power that was French." He reached India, says Sir John Malcolm, "at a period of a most critical nature for British interests in that quarter of the globe. The hostile designs of Tippoo Sultaun were ripe for execution. A French party was paramount at the courts both of the Nizam and of Sindia. The court of Poonah was at the mercy of the latter chief; and that of Berar was known to be adverse to the English...The accounts which had been received of the landing of the French army in Egypt, and the immediate or remote connexions which that expedition was supposed to have with an attempt upon India, had confirmed Lord Wellesley in his belief of the necessity of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or depriving him of the means to co-operate with that nation in any project hostile to the British Government." Referring to the pages of this accomplished officer, the panegyrist of Lord Wellesley, and to those of the philosophical civilian, for the opposite views taken of the Governor-General's aggressive policy,* we shall confine ourselves to a brief account of the great events to which it led.

* See Malcolm's Pol. His. i. 194—207. Mill, vi. 84—96. Mr. Mill argues, that the ground of alarm was wholly chimerical; that no change had taken place since the treaty of Seringapatam, to call for a violation of that treaty, in direct contempt of the act of parliament; that, after the destruction of the French fleet by Lord Nelson in Aboukir Bay, it was impossible that Tippoo could have aid from France; that the French islands, having thrown off all connexion with the Mother Country, looked to British protection; and that before the war with Tippoo had commenced, every

Scarcely had Lord Mornington taken possession of his government, than he announced the warlike nature of his policy, by directing the immediate equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; and he expressed his disappointment at finding, that the assembling of a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, would require much longer time than he had apprehended. It was his Lordship's original intention, to attack the Sultan instantly, on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating, or rather of anticipating his hostile preparations. In the policy of this measure, the Madras Government by no means concurred; and at a public meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, held July 24, 1798, the Advocate-General earnestly deprecated the renewal of the war. Not discouraged by their opposition, the Governor-General insisted on the immediate execution of his orders. During the interval of preparation, overtures were made to the court of Hyderabad, for a closer alliance with the British Government; and on the 1st of Sept., a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment of British troops in the service of the Nizam, was increased from two to six battalions, on condition of his dissolving the French corps which had been raised by M. Raymond, and surrendering the officers as prisoners of war. As the Nizam shewed some hesitation in fulfilling these terms, the French cantonments were suddenly surrounded by the whole of the British force, with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry; and in a few hours, a corps of 14,000 men,

reasons by which its necessity had been plausibly supported, had, through a change of circumstances, lost its force; that, finally, the real ground of war, though fervently disclaimed, was the love of conquest.

who had in their possession a train of artillery and an arsenal well supplied, were completely disarmed, and their officers arrested as prisoners. The negotiations simultaneously set on foot with the court of Poonah, were not equally successful; they led, in fact, to no decisive results.

On the 8th of November, the Governor-General, having placed his armies in a posture for action, and accomplished these essential measures of precautionary policy, felt himself prepared to make his first communication to the Sultan, in which the expressions were conciliatory, rather than hostile. After expostulating with him on the connexion which he had recently formed with the inveterate enemies of the Company and the British nation, his Lordship stated his intention to send an envoy, Major Doveton, to communicate to him the plan which, in the opinion of the British Government and its allies, was adapted to remove all existing distrust and suspicion, and to establish peace and good understanding on the most solid foundations. The terms contemplated were, the establishment of permanent Residents, on the part of the Company and their allies, at Seringapatam, the dismission of all the French then in the Sultan's service, and the perpetual exclusion of the French from his armies and dominions. For the purpose of accelerating measures, whether of a pacific or a hostile description, his Lordship deemed it expedient to be near the scene of action; and in a second letter, dated Dec. 10, he acquainted the Sultan with his intention of repairing to Madras. On his arrival at that Presidency, on the 31st, he found a letter awaiting him from Tippoo, disclaiming all hostile intention, and appealing to the existing treaty as affording the most proper adjustment of the rights and

interests of the contracting parties.* In replying to this evasive and deceptive letter, (so it was regarded,) the Governor-General explicitly declared, that a new arrangement had become indispensably necessary, in consequence of the new engagements into which Tippoo was affirmed to have entered with the enemies of the allies; and he recommended, that only one day should be taken to reply to his letter. No reply, however, was received till the 13th of February, nearly a month after the letter had reached the Sultan; and this merely gave a cold and ungracious consent to receive the envoy about whose coming his Lordship's "friendly pen" had repeatedly written, if "slightly attended." The tardiness of the reply had been considered as a rejection of the proposal for an amicable negotiation, and the delay was ascribed to a design to procrastinate till the favourable season for the attack of his capital should be past. Under such impressions, (which were greatly strengthened by Tippoo's deputing at this period another embassy to the Isle of France,) the British army under General Harris, and that of the Nizam under Meer Allum, had already

* "The proposition of sending to him a deputy, and opening a negotiation, appeared to him," says Mr. Mill, "to imply that new sacrifices were to be exacted of him." Col. Wilks says, that Tippoo had sagacity enough to conjecture rightly, that the means alluded to by the Governor-General could be no other than depriving him of his remaining sea-coast in Canara, "thereby excluding him from communicating with the French, and from the only possible chance of retrieving his affairs. If his destruction was predetermined, let it come! (he said;) the sooner the better!" Wilks, iii. 374. This Writer adds, (p. 379,) that "it is believed by those who had the best opportunities of judging, that the confident assurances of the French officers, were the efficient cause of diverting the Sultan's mind from the only wise resolution it was in his power to form (after receiving Lord Wellesley's letter of Jan. 9), and produced his ultimate destruction."

been directed to advance against his dominions; and his letter was answered, by referring him to General Harris as the medium of all future communications.

The army which had assembled at Velore, exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry and 4,300 Europeans. It was joined, before the commencement of its march, by the whole of the British detachment serving with the Nizam, 6,500 strong; together with an equal number of the Nizam's infantry, and a large body of cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cannanore under General Stuart, amounted to 6,429 men, of whom 1,617 were Europeans. All this force, together with another detachment from the southern districts, was directed against the sovereign of Mysore, who, six years before, had been stripped of one-half of his dominions. On the 5th of March, General Harris entered the Mysore territory; and his orders were, to march directly upon the capital, without regard to the communication behind, and by a single blow to terminate the contest. The British army was, however, overloaded with equipments; it carried an enormous train of battering cannon; and a prodigious mass of vehicles were required for the transportation of the provisions and stores. To all this was added the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's army, a host of Brinjarries, and the innumerable camp-followers. No sufficient measures had been prepared for the orderly movement of this vast, unwieldy machine. So great was the confusion, that the army was compelled repeatedly to halt, and to destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were incumbered: the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores was carried so far as to excite, at length, some degree of alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught

and carriage bullocks died in the march*, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the efforts of the enemy.

In the mean time, General Stuart had crossed the western frontier, and on the 6th of March, had been attacked, near Periapatam, by the Sultan with a superior force. After a brisk action, Tippoo drew off his army, and, afraid to strike a second blow, returned to Seringapatam, whence he hastened to meet the army approaching from the east. At Malvilly, a rencounter took place, in which the loss of the English was computed at sixty-nine men; that of the Sultan at above a thousand. After this, the English army, by taking a route unexpected on the part of Tippoo, advanced without opposition, and on the 5th of April, took up its ground for the siege of the capital.† On the 14th, the Bombay army effected its junction. On the 15th, the alarming discovery was made, that eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, was all that remained in the camp, and that, consequently, supplies must arrive before the expiration of that time, if the capital should not have fallen, to save the army from extreme distress. Operations were now prosecuted with the utmost vigour. A breaching battery was erected on the night of the 20th; a second was opened on the 2d of May; and on the 3d, the breach appeared to be practicable. Two letters had been received from the Sultan on the 9th and the 20th; the first demanding the reason of the advance of the

* Upwards of 80,000 oxen, chiefly untrained, were employed in the regular branches of the Commissariat.—Wilks, iii. 406.

† "Exactly one month after it passed the enemy's frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a day on the enemy's ground, and not five miles a day from the commencement of its march."—Mill, vi. 167.

English armies, the second proposing a conference. To the latter, General Harris replied by a letter stating that security, not conquest, was the object of the British Government, and transmitting the draught of a preliminary treaty, to which the Sultan's assent was required within twenty-four hours. On the 20th, a third letter arrived from the Sultan, renewing his proposals for a conference; but he was told, that no ambassadors would be received, unless they were accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals as hostages, and a crore of rupees, as already demanded.

From the time that General Harris sat down before the Fort, the Sultan had remained on the ramparts, varying his position according to the incidents of the siege. The angle of the fort on which the attack had been made, was of such a nature, that a retrenchment to cut it off might have been easily effected; and this was counselled by the most judicious of the Mysorean officers. But the mind of the Sultan, which was always defective in judgment, appears to have been prematurely weakened by the difficulties of his situation. After receiving the reply to his last letter, "mixed indications of grief, rather than rage, finally subsided into a silent stupor, from which he seldom seemed to wake, except for the purpose of affecting a confidence by which no one was deceived, that the capital could not be taken." Despairing at last of human aid, the religion which he revered, as well as that which he had cruelly persecuted, were equally had recourse to, as the means of calling down supernatural assistance. While the Moollahs were commanded to offer up prayers in the mosque, the *jelloom* was put in progress by the Brahmins; and the favour of the high priest at Conjeveram was propitiated by costly offerings. The vain science of every sect was

put in requisition, to examine the influence of the planets, and to interpret their imaginary decision. "Either from chance or from right judgement respecting objects more real than those of their pretended science, the astrologers had exhibited to the Sultan a set of diagrams, from which they gravely inferred, that as long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out; that he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; and on that day, they dared only to recommend that the Sultan should present the prescribed oblations for averting a calamity." On the fatal morning, the Sultan, in pursuance of these directions, proceeded to the palace, bathed, and presented the oblation; he, moreover, attempted to ascertain the aspect of his fortunes by the form of his face reflected from the surface of a jar of oil, which constituted a part of the oblation; and having finished these ceremonies about noon, he was about to begin his mid-day repast, under a small tent at his usual station, when intelligence was brought him of the death of Seyed Goffar, his ablest officer. Tippoo was greatly agitated, but gave the proper orders in consequence, and sat down to his repast. Before he had finished, a report was brought to him, that the assault had actually commenced. He instantly ordered the troops which were about him to stand to their arms, commanded the carbines to be loaded, which the attendants carried for his own use, and hastened along the northern rampart to the breach.

The English troops destined for the service had been placed in the trenches before day-light, that no extraordinary movement might serve to put the enemy on their guard; but the hour of one had been fixed on for the assault, as that at which, from the known

habits of the natives, who were then accustomed to give themselves up to a season of repose, they would be the least prepared for resistance. "The state of silent and awful expectation in the trenches throughout the army, as the hour approached, may be more easily imagined," says Colonel Wilks, "than described. The distinguished officer appointed to lead the assault," Major-General Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service, "beheld those walls within which he had himself been immured in irons during a tedious imprisonment of nearly four years; and the prospect of avenging the wrongs which he had witnessed and partaken, roused him to the highest pitch of animation," which he seems to have communicated to his men. "A small but gallant band of Mysoreans met the forlorn hope on the slope of the breach; the greater portion of both fell in the struggle; but, in less than seven minutes from the period of issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach.

"It had been regulated, that, as soon as the assailants surmounted the rampart, one half of them should wheel to the right, the other to the left, and that they should meet over the eastern gateway. The right, which was led by General Baird, met with little resistance; both as the enemy, lest retreat should be cut off, abandoned the ramparts, and as the inner rampart of the south-western face was exposed to a perfect enfilade. The assailants on the left were opposed in a different manner. Lieut.-Col. Dunlop, by whom it was commanded, received a wound in the ascent; and the Sultan passed the nearest traverse, as the column quitted the breach. A succession of well-constructed traverses were most vigorously defended; and a flanking fire of musketry from the inner ram-

part did great execution upon the assailants. All the commissioned officers attached to the leading companies, were soon either killed or disabled; and the loss would, at any rate, have been great, had not a very critical assistance been received. When the assailants first surmounted the breach, they were not a little surprised by the sight of a deep and, to appearance, impassable ditch between the exterior and interior lines of defence. A detachment of the 12th regiment, having discovered a narrow strip of the terreplein, left for the passage of the workmen, got up the inner rampart of the enfiladed face, without much opposition, and, wheeling to the left, drove before them the musketeers who were galling the assailants of the left attack; and they at last reached the flank of the traverse, which was defended by the Sultan. The two columns of the English, on the outer and inner rampart, then moved in a position to expose the successive traverses to a front and flank fire at the same time; and forced the enemy from one to another, till they perceived the British of the right attack, over the eastern gate, and ready to fall upon them in the rear; when they broke, and hastened to escape. The Sultan continued on foot during the greater part of this time, performing the part of a common soldier, rather than of a General, firing several times upon the assailants with his own hands. But a little before the time at which his troops relgard the contest, he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a severe wound when young, and ordered a horse.—When abandoned by his men, instead of seeking to make his escape, which the proximity of the water-gate would have rendered easy, he made his way toward the gate into the interior fort. As he was crossing

to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket-ball in the right side nearly as high as the breast, but still pressed on, till he arrived at the gate. Fugitives, from within as well as from without, were crowding in opposite directions to this gate; and the detachment of the 12th had descended into the body of the place, for the purpose of arresting the influx of the fugitives from the outer-works. The two columns of the assailants, one without the gate and one within, were now pouring into it a destructive fire from both sides, when the Sultan arrived. Endeavouring to pass, he received another wound from the fire of the inner detachment; his horse also, being wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground, while his friends dropped rapidly around him. His attendants placed him in his palankeen; but the place was already so crowded and choked up with the dead and the dying, that he could not be removed. According to the statement of a servant who survived, some English soldiers, a few minutes afterwards, entered the gate-way; and one of them offering to pull off the sword-belt of the Sultan, which was very rich, Tippoo, who still held his sabre in his hand, made a cut at him with all his remaining strength. The man, wounded in the knee, put his firelock to his shoulder; and the Sultan, receiving the ball in his temple, expired.

"The two bodies of assailants, from the right and the left, had met over the eastern gateway; and the palace was the only place within the fort not now in their possession. In this, the faithful adherents of Tippoo, whose fate was yet unknown, were expected to make a desperate stand in defence of their sovereign and his family. The troops, exhausted by the heat and the toils of the day, stood in need of refresh-

ment. In the mean time, Major Allan was sent with a guard to inform the persons within the palace, that, if they surrendered immediately, their lives should be secured; that any resistance, on the other hand, would be fatal to them all. When that officer arrived at the palace, before which a part of the British troops were already drawn up, he observed several persons in the balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. Upon communicating his message, the Kelledar, another officer of distinction, and a confidential servant, came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They exhibited great embarrassment and a disposition to delay; upon which the British officer reminded them of their danger, and, pledging himself for the protection of the inmates of the palace, desired admittance, that he might give the same assurance to the Sultan himself. They manifested strong aversion to this proposition; but the Major insisted upon returning with them; and desiring two other officers to join him, they ascended by the broken wall, and lowered themselves down on a terrace, on which there was a number of armed men. The Major, carrying a white flag in his hand, which he had formed, on the spur of the occasion, by fastening a cloth to a serjeant's pike, assured them it was a pledge of security, provided no resistance was attempted; and, as an additional proof of his sincerity, took off his sword, which he insisted upon placing in the hands of the Kelledar. All affirmed, that the family of the Sultan was in the palace, but not the Sultan himself. Their agitation and indecision were conspicuous. The Major was obliged to remind them, that the fury of the troops, by whom they were now surrounded, was with difficulty restrained; and that the consequences of delay

would be fatal. The rapid movements of several persons within the palace, where many hundreds of Tippoo's troops still remained, made him begin to think the situation critical even of himself and his companions, by whom he was advised to take back his sword. As any suspicion, however, of treachery, reaching, in their present state, the minds of the British soldiers, would inflame them to the most desperate acts, probably the massacre of every human being within the palace walls, he had the gallantry as well as presence of mind to abstain from such an exhibition of distrust. In the mean time, he was entreated by the people on the terrace to hold the flag in a conspicuous manner, as well to give confidence to the people within the palace, as to prevent the British troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient of delay, the Major sent another message to the princes. They now sent him word, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured; and in a few minutes, the Killedar returned to conduct him.

"He found two of the princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants." (One of them was recognized as one of the hostages of 1792.) "Major Allan endeavoured, by every mark of tenderness, and by the strongest assurances of protection and respect, to tranquillize their minds. His first object was, to discover where the Sultan was concealed. He next requested their assent to the opening of the gates. At this proposition they were alarmed. Without the authority of their father, whom they desired to consult, they were afraid to take upon themselves a decision of such unspeakable importance. The Major assured them, that he would post a guard of their own sepoys within the palace, and a guard of Europeans

without; that no person should enter but by his authority; that he would return and remain with them, until General Baird should arrive; and that their own lives, as well as that of every person in the palace, depended upon their compliance. Their confidence was gained. Upon opening the gate, Major Allan found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled. It was not safe to admit the troops, who were burning for vengeance. And Major Allan returned to conduct the princes, whose reluctance to quit the palace was not easy to be overcome, to the presence of the General.

"When the persons of the princes were secured, Tippoo was to be searched for in every corner of the palace. A party of English troops were admitted, and those of Tippoo disarmed. After proceeding through several of the apartments, the Kelledar was entreated, if he valued his own life, or that of his master, to discover where he was concealed. That officer, laying his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, protested, in the most solemn manner, that the Sultan was not in the palace; that he had been wounded during the storm; and was lying in a gateway on the northern side of the fort. He offered to conduct the inquirers, and submit to any punishment if he was found to have deceived. General Baird and the officers who accompanied him, proceeded to the spot; covered with a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies, wounded and dead. At first, the bodies were dragged out of the gateway to be examined, it being already too dark to distinguish them where they lay. As this mode of examination, however, threatened to be very tedious, a light was procured, and Major Allan and the Kelledar went forward to the place. After some search, the Sultan's palankeen was

discovered, and under it, a person wounded, but not dead. He was afterwards ascertained to be the Rajah Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, who had attended his master during the whole of the fatal day. This person, being made acquainted with the object of the search, pointed out the spot where the Sultan had fallen. The body being brought out, and sufficiently recognized, was conveyed in a palankeen to the palace. It was warm when first discovered; the eyes were open, the features not distorted; and Major Allan and Colonel Wellesley were, for a few moments, doubtful whether it was not alive. It had four wounds, three in the trunk and one in the temple, the ball of which, having entered a little above the right ear, had lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, the usual girdle of the East, crimson-coloured, tied round his waist; and a handsome pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm; but his ornaments, if he wore any, were gone."*

Thus terminated the short-lived dynasty founded by a daring adventurer on the ruins of the Hindoo House of Mysore. The Sultan, when he lost his empire and his life, was in his forty-seventh year. He was, in person, rather above the middle size (about five feet eight inches), had a short neck and square shoulders, and had become rather corpulent; but his limbs were slender, and his feet and hands remarkably small. His complexion was brown; his eyes were large and full, with small and arched eye-brows; his nose aquiline +

* MSS. vi. 115—122.

† The large limbs, small eyes, aquiline nose, and fair complexion of Hyder, marked the Arabic character derived from the mother.

Altogether, there was, in the expression of his countenance, a dignity which "even the English," says Mr. Mill, "in spite of their antipathy and prejudices, felt and confessed." This appearance, Colonel Wilks says, wore off on further observation; and indeed, it must have been a superficial semblance, having no relation to his real character.

The vices of Tippoo, Mr. Mill thinks, have been exaggerated, under the influence of that "epidemic frenzy" which leads nations to ascribe the most odious qualities to the enemies they dread; and it must be admitted, that the account of his faithless and barbarous conduct towards his enemies, has inevitably led us to view his character in the worst possible light. As a domestic ruler, he may sustain, in some respects, an advantageous comparism with some of the greatest of the Oriental princes; although much of the praise bestowed upon his government, is due rather to the more vigorous administration of his predecessor. "Whether," remarks Major Dirom, "from the operation of the system established by Hyder, from the principles which Tippoo had adopted for his own conduct, or from his dominions having suffered little by invasion for many years, or from the effect of these several causes united, his country was found full of inhabitants, and apparently cultivated to the utmost extent of which the soil was capable; while the discipline and fidelity of his troops in the field, until their last overthrow, were testimonies equally strong, of the excellent regulations which existed in his army. His government, though strict and arbitrary, was the despotism of a politic and able sovereign, who nourished,

Tippoo's singularly small and delicate hands and feet, his large and full eyes, nose less prominent, and much darker complexion, were all marked characteristics of the Indian form."—Wilks, iii. 426.

not oppresses, the subjects who are to be the means of his future aggrandisement; and his cruelties were, in general, inflicted only on those whom he considered as his enemies."

This statement wears the character of impartiality; but it falls short of justice. Tippoo's cruelties were not inflicted upon his enemies only. His conduct towards the Nairs of Malabar and the brave mountaineers of Coorg, may be palliated by representing them as insurgents, although, in fact, they were never subjects; but his atrocious treatment of the Canarese Christians appears to have been as unprovoked as it was inhuman. Towards his Hindoo subjects, he was not less intolerant;* and his conduct in this respect, was in striking contrast with that of his father. For even these cruelties, his religion might be pleaded as his apology: "the rage of Islam" boiled in his breast. But his real disposition is most unequivocally manifested in his criminal edicts. "The laws of Draco," Col. Wilks remarks, "are tender mercies, compared with those which he established. History exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example; combining the terrors of death with obscene mutilation, the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."† Of these and some other parts of his conduct, the only extenuation that can be offered, is, that they were probably the effect of partial derange-

* In 1791, a circumcised Brahmin, Mahomed Abbas, was detected in treasonable correspondence with the enemy. "And how long," said Tippoo, "have you been a traitor?" "From the period that you began to circumcise Brahmins and destroy their temples," was the bold reply.—Wilks, iii. 143.

† Wilks, iii. 203.—The position require the veil of a learned language.

ment.* "The original defects of his mind," remarks Mr. Mill, "arising from the vices of his education, appear to have increased as he advanced in years, and with peculiar rapidity after the loss of his dominions in 1792." That "disease" infected the whole conduct of Tippoo, public and private, and latterly in an extraordinary manner, is admitted by even this candid apologist for the much-defamed Sultan. His restless passion for innovation, his childish fickleness, his bursts of passion, perhaps his inordinate vanity, all indicated a feeble and unsteady intellect. "There was," says a native writer,† "nothing of permanency in his views, no solidity in his counsels, and no confidence on the part of the governed. All was innovation on his part, and the fear of further novelty on the part of others; and the order of to-day was expected to be reversed by the invention of to-morrow. It may be affirmed of his principal measures, however specious, that all had a direct tendency to injure the finances, undermine the government, and oppress the people. All the world was puzzled what distinct character should be assigned to a sovereign who was never the same. He could not be truly characterised as either liberal or parsimonious; as tyrannical or benevolent; as a man of talents, or as destitute of parts. By turns, he assumed the character of each. In one object alone he appeared to be consistent, having perpetually on his tongue the projects of *Jehaud*—holy war. The most intelligent and sincere well-wishers of the House concurred in the opinion of his father, that his heart and

* That his intellect "occasionally tottered on the verge of insanity," was the general opinion even among his own subjects.—See Wilks, iii. 9.

† Seyad Hussein, from whose manuscript this citation is given by Col. Wilks, iii. 462.

head were both defective, however covered with a plausible and imposing flow of words; and they were not always without suspicion of mental aberration."

Tippoo was brave, and, though unable to grasp the plan of a campaign, gave some examples of skill in marshalling a battle. His mental energy failed with the decline of his fortune, but it were unjust to question his physical courage. He fell in the defence of his capital; but it was in performing the duties of a common soldier, not those of a general.* Mr. Mill says, he was religious; that "he spent a considerable part of every day in prayer;" and that "his confidence in the protection of God was one of his snares; for he relied upon it to the neglect of other means of safety." The true character of his religious belief and of his prayers, may be inferred from the closing scenes of his life, in which he had recourse to the divinations of the astrologer, to learn his fate, and to the incantations of the idolaters, for the purpose of averting it. His creed was that of the fatalist. A professed and even bigoted Moslem, he is stated to have placed his own religious exploits in competition with those of the Prophet, and to have given, by the impiety of his pretensions, great offence to the orthodox.† He has the credit of suppressing drunkenness and discountenancing luxury; but how far these reforms were dictated by virtuous intention, may be thought doubtful. "For an eastern prince," says Mr. Mill, "he was full of knowledge;" ‡ but "one of his

* "His failure against the English," Col. Wilks says, "arose from the false policy of neglecting his most efficient arm, the cavalry."

† Wilks, iii. 9.

‡ In his library was a translation of Euclid, with several works of reputation on geometry, mathematics, and astronomy

most remarkable characteristics was the want of judgement." He was "active, acute, ingenious," but superficial, pedantic, and singularly destitute of good sense. From his earliest youth, he was deceitful, cruel, and intractable. "If he had qualities fitted for empire," Col. Wilks remarks, "they were strangely equivocal; the disqualifications were obvious and unquestionable; and the decision of history will not be far removed from the observation almost proverbial in Mysore, that Hyder was born to create an empire, Tippoo to lose one." *

With regard to the character of Hyder, there is less room for a difference of opinion, and his merits and demerits may be summed up in fewer words. He was a sagacious, strong-minded, heartless, cold-blooded tyrant; the most completely divested of moral feeling, perhaps, of all that ever waded through crimes to a throne. Yet, so completely were his crimes the result of calculation, that they were never more or less than the occasion demanded; and he is said never to have achieved through blood, what he was able to effect by fraud. "If he was cruel or unfeeling," remarks Colonel Wilks, "it was for the promotion of his objects, and never for the gratification of anger or revenge. If he was ever liberal, it was because liberality exalted his character, and augmented his power. If he was ever merciful, it was in those cases where the reputation of mercy promoted future submission. His European prisoners were in irons, because they were deemed otherwise unmanageable; they were scantily fed, because that was economical; there was little distinction of rank, because that would have been expensive; but, beyond these

* Wilks, ii. 459—463. Mill, vi. 118—122, v. 389—391.

simple interested views, there was, by his authority, no wanton severity;—there was no compassion, but there was no resentment. It was a political expenditure for a political purpose; and there was no passion, good or bad, to disturb the balance of the account. He carried merciless devastation into an enemy's country, but never beyond the reputed utility of the case. He sent the inhabitants into captivity, because it injured the enemy's country and benefited his own. The misery of the individuals was no part of the consideration; and the death of the greater portion still left a residue to swell a scanty population. With an equal absence of feeling, he caused forcible emigrations from one province to another, because he deemed it the best cure for rebellion; and he converted the male children into military slaves, because he expected them to improve the quality of his army. He gave fair, and occasionally brilliant encouragement to the active and aspiring among his servants, so long as liberality proved an incitement to exertion; and he robbed and tortured them, without gratitude or compunction, when no further services were expected. It was an account of profit and loss, and a calculation whether it was more beneficial to employ or to plunder them.....The tolerant spirit of Hyder reconciled to his usurpation the members of every sect. Appropriate talents regulated his choice of instruments, to the entire exclusion of religious preference; and it may be affirmed, that he was served with equal zeal by men of every persuasion." *

Such was *Hyder's* political system, under which his dominions were brought into that state of comparative

* Wilks, ii. 417, 8; 453.

prosperity which struck the British officers with surprise, and which has been erroneously ascribed to the feebler despotism and less enlightened policy of his son. In the earlier part of Tippoo's reign, the system of his father was still in operation, and his own character had but a negative influence on the prosperity of his immediate subjects. A simple homogeneous despotism, like that of Hyder, steadily administered by the strong hand of power, may certainly be regarded as more compatible with the interests and even happiness of the governed, than the complicated system of chicanery and plunder which the partnership governments of the Company and the native Nabobs elsewhere produced.* Hyder's severity and injustice fell upon the instruments, rather than the objects of his rule. Official men had cause to tremble; but the mass of the population felt, that the vigour of the Government compensated for many ills, and rendered their condition comparatively safe.

The personal character of Hyder, however, was more execrable, because less pitiable than that of his son. He was less cruel, because he was less cowardly; but he was equally ruthless. Hyder's vices, it has been remarked, invariably promoted his political interests; while Tippoo's more frequently defeated them. We must except, however, those personal vices in Hyder, which were connected with his animal gratifications. He was a sensualist of the lowest description; yet,

* "His country was, at least during the *first and better part* of his (Tippoo's) reign, the best cultivated, and his population the most flourishing in India; while, under the English and their dependents, the population of Carnatic and Oude, hastening to deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws ill-adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict."—Mill, iv. 159.

even in his pleasures, he was governed by calculation. He was addicted to drinking, but his excesses were so prudently managed as to be known to few. As he was incapable of sentiment, so he may be said to have been even without passion; he did not yield to licentiousness, but deliberately revelled in it, to the most abominable excess, without compunction or misgiving. He was the master of his vices, coolly and purely wicked.

Of his temper, as of his countenance, he possessed the most disciplined command. His apparent bursts of anger were the effect, not of mental disturbance, but of a wish to inspire terror. "On occasions apparently trivial," we are told, "he would pour forth a torrent of that obscene abuse in which he excelled, on persons of whatever rank; and there were, moreover, in his whole court, not six persons, perhaps, who had not, on some one occasion, sustained the actual lash of his *cúrla* (long whip)."* Hyder was absolutely illiterate; he could neither *read* nor *write* any language; but, besides the Hindoostanee, (his mother tongue,) he spoke with fluency the Canarese, Mahratta, Telegoo, and Tamul languages. He is said to have possessed the rare talent of carrying on, simultaneously, three distinct operations of attention; dictating to a moonshee, receiving a report from another attendant, and following the recital of an account by a third, at the same time. He was a bold horseman, an accomplished swordsman, and, as a marksman, almost unrivalled.† His military pretensions, Col. Wilks remarks, were more favourably displayed in the conduct of a campaign, than of

* Wilks, iii. 435.

† "Volunteers engaged in single combat with the royal tiger in the public shows, confident of being preserved in the last extremity by the fusil of Hyder from the balcony." Ib. 433.

a battle; in the political, rather than in the military conduct of a war. It was the reverse with Tippoo, who was indeed on most points his father's opposite. In his dress, Hyder exhibited an extravagant mixture of the soldier and the fop, and he had a barbarian's fondness for show and parade; in which, however, he might still be governed not more by inclination than by policy. In religion, he was at least half a Hindoo. The whole of his exterior religion consisted in enumerating a few of the Divine attributes on a rosary: the usual forms of prayer, the fasts, and other observances of the Muhammedan faith, he never affected either to know or to practise. His creed consisted in believing that all religions are equally Divine and equally acceptable to God; and it is said, that the great idol in the temple of Seringapatam, called Ranga Sawmey, had certainly as large a share of his respect as all the Imaums, with *Mohammed at their head.**

In a country subject to despotism, the character of the sovereign is the epitome of his reign. We now return to the narrative of the events which followed the death of Tippoo. The English were, by that event, left masters of the kingdom of Mysore; and the momentous question which it remained for the Governor-General to decide, was, how to dispose of it. The plan which he adopted was, the partition of the country between the English and their allies, with a reserve of territory for a pageant Rajah, of the old dynasty. "On the principle of indemnification and security," it was decreed, that the English, on their part, should take to themselves the whole of the territory possessed by the Sultan on the Malabar coast, (that is to say, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of My-

* Wilks, iii. 427.

sore,) together with Coimbetoor and Daramporam, and the whole of the country intervening between the Company's territories on the Coromandel coast and on that of Malabar; also, the forts and pass forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts on the table land of Mysore; the district of Wynaad; and lastly, the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, which was deemed essential to secure the communication between the British territory on both coasts, and to strengthen the lines of defence in every direction. A territory yielding an equal revenue with that which the English took to themselves, was given to Nizam Ali, in the districts of Gooty, Gurramcondah, and the tract of country which lies along the line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar; but without the forts, which, it was thought, would render his territory too strong. The share of territory reserved for the third party in the alliance against Tippoo, (who had abstained, however, from all participation in the war,) and which was to be ceded to them on certain conditions, comprised Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, Annagoondy, and some other districts, with part of the territory (not including the fortresses) of Chittledroog and Bednore: territories equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the portion given to the Nizam. Of the portion which still remained of Tippoo's dominions, to form a separate state, the revenue (estimated at thirteen lahs of pagodas) was greater than that of the ancient Rajahship of Mysore.

The Peishwa, under the dictation of Dowlut Row Sindia, declined to enter into the alliance proposed to him by the British; and the reserved territory was therefore shared, agreeably to the stipulations of the partition treaty, between the Company and the

Nizam. In order to increase still further the efficiency of the alliance with the latter power, a fresh contract was entered into on the 12th of October, 1800, by which the English added two battalions of sepoys and a regiment of native cavalry, to the force which they engaged to uphold in his service; and also bound themselves to defend his dominions against every aggression: while, on his part, the Nizam ceded in perpetual sovereignty, all the acquisitions which he had made from the territory of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or by that of Seringapatam in 1792; and agreed neither to make war nor to negotiate without their concurrence. For the purpose of obtaining the Toongbudra as a clear and distinct boundary, Kupoor, Gujunderghur, and some other districts were given to the Nizam, in exchange for Adwanee and a few places on the southern side of the river. A revenue of 1,760,000 pagodas arose from the districts ceded by this treaty to the English, who, by this means, "acquired a small territory with the obligation of defending a large one."*

The remains of Tippoo Sultan were deposited near those of his father, in the superb mausoleum of the Lâll Baugh, "with all the splendour and distinction which the Mohammedan rites and the military honours of European sepulture could bestow." Immediately after the sons of the Sultan had been removed from Seringapatam, towards the place of their destination, Kistna Raj Oudaver, a child of five years of age,†

* Mill, vi. 137—147. Malcolm, i. 238—246.

† Chuma Raj, whom Hyder had raised to the nominal sovereignty in 1775, died in 1796. Till then, Tippoo had not omitted the customary form of shewing the Rajah to his people once a year, at the feast of the Dussera; but on the death of this prince, the supremacy of even a nominal succession to the musnud was avoided. The Rajah, with the infant heir, then two years old, and the rem-

"a lineal descendant of the ancient family of Mysore," was "installed at the seat of his ancestors, in the presence of an immense multitude of Hindoos." Purneah, a Brahmin of great ability, who had been the chief financial minister of Tippoo, was appointed dusn, with Sir Barry Close as Political Resident; "supported by the cordial co-operation, in the military command, of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley"* (now Duke of Wellington). It is evident that, in point of fact, the entire sovereignty of the country was assumed by the British, of whom the Rajah and his ministers were vice-regents during pleasure. There was no double government, no conflicting authority;† but, by leaving every office, civil and military, to be filled by the natives themselves, not only the submission, but the gratitude of the people was secured. The Rajah served at the same time as "a species of screen, put up to hide at once from Indian and from European eyes, the extent of aggrandisement which the British territory had received." This plan enabled the Governor-General to dismiss Nizam Ali with a much smaller share of the spoils of Tippoo, than would have satisfied him, had the English taken without disguise the whole of what they in this manner silently appropriated. It precluded the Mahrattas from attempting to excite a jealousy of the English. And what was still more an

nant of the family, after being stripped of their personal ornaments, were restored to "a miserable hovel," to which they were found at the capture of Seringapatam.—Wilks, iii. 508.

* Ib., iii. 472.

† "Recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to all parties concerned," said the Governor-General in his despatch, "under the double government and conflicting authorities unfortunately established in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the Company the *real sovereign and indisputable powers.*"

object, perhaps, with the Governor, it imposed completely upon the Legislature at home; while it held out to the Company the flattering expectation, that "the kingdom of Mysore, so long the source of calamity or alarm to the Carnatic, might become a new barrier of our defence, and might supply fresh means of wealth and strength to the Company, their subjects and allies."*

"To the family of Tippoo, if we make allowance for the loss of a throne, as well as to the principal men of his kingdom, the conduct of the Governor-General," Mr. Mill remarks, "was considerate and generous. The fortress of Velore, in the Carnatic, was appropriated for the residence of the Royal family, and fitted up commodiously for their reception, with an allowance for their support, more liberal than that which they had received from Tippoo himself. The principal men were all provided for by jaghеers or pensions, conformable to their rank and influence, with a generosity which not only contented, but greatly astonished them." All the chiefs made their submission without hesitation and delay,† with the solitary exception of Dhoondee, a Mahratta adventurer, who, after serving in the armies both of Hyder and Tippoo, set up for himself at the head of a predatory band, but, at the time of the fall of Seringapatam, had for some years been the Sultan's prisoner. He contrived, on the day of the final assault, to make his escape, and soon collected round him a band of desperate freebooters, which rendered it

* Lord Wellesley's Letter to the Directors. Malcolm, i. 346. Mill, vi. 142.

† "When one of Tippoo's confidential servants was sent to treat with the officer at the head of the cavalry, the celebrated Kummr ud deen Khan, he refused to stipulate for terms, and said, he cast himself upon the generosity of the English."—Mill, vi. 146.

necessary for General Harris to move the army to the northward, to dislodge him. Though deprived of all his posts, he was not, however, as yet destroyed; but, being followed by his partisans to the south, he made such rapid strides towards the establishment of a new empire, that it became necessary to send against him the army left under the Hon. Colonel Wellesley for the defence of Mysore. Dhoondeo displayed no ordinary talents in his defence; and, by his activity and judgement, protracted for several months the efforts employed for his destruction. He at length fell in a charge of cavalry led by the Colonel in person.*

No sooner had Lord Wellesley returned to Bengal from Madras, after the reduction of Tippoo, than he proceeded to accomplish a series of bold *reforms*, which had for their object, to bring the native governments still more absolutely under the control of the Company. The first measure which occupied his attention, was, "the reduction of a part of the mutinous and useless military establishment of the Nabob Vizier, and the increase of the efficient force maintained by the Company to defend that prince's dominions. He was urged to the immediate adoption of this measure," says Sir John Malcolm, "by a strong sense of the dangers to which the Vizier's territories were exposed from internal tumult or foreign attack."

The first step which his Lordship took in the meditated reform, was somewhat extraordinary. A number of Europeans, chiefly British subjects, had established themselves in Oude, where they peacefully pursued their occupations; but the Governor-General announced his fixed determination to "dislodge every European, excepting the Company's servants."† His

* Wilks, iii. 293—5, 433.

† "My wish is," writes his Lordship, "to occasion as little pri-

orders were obeyed; an act of despotic authority for which he was never called to account.

The danger of foreign attack, which formed one of the pretexts for urging upon the Vizir the projected innovations, related to the rumoured preparations of Zemaun Shah, the Afghaun sovereign,* who, in the year 1797, had advanced to Lahore, with the reported design of re-establishing the House of Timour. Towards the close of 1798, he again advanced to Lahore, but was recalled by the alarming progress made by his brother, Mahmood, at the head of a military force in the neighbourhood of Herat. Mahmood was supported in his pretensions as the elder brother, by the sovereign of Persia (the present Futteh Ali Shah); and in 1801, he collected such a force as enabled him not only to defeat his brother, but to render him a captive.† In the mean time, at the suggestion of Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, a splendid embassy to the Court of Tehraun was sent out by the Governor-General, the object of which was to induce the Shah to invade the Afghaun dominions, in order to divert Zemaun Shah from his projected invasion of Hindostan. Captain (now General Sir John) Malcolm, who had lately been assistant to the British Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, was chosen as the envoy; and to his diplomatic skill and engaging

vate distress as possible, but the public service must take its course, and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure."—Mill, vi. 134.

* Zemaun Shah had succeeded his father, Timour Shah, the son of the celebrated Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty, in the year 1798.

† His eyes were put out, and he remained in confinement all Mahmood's reign, but was released by his successor. The history of the Durraunee monarchy is given by Mr. Elphinstone. (Vol. ii. App. A.)

manners, the success of the negotiation is greatly attributable. The embassy proceeded from Bombay, December 29, 1799; and before the end of the ensuing year, a treaty of alliance had been concluded, by which the Persian monarch engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghauns, if ever they should invade India, and to extirpate any French force that might attempt to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia.* In the same year (1800), Lord Wellesley, anxious by every means to guard against the danger of a French invasion, (the object to which all his measures were directed,) equipped an expedition to Egypt. "A considerable force from India, under the command of Sir David Baird, marched from Suez to Alexandria, presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a British army, composed chiefly of the natives of India, on the shores of the Mediterranean." †

To return to the affairs of Oude. The internal state of the country supplied at this time a pretext somewhat stronger than the alleged danger of foreign attack, for accomplishing the intended revolution. Vizir Ali, the deposed Nabob,‡ had hitherto been permitted to reside at Benares; but that place was now thought to be too near his former dominions, and his removal to Calcutta was determined upon. Against this change, the young prince strongly remonstrated, but in vain. On the 14th of Jan., 1799, he paid a visit, by appointment, attended by his usual suite, to

* Malcolm, i. 271. Mill, vi. 100–3. Mehdee Ali Khan, a Hindoo gentleman of Persian extraction, had been sent on a mission to the court of Tehraun by Governor Duncan, in 1798; but the negotiation had not been attended with a satisfactory result.—See Mod. Trav., Persia, i. 236.

† Malcolm, i. 272.

‡ See page 194.

Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, at his house about three miles from Benares. After the usual compliments, he began to speak of the hardship of his coercive removal, and he proceeded to use intemperate language, which Mr. Cherry is represented as having gently attempted to repress. The impetuous youth, however, whether from sudden irritation or from a premeditated purpose of revenge, started up, and made a blow at him with his sword. This, by the law of Eastern manners, was a signal to his attendants. Mr. Cherry, in endeavouring to make his escape through a window, received a blow from a poniard, which stretched him lifeless on the floor, and two other gentlemen in the room met the same fate. The assassins then hurried to the houses of other Englishmen; but, after sacrificing two more lives in their progress, they were so vigorously resisted by a gentleman who possessed himself of a narrow stair-case, and defended it against their ascent, that time was given for the arrival of a party of horse; upon which they betook themselves to flight. So little preparation had Vizir Ali made for this explosion, that he was obliged to leave behind him whatever property he possessed, the furniture of his zenana, his elephants, and even some of his horses. He retired to the wooly country of Bhootwal, where he was joined by several disaffected zemindars; and he soon found himself at the head of an army of several thousand men. With this force, he descended into the plains of Goorukpoor, the eastern district of Oude, and threw the whole kingdom into alarm. At Lucknow, the outrage upon the British Resident had been regarded as the eruption of a conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government; and the weak and timid Saadut Ali, distrustful of his own troops, intreated that the English battalion

might be sent from Cawnpoor for the protection of his own person. He urged these suspicions, moreover, as an excuse for not joining with his forces the British army assembled to chastise the offender, and who accordingly proceeded to meet him in the field. Some partial rencounters, in which Vizir Ali's troops suffered severely, and the narrow limits to which they were reduced, soon disheartened his followers, and they began to abandon him in great numbers; upon which he took refuge with the Rajah of Jyepoor. He remained under his protection till the following December, when the Rajpoot made his terms with the British Government, and delivered up the fugitive, who was carried to Fort William, and placed in close confinement.

The Vizir had unwittingly furnished the Governor-General with the most plausible reason for urging the disbanding of a military force which he had represented as inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of his own dominions, and upon which he could place so little reliance as to require the protection of an English battalion. Lord Wellesley's plan was, to replace that force with an army exclusively British. On the first proposal of this reform, the Vizir intimated his intention to abdicate in favour of his son; assigning as his reasons, the disloyal and refractory disposition of his subjects, and his own weariness of the fatigues and cares of government. But when he found that he would not be allowed to nominate a successor, but that he was expected to transfer the complete authority, civil and military, of his hereditary dominions, to the Company, at a stipulated price, he revolted at the ignominious bargain, and expressed his wish to retain the charge of his government. The Governor-General, disappointed

and provoked at this apparent vacillation, now used little ceremony in compelling the Vizir to submit to his measures. In the execution of them, however, he observed a generous policy. The delicate business of disbanding the troops of the Vizir, by which so many armed men were to be deprived of their accustomed means of subsistence, was conducted in a manner highly creditable to the ability as well as the feelings of the gentlemen upon whom it devolved. "As considerable arrears were always due to native troops, and seldom fully paid, the complete discharge of arrears, on which the British Government insisted, was a powerful instrument of conciliation. When dissatisfaction any where appeared, every effort was employed to correct misapprehension; patience was exercised; the means of coercion were exhibited, rather than used; pardon was liberally extended, even when resistance had been overcome; and before the end of the year, the measure was, in great part, carried into effect, without bloodshed or commotion." *

The military occupation of the kingdom of Oude was now complete; but a difficulty arose as to the maintenance of the additional subsidiary force, the charges of which the Vizir professed himself unable to defray. It was therefore resolved to demand the cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories as should be fully adequate, in their then impoverished condition, to meet the augmented charges. In selecting the portions to be demanded, the object was, to insulate the Vizir, as well for the purpose of precluding him from entering into foreign alliances, as of defending him against invasion. To this end, choice was made of the Doab and Rohilcund;

* Mill, vol. vi. p. 130

and Azimghur and Goorukpoor were also to be demanded, in case that the revenue of the former countries should prove insufficient. The Vizir, aware that resistance was hopeless, endeavoured to save himself from the disgrace of compliance; while the Governor-General wished to avoid the appearance of forcibly seizing the greater part of the Vizir's dominions; and every mode of importunity was exhausted, to extort from the helpless Nabob the appearance of consent. To all the pressing remonstrances with which he was plied, he opposed only professions of passive and reluctant obedience.* At length, in November 1801, the treaty by which he was made the instrument of his own virtual deposition, obtained his unwilling signature.† The gross revenue of the ceded provinces was estimated at 1 crore, 35 laks, 23,474 rupees; being considerably more than half the territorial revenue of the Vizir's whole dominions, but considerably less (we are told by Sir John Malcolm) than the subsidy which he would have been under obligation to furnish, under the treaty concluded by Sir John Shore, as the pay of the Company's troops, now *necessarily* increased to 13,000 men. The advantages accruing to the Company from the treaty, were stated by the Governor-General, to comprise "the entire extinction of the military power of the Nawaub;" the maintenance of a great part of the

* "It is evident," said the Vizir, in a letter dated Sept. 20, 1801, "that I can derive no advantage from alienating part of my country, while I shall not remain master of the remainder."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 212.

† Sir John Malcolm supposes the Vizir's reluctance to have been "assumed, to prevent the unpopularity that would have attached to any appearance of satisfaction with a treaty depriving so many of his dependents of profits." His own representations afford no countenance to this strange supposition.

Bengal army at the Nawaub's expense; the securing of the subsidy against all the contingencies arising from "the corruption, imbecility, and abuse of that vicious and incorrigible system of vexation and misrule which constituted the government of Oude;" and the power acquired by the Company, of becoming "the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity, one of the most fertile regions of the globe, which had been reduced to the most afflicting misery and desolation by the depraved administration of the native government." To adjust the provisional administration and settlement of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the Company were appointed a board of commissioners; and the Hon. Henry Wellesley, the Governor-General's brother and private secretary, was nominated to be Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory, and president of the board.*

Among the territorial cessions exacted from the Vizir, was included the tribute paid to the government of Oude by the Nabob of Furrukabad, a principality extending along the western banks of the Ganges, to the north-west of the Oude territory. The ancestors

* This appointment was resented by the Directors, on the ground that Mr. Wellesley was not one of the Company's servants: but the order for his removal was over-ruled by the Board of Control. On the dissolution of the commission for the settlement of the ceded provinces, in March 1802, Mr. Wellesley resigned his office, and returned to Europe. While the negotiation with the Vizir was still pending, the Bhow Begum, his grand-mother, tendered to the English Government the offer to constitute the Company her heir. The object of the Begum was, to secure herself against the exactions to which she was exposed at the hands of her grandson. Lord Wellesley resolved to accept the proposed legacy, although the law of the country gave her no right to make such a disposal of her property; and it is remarkable, that the spoliation of the Begums by Warren Hastings, was defended upon this very ground, that the sovereign was legal heir to the property of his subjects.—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 227—231.

of the Nabob had long been protected by the Bengal Government against their powerful neighbour, whose wish to dispossess them was no secret. Since 1786, however, he had not been permitted to retain any military force beyond what was required for purposes of state; and now it was deemed necessary still further to *reform* the government, by compelling the Nabob to cede his country in perpetuity to the English, on condition of retaining his title and a pension. With this arrangement, he is represented to have been "highly gratified." Several of the zemindars of the ceded country, however, shewed an aversion to submit to the alterations imposed upon them. One chief, Bugwunt Singh, possessed the two forts of Saunee and Bidjeghur, and maintained an army of 20,000 men. To dispossess him of these forts, it became necessary to employ a considerable force. After a feeble defence, they were both evacuated by their garrisons, who made their escape; and the Rajah withdrew to a fort which belonged to him within the Mahratta frontier. The Zemindar of Cutchoora was another who manifested a refractory spirit: he was besieged in his fort, and made his escape, though with severe loss of his troops, by forcing his way through the surrounding chain of posts. The Rajah Chuzur Saul, who possessed the fort of Tottenah, defended himself with so much success as to overpower the first detachment sent to reduce him. On the arrival of reinforcements, he evacuated the fort, and fled to the other side of the Jumna. These events occurred in 1802, 1803.

While the business of territorial aggrandizement was thus successfully going forward in the Bengal Presidency, it is not to be supposed that his Lordship was unmindful of the urgent necessity for reform pre-

vented by the eternal disorders of the Carnatic. Omdut-ul-Omrah, who succeeded his father, Mohammed Ali, in 1795, had, from the first, shewn little disposition to fulfil his engagements to the Company; and in the last war against Tippoo Sultan, he had withheld the promised supplies in a manner which excited strong suspicions of treachery. Soon after the capture of Seringapatam, documents were discovered among the state papers of the Sultan, containing conclusive evidence of a secret correspondence having been carried on by the two Nabobs of Arcot, father and son, with the Sultan of Mysore. Part of this correspondence was in cipher, the key to which was found among the Sultan's records, and it explained the names used to denote the English and their allies. The English were designated by the name of *Tezo Wareed*, new comers; the Nizam, by that of *Heech*, nothingness; and the Mahrattas, by that of *Pooch*, despicable. No other discovery of importance was elicited, after a long examination of witnesses; but, as this correspondence with the enemy was in direct violation of an article of the treaty of 1792, the deposition of the Nabob might seem to have been a measure of obvious and justifiable policy. The proceeding of the Governor-General was, in this instance, however, singularly cautious and moderate; and the illness of the Nabob occasioned a considerable delay in accomplishing the necessary changes. Omdut-ul-Omrah died, July 15, 1801, bequeathing his sovereignty to his son, Ali Hossein. Attempts were made to induce this young prince voluntarily to transfer the government of the Carnatic principality to the Company; but, as he proved wholly unmanageable, his succession was set aside in favour of Azeem-ul-Dowlah, his cousin, who made little difficulty in ac-

ceping the state and rank of Nabob of the Carnatic, with a handsome provision, as the condition of his delivering over all the powers of government in perpetuity to the English. In the following year (April 6, 1802), the rejected Nabob was carried off by a dysentery.*

The deposition of the Rajah of Tanjore was an easy matter. It had been made a question in 1792, on the conclusion of a peace with Tippoo, whether Ameer Singh should again be entrusted with the civil administration of the country, which had been withdrawn from him during the war; but it was at length agreed to restore it to him in full possession. In 1798, the "convenient discovery" was made, that Ameer Singh was not the legitimate heir to the *musnud*, and he was dethroned in favour of Serfojee, the adopted son of Tuljajee, the last Rajah, who died in 1736. Serfojee, being obviously in a situation to submit implicitly to any terms which the English might prescribe, was easily induced to sign a treaty, dated Oct. 25, 1799, by which he resigned for ever all the powers of government, on condition of receiving a pension of one *lak* of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues.

The Bombay Presidency afforded occasion for another application of the Governor-General's principle of military reform; and the dethronement of the Nabob of Surat was effected with still less ceremony.

* Mill, vol. vi. pp. 232–236. Ameer Singh, the deposed Rajah of Tanjore, died nearly at the same time. Pondicherry having been restored to the French, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens, Bonaparte alarmed the English by sending out a great list of military officers, with 1400 regular troops and 100,000*l.* in specie. The speedy renewal of the war enabled the English to resume possession of the settlement in 1803; but the French admiral, Linois, had intelligence sufficiently prompt to enable him to escape with the fleet.—*Ib.* p. 362.

In May 1800, the Governor of Bombay arrived in person at Surat, to superintend the bloodless revolution; and the Nabob, finding resistance hopeless, executed the treaty ready drawn up by the Governor-General, by which he resigned the government, civil and military, with all its powers and privileges, to the East India Company, the Company agreeing to pay to him and his heirs, a *lak* of rupees annually, together with a fifth of the net revenue. Although thus reduced to a mere pensioner of state, it was still deemed proper for Meer Nasseer-ud-Deen to assume the semblance of royalty. His succession to the *musnud* being now publicly recognized by the British Governor, he was installed with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been invested with all the powers of sovereignty.

In all these transactions, nothing is more remarkable than the singular anxiety displayed, to obtain the assertion of extorted treaties and a constrained acquiescence from the deposed rulers, for arrangements to which such formalities could impart no real validity. It may excite surprise, that it should have been deemed necessary to disguise the Company's sovereignty under so expensive a pageant as that of the royal pensionaries in whose names the government continued to be administered. In the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the English would have been justified, long before, in permanently seizing upon the government of the country, and abolishing the very title of their faithless dependent. When Assem-ud-Dowlah was raised to the *musnud*, the act was declared to be "one of expediency and grace, not of right or justice." "His claims," says Sir John Malcolm, "were to be considered of consequence, only as they served to reconcile to the measure the great

body of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the English territories, and the Mohammedan rulers of neighbouring states." * Yet, unless the Shah of Persia and the sovereign of Caubul be referred to, the only Mohammedan rulers left, were the captive Emperor and the impotent Nizam; and as to the Mohammedan inhabitants, they do not form a tenth part of the population of the South of India. To the great body of the people, if any consideration was bestowed upon the manner in which they might feel affected by these changes, the abolition of a Mohammedan dynasty could be no grievance. They are represented, in fact, as being disaffected towards the very rulers whose nominal government it was thought politic to perpetuate. "Even under the bad system of taxation and the bad system of judicature" adopted by the English, the people, Mr. Mill remarks, were greatly the gainers by the change; and on this ground, he adds, "we should rejoice that every inch of territory within the limits of India were subject to their sway." In short, the annals of history afford no instance of a usurpation so justifiable on every plea except those which were employed to defend it; pleas which, by their hollow and dangerous nature, threw a questionable character over the most beneficent conquests that were ever achieved. It might almost be said, that the only injustice committed, lay in the state pretexts thus set up for measures which had no other warrant than a wise policy and the law of the strongest.†

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 308.

† The pleas set forth by the Governor-General in state papers of formidable length, are acutely examined and exposed by Mr. Mill, vol. vi. pp. 200–300. They answered, however, their designed purpose at the time, in reconciling the Legislature to proceedings,

It remains to give an account of the new relations into which Lord Wellesley entered with the Mahratta states. From the year 1783 to 1802, negotiations had been going forward with the Peishwa, Bajee Row, from time to time, the object of which, on the part of the Governor-General, was to induce him to consign the defence of his dominions to a subsidized British force.* The Peishwa, however, aware that the permanent establishment of a British force in the vicinity of Poonah, would place him in a state of dependence upon the British power, discovered a strong aversion to the project; † and he continued to withhold his consent to any admissible modifications of the Governor General's proposal, until, in October 1802, the approach of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, at the head of a formidable army, compelled him to abandon his

the necessity and policy of which were, at the time, ill understood in England. It must not be forgotten, that the Nabob had his agents in this country, and the Company its enemies. Remonstrances from the rejected Nabob of Carnatic, couched in the most vehement and pathetic language, were transmitted to the home authorities. But the time for such intrigues was gone by.

* In this interval, (March 13th, 1800,) Nana Furnuveez closed his long and able career; "and with him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." "He was, certainly," says Captain Grant Duff, "a great statesman. In the latter unhappy years of his life, he is entitled to the high praise of having acted with the feelings and sincerity of a patriot. He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops, in the manner proposed by the Marquis Wellesley, if the energies of the Government could possibly be restored without their aid. He respected the English, admired their sincerity and the vigour of their Government: but, as political enemies, no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. In private life, he was a man of strict veracity, humane, frugal, and charitable. His whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility."—Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 169.

† Mill, vol. vi. pp. 308—11. A similar proposal was made about this time to Sindia, but he declined the proffered "benefit."

capital, and to throw himself upon the protection of the British. Holkar announced his design in marching to Poonah, to be the putting down of the authority of Sindia, his great rival. On the 25th of Oct. 1802, their two armies engaged. After a warm cannonade of nearly three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge, and that of Sindia gave way, yielding a decisive victory. The Peishwa, on ascertaining the unexpected issue of the battle, fled, with about 7000 followers, to the fort of Singurh; leaving in the hands of his minister, for the British Resident (Colonel Sir Barry Close), a preliminary engagement, binding himself to subsidize six battalions of sepoys, with their proportion of artillery, and to cede a territory, either in Gujerat or the Carnatic, yielding a revenue of twenty-five *laks* of rupees for their support. The wishes of the Governor-General were thus accomplished; and he ratified the engagement on the day on which it was received.

For a short time after his victory, Holkar assumed an appearance of great moderation: he placed guards for the protection of the city, treated all the dependents of the Peishwa with kindness, and used every endeavour to allure him to return to his palace. Bajee Row remained for three days at Singurh, and then hastily retired to Raigurh, whence he pursued his flight to the fortress of Mhar, on the river Bancoote; and not deeming himself safe in any place accessible to Holkar, he despatched letters to the Bombay Government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him and his followers to that island. Disappointed of obtaining possession of the Peishwa's person, Holkar resolved to treat his flight as an abdication, and to raise to the government Amrut Row, the adopted son of the Peishwa's father, the late Ragoba. Amrut Row refused to ascend the *musnud* himself,

but he at length concurred in the elevation of his son, Winaek Row. Holkar now laid aside the mask, and began to extort and plunder with all the violence of his character. Every respectable householder of Poonah was seized and forced to give up his wealth, and several died through the tortures they underwent. These excesses were begun even before Colonel Close quitted Poonah. Both Amrut Row and Holkar employed their earnest endeavours to prevail upon the British Resident to remain, anxious to gain by his presence, the apparent sanction of the British Government to their usurpation; but when it was found that no persuasion could alter his purpose, he was at last permitted to depart on the 20th of November, and he arrived at Bombay on the 3rd of the following month. On the 16th, the Peishwa arrived at Bassein, where he was joined by Col. Close; and on the 31st, a definitive treaty of alliance was concluded between the Peishwa and the British Government. By this treaty, a subsidiary force of not less than 6000 native infantry, with the usual proportion of field artillery and European artillery-men, was to be stationed in the Peishwa's dominions; for the payment of which force, districts yielding twenty-six *laks* of rupees were to be made over to the Company. The Peishwa, moreover, relinquished all claims on Surat and the other districts under the British Government in Gujerat; he submitted to the arbitration of the Company his unsettled disputes with the Nizam and the Guicowar; and he bound himself not to engage in hostilities against other states, or in negotiations with any other power, except in concert with the British Government.*

* Mr. Mill, who devotes about fifty pages to the consideration of the treaty of Bassein, contends, that it was the real cause of the subsequent Mahratta war; that the only end which it answered,

By the treaty of Bassein, Bajee Row ratified his independence as the price of protection; but it was the only course he could pursue, to save himself from becoming, more than ever, a mere pageant in the hands of either Sindia or Holkar. "Scarcely had he ratified the treaty," we are told, "when he began to waver in his plans, and to regret the decided line of policy, so contrary to his disposition, into which he had been hurried by the exigency of his circumstances. Motives of policy, probably, dictated the expression of his regret that Sindia had not been consulted; but there was no insincerity in his strenuous objections to those articles which tended to control his political freedom and influence, and which related to the arbitration of his claims on the Gaekwar and the Nizam; a sacrifice on his part greater than the English authorities seem ever to have fully understood, or, at all events, appreciated. He despatched Ballajee Koonjur to Sindia, and Narrain Rao Wyth to Raghoojee Bhonslay, ostensibly with the view of explaining the nature of the alliance into which he had entered; but, in fact, as he knew they were both

was that of serving as a pretext for undertaking that war; that all that was gained by it, was the dependence of the Peishwa; and he stigmatizes the whole scheme of subsidiary alliances as a complicated apparatus, answering no good purpose. Sir John Malcolm argues, that the treaty of Bassein was a necessary sequel to that of Hyderabad in 1800, and that one of two courses was inevitable:—either "to retract our pledged faith to the Nizam and the Government of Mysore, and to abandon our conquests," or, "to endeavour to effect, by negotiation, a change in the constitution of the Mahratta Government, rendering it more favourable to the maintenance of general peace and tranquillity." By our alliance with the Nizam and the conquest of Mysore, we had succeeded to all the local and political relations which subsisted between the Mahrattas and those states: and an alliance with the Peishwa became indispensable for the safety of our own territories.—Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 313—17, 379—85

averse to it, rather to excuse his conduct, in having been obliged, owing to their absence, to flee from Holkar, and seek safety with Europeans. He sent no copy of the treaty, and, in his letter, invited Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay to march to Poona with all speed; not expressly to act against the English, of whom he takes no notice, but to punish the rebel Holkar. He seems to have exported, that Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay would unite to oppose the objects of the treaty; to have been doubtful of the issue of the contest that might ensue between them and the English; and to have been anxious, as usual, to deceive all parties, whilst he at the same time endeavoured to keep on terms with them.

"The Governor-General hoped, that Sindia might be deterred from any hostile attempts to obstruct the operation of the treaty. After the battle of Poonah, an effort was made to induce him to enter into the defensive alliance; and upon the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, he was again invited to enter into similar engagements. But, Sindia, though he would have been well pleased, in the first moment of alarm, after the defeat of his army by Holkar, to see a British force co-operating with his own, for the temporary purpose of re-establishing the Peishwa in his capital, and suppressing the power of his rival, was mortified and incensed on finding that his own and his uncle's plans for controlling the Peishwa's government were at once frustrated and overturned. He saw that his own independence might soon be affected by the support which the Peishwa derived from a foreign nation, whose power, by a novel system of encroachment, threatened the subversion of the Mahrattas, as effectually as their establishment of *chouth*

and *sardeshmookee* had overwhelmed the empire of the Moghuls." *

The aversion with which the Berar Rajah (Ragojee or Rughoojee Bhonslay) had always regarded the plan of the subsidiary alliance, was well known; and Sindia now deputed his prime minister to consult with Ragojee on the best means of cementing a general confederacy of the Mahrattas against the common enemy. On the 4th of February, Sindia crossed the Nerbeddah with a large army, and on the 23d, encamped at Boorhanpoor. Here he was followed by Colonel Collins, the British envoy, who was sent for the purpose of again inviting him to become a party to the treaty of Bassein. To gain time, Sindia at first evaded discussion; but, on being pressed by Colonel Collins, he declined entering into the defensive alliance; declaring at the same time, that he had no wish to obstruct the execution of the treaty between the Peishwa and the British Government, towards whom he professed the most amicable intentions. These professions were from the first deceitful. Both Ragojee Bhonslay and himself were actively preparing for war, and Bajee Row continued in constant correspondence with them, secretly encouraging their views.

Although the Governor-General professedly gave credit to Sindia for sincerity, and was certainly duped by the treacherous Peishwa, he saw the necessity of preparing for a probable contest. As early as the month of November preceding, the Governor of Fort

* Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. iii., pp. 226—228. In every thing relating to the Mahratta history, from their origin down to 1818, this able work, compiled chiefly from native MS. histories and state papers, is the best authority. We regret not having consulted it in the earlier part of our narrative, but have discovered no material discrepancies.

St. George had received intimations which led him to assemble a considerable army at Hurryhur, on the Mysore frontier, which, under the character of an army of observation, might be ready to be employed as events should determine. The Governor of Bombay received, in like manner, instructions to hold in readiness the disposable force of that Presidency; and the subsidiary force at Hyderabad was directed to be placed in a similar state of preparation. On the 25th of March, the whole of the Hyderabad force, consisting of six battalions of infantry, with two regiments of native cavalry, under the command of Colonel Stevenson, together with 15,000 of the Nizam's troops, took up a station at Pooriadah, near the Peishwa's eastern frontier. The Hon. Major-General Wellesley was detached from the main army, assembled at Hurryhur, with 6000 infantry and 1700 cavalry, together with 2500 horse belonging to the Rajah of Mysore, having orders to co-operate with Colonel Stevenson in accomplishing the Peishwa's restoration. On the 12th of April, General Wellesley crossed the Toonghubdra; and on the banks of the Kistna, he was joined by some of the chief *jaghierdars* among the southern Mahrattas. On approaching Poonah, he made a march of sixty miles, through a rugged country, in thirty-two hours, and reached that city with his cavalry on the 20th. Colonel Stevenson, in the mean time, arrived at Gardoon, on the Beema. General Wellesley's object in advancing so rapidly, was to save the city of Poonah, which it was supposed that Amrut Row intended to burn; but he had retired many hours before the arrival of the British troops. Holkar was already on his retreat towards Malwah, but intelligence having reached Colonel Stevenson, that he had levied a contribution on Aurungabad, and plundered some of the

Nizam's villages, that officer advanced towards the Godavery, for the protection of the country. Amrut Row retreated to Sungumnere, plundering the towns and villages on his route; then, turning on Nassuck, he attacked and defeated a body of troops in the interest of the Peishwa, and took up his residence for some time in that neighbourhood. Eventually, he entered into terms with the British General, and served in the war which ensued, with a body of horse. A pension of eight *laks* of rupees was the liberal reward of his unimportant services.*

The Peishwa, escorted by a body of 2,300 infantry, arrived from Bosseln, and resumed his seat on the musnud on the 13th of May. Sindia still occupied his position near Boorhanpoor, and the Berar Rajah was preparing to join him. Every endeavour was used by them to induce Holkar to take part in the confederacy; and that wily chief, who was carrying on at the same time a negotiation with the Peishwa, through the British Resident, affected to listen to their overtures. By this means, he obtained the release of his nephew, Khundee Row, whom Sindia held captive, the restoration of his family territory in Malwah, and a promise that all his rights in Hindostan should be recognised. It was the interest of the British Government to conciliate Holkar, but the Peishwa could not be induced to listen to any mediation in his favour. When the confederates urged Holkar to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, he excused himself by asking, who was to take care of Hindostan, and immediately retired to Malwah, with the design of being guided by the issue of events. In the upper provinces,

* At the end of the war, he retired to Benares, where he still enjoyed his pension a few years ago.—Grant Duff, vol. iii, p. 231.

General Lake was at the head of a large army, charged with instructions from the Governor-General, in the event of war, to occupy the whole of the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to take possession of Delhi, Agra, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, from the mountains of Kumaoon to Bundelcund.

As soon as the Governor-General became satisfied, from the evasive replies of Sindia to the demands for explanation, that hostilities were meditated, he invested his brother, General Wellesley, with full powers, military and political, for either negotiation or war. Sindia had told the Resident, in terms which might certainly seem to partake of menace or insult, that as soon as he should have had an interview with Rughoojee Bhonslay, the Resident should be informed "whether it would be peace or war." On the 4th of July, the Resident obtained an interview with both the confederates in the tent of the Berar Rajah, at which they jointly affirmed their sincere disposition to cultivate the friendship of the British Government, and declared that they had no design to oppose any engagements into which the Peishwa had entered, although they complained that he did not consult them before concluding so important a treaty. These professions, which were evidently made with the view of gaining time, ill accorded with the hostile and menacing position which they occupied on the frontier of the Nizam's territory; and General Wellesley addressed a letter to Sindia, proposing, as a test of the friendly declarations of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their armies, while he would then direct the British troops to retire also within their own territories. "This plain and distinct proposal, so characteristic of its author, per-

plexed the Mahratta chiefs, as there was no evading compliance, except by a subterfuge too palpable to be overlooked or justified. After much discussion, it was finally rejected; and the Resident withdrew from their camp on the 3d of August, which was considered as a declaration of war." *

The British forces assembled in different quarters of India, amounted at this period to nearly 50,000 men. The army in the Deccan and Gujerat, amounted to 33,600 men: of these, 3555 were left for the protection of Hyderabad and Poonah; 7826 formed the covering army under General Stuart, between the Kistna and the Toongbudra; the advanced force under General Wellesley, including Colonel Stevenson's detachment, amounted to 16,850 men; and in Gujerat, there were 7352 men, of whom, after providing for the garrisons, 4230 were available for field service, under the orders of Colonel Murray. In Hindostan, 10,500 men were collected under General Lake; 3500 men were assembled at Allahabad, to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 2216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack.

The armies of Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom about half were cavalry; 30,000 were regular infantry and artillery, commanded by Europeans; and the rest consisted of matchlock-men, rocket-men, and some half disciplined corps in the service of the Berar Rajah. Of the regular infantry, ten or twelve thousand were with Sindia in the Deccan; and in Hindostan, his army, under the command of M. Perron, (including a reinforcement on its way from the south,) amounted to sixteen or seventeen thousand regular infantry, and

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 223.

from fifteen to twenty thousand horse, of whom about a fourth were regular cavalry. Besides these, Shumsher Bahadur, who took part in the confederacy against the English, mustered about 12,000 men in Bundelcund.

General Wellesley was encamped at the village of Walkee, eight miles south of Ahmednuggur, when, on the 6th of August, he received accounts of the unsuccessful termination of the Resident's negotiation with the confederates.* He was prevented by heavy rain from moving till the 8th, on which day he commenced hostilities by marching against Ahmednuggur; and the *petteh*, though obstinately defended by a body of Arabs and one of Sindia's regular battalions, was taken by escalade. A battery was opened upon the fortress on the 10th; and on the 12th, the *killedar* capitulated, on condition of marching out with the private property and arms of the garrison. This acquisition was of considerable importance as a point of support to all future operations to the northward. The fortress, one of the strongest in India, was in good repair, on the frontier of the Nizam, and covering Poonah. It had acquired consequence also, as having once been the capital of the Nizam Shahee kingdom. A respectable garrison was left in the fort, and the revenues of the district, being collected by an agent of the British Government, were applied to defraying the expenses of the war.

These arrangements occupied several days. On the 24th, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery, and on the 29th, reached Aurungabad, where he learned that the enemy, having avoided Colonel Stevenson, had

* "On the same day, Nizam Ally died at Hyderabad: an event long expected, and which was attended by no commotion or change, except the accession of his son, Mirza Secunder Jah, to the sovereignship of the Deccan."—Grant Duff, vol. iii., p. 426.

ascended the Ajunta Ghaut, and encamped at Jaulna, about forty miles eastward. On hearing of General Wellesley's arrival at Aurungabad, they moved off in a south-easterly direction, intending, it was supposed, to march upon Hyderabad. To defeat this intention, as well as to protect his own convoys of grain, which were on their way from the covering army under General Stuart, General Wellesley regained the Godavery, and moved eastward along its left or northern bank. The Mahrattas soon altered their course, and counter-marched to the north of Jaulna. On the 2d of September, Colonel Stevenson, returning from the eastward, attacked and carried that fortress, which has since been made the head-quarters of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. After this, while the General was waiting the junction of his convoys, this officer made several attempts to bring the enemy to action; and on the night of the 9th, he succeeded in partially surprising their camp. On the 21st, the whole Mahratta army, having been joined by sixteen battalions of Sindia's regular infantry, encamped between the village of Bokerdun and Jaffeirabad. On the same day, General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met at Budnapoor, and concerted a plan for attacking the enemy jointly on the 24th. Colonel Stevenson accordingly marched by a western route, while the General passed to the eastward, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna.

On the 23d, on reaching the village of Naulnye, where he was about to encamp, General Wellesley learned from his spies, that the confederate armies were encamped on the Kaitna river, within six miles of him; and he moved out in person at the head of the picquets, to reconnoitre. "In a short time, on

ascending a rising ground, the host of the confederates was seen extending in a vast line along the opposite bank of the Kailna river, near its junction with the Juah. Their army amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, of whom more than 30,000 were horse, and 10,500 were regular infantry, supported by upwards of one hundred guns. The handful of British troops which now moved straight down upon this formidable array, did not exceed 4500 men; but the general sentiment was that of their commander,—'they cannot escape us.' As General Wellesley drew nearer the enemy's line, he found their right composed entirely of cavalry, and that their cannon and infantry, which it was his object to take and destroy, were on their left, near the village of Assaye. He therefore moved round, and passed the Kailna river at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, forming his infantry into two lines, and his cavalry, as a reserve, in a third, with his right towards the Juah, and his left on the Kailna. The horse belonging to the Peishwa and the Rajah of Mysore, accompanying General Wellesley, formed at a distance across the Kailna, but had little or no share in the conflict.* The position thus occupied by the British, between the two rivers and near their junction, not only brought them upon their object, but was of importance in diminishing the front of the enemy, who changed their position as the British turned the flank of their old ground; they were now drawn up in two lines, one of them fronting the British troops, the other running at a right angle to their first line, with

* "Just before the battle commenced, intelligence was brought to General Wellesley, that the Peishwa's troops intended to join Sindia in attacking him. That they would have done so in the event of a reverse, is not improbable."

the left of both resting on the fortified village of Assaye. In this situation, as the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a heavy cannonade.* The whole line, without artillery, (the guns having been disabled,) was exposed to a dreadful fire of round and grape: the ranks of the 74th regiment were completely thinned, and a large body of the Mahratta horse charged them. The order being given for the advance of the British cavalry, the 19th light dragoons, who drew only 360 swords, received the intimation with one loud hurza. Accompanied by the 4th native cavalry, who emulated their conduct throughout this arduous day, the 19th passed through the broken but invincible 74th, whose very wounded joined in cheering them as they went on, cut in and routed the horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. Never did cavalry perform better service, or contribute more to the success of a battle. The British infantry likewise pressed forward; the enemy's first line gave way, fell back on their second, and the whole were forced into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The fugitives, on gaining the opposite bank, were followed, charged, and broken by the cavalry; but some of their corps formed again, and went off in good order. One large body of this description was routed and pursued by the British cavalry, on which occasion Colonel Maxwell, who commanded them, was killed. As the British line advanced, they passed many individuals of the enemy, who either appeared to have submitted, or lay apparently dead. These persons, rising up,

* "The picquets on the right were for a time halted, and the officer in command of them, when urged to advance, sent word, that the guns were disabled, and the bullocks killed. General Wellesley received the message with the utmost composure, and coolly replied, 'Well, tell him to get on without them.'"

turned their guns on the rear of the British line; and after the more important points of the victory were secured, it was some time before the firing thus occasioned could be silenced.* The enemy's horse hovered round for some time; but, when the last body of infantry was broken, the battle was completely decided, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors. The loss was severe; upwards of one-third of the British troops lay dead or wounded; but they had, considering the circumstances, achieved a triumph more splendid than any recorded in Deccan history. Of the enemy, 1200 were killed, and the whole neighbourhood was covered with their wounded. Rughoojee Bhonslay fled from the field in the commencement of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The whole of the horse behaved in the most dastardly manner. Sindia's infantry, although defeated by such a disparity of troops, did not altogether sully their high reputation. The artillery-men stood to the last, and eight of the old battalions of De Boigne fought with ardour and firmness.'"†

* "The General thought it necessary to take a regiment of European infantry and one of native cavalry, and proceeded in person to stop this fire, which for some time was very severe. His horse, in this operation, was shot under him."—Mill, vi. 426.

† Grant Duff, iii. 240—243. General De Boigne, who, after a series of vicissitudes, entered into Sindia's service about A. D. 1784, had been the principal instrument, by his military talents, of extending the power of that chief. The officers of his battalions were Europeans of all nations, many of them British, and men respectable by birth, education, and character. De Boigne, on returning to Europe in 1796, from bad health, was succeeded by M. Perron, originally a petty officer under Admiral Suffrein, who had also, after various adventures, entered into the service of Sindia. A brief account of De Boigne is given in Mill, vi. 397—401; but more correctly, from information personally furnished by

Colonel Stevenson was unable to join General Wellesley till the evening of the 24th, when he was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, whose regular infantry retired across the Nerbuddah; but the main body proceeded westward along the bank of the Taptee, as if they meditated a descent upon Poonah by the Kussarbharee Ghaut. Under this supposition, General Wellesley remained on the southern side of the Ajunta Ghaut, while he directed Colonel Stevenson to continue his march to the northward, and attack Boorhanpoor and Asseerghur. The former city was evacuated at his approach, and was entered by the British troops on the 15th of October. On the 17th, he marched upon Asseerghur, the importance of which, in the estimation of the natives, may be inferred from the name by which it was distinguished, the Key of the Deccan. The *pettah* was attacked and taken on the 18th. On the 20th, the batteries were opened against the fort, and, within an hour, the garrison offered to accept the conditions which the British commander had proposed on summoning the place. In this manner the fortress was placed in the hands of the British on the 21st, and with it, the whole of Sindia's dominions in the Deccan. The dependent districts in Kandeish were placed under the temporary management of revenue-officers of the Hyderabad state.

The operations of the army were now turned against Berar. Colonel Stevenson began an easterly movement towards Sindia, and received the commands of

the General, in Grant Duff, ii. 476—480, iii. 35. *et passim*. Most of Sindia's battalions laboured under serious disadvantages, through the secession of the British part of their European officers, who, in consequence of a politic proclamation by the British Government, quitted the Mahrattas at the breaking out of the war, on being offered the same pay that they enjoyed with Sindia.—Ib. iii. 364.

his General to prosecute his march as far as Gawilghur, and lay siege to that fortress, the principal one belonging to the Rajah. In the mean time, the confederates, having separated, had marched in different directions, with a view to interrupt Colonel Stevenson's operations. The Rajah of Berar took the route of the Unkye Tunkye pass, and moved towards the Godavery. He was followed by General Wellesley, who passed Aurungabad on the 29th, and arrived in the neighbourhood of his camp. So apprehensive was the Rajah of a night attack, that he moved his camp five times within less than forty-eight hours. On the 31st, he detached 5000 horse to cut off a convoy of 14,000 bullock-loads of grain, escorted by three companies of sepoys and a party of Mysore horse, under Captain Baynes, who made a spirited defence at the village of Amber, and brought in the whole of his convoy, with the exception of about 200 bullocks. After this, finding that Rughoojee was moving towards his own territories, General Wellesley once more returned to the northward, and descended the Ghauts at Rajoora, for the purpose of supporting and covering the operations of Colonel Stevenson against Gawilghur.

Previously to this period, several overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory nature, had been made to General Wellesley in Sindia's name. Ballajee Koonjur, the Peishwa's most confidential agent, who, notwithstanding the war, continued in Sindia's camp, sent a letter, fifteen days after the battle of Assaye, requesting that one of the British and one of the Nizam's officers should be sent to settle terms of pacification; but, as he was not an accredited agent, and as the appearance of a British officer in the enemy's camp would have enabled the Mahratta chiefs to represent the British as supplicants for peace, General Wellesley refused

compliance; he expressed at the same time his readiness to receive any envoy that the confederates might depute. After some other indirect proposals, in the first week of November, Jeswunt Row Ghorepurray, accompanied by a Brahmin, arrived in the British camp, commissioned, as they said, by Sindia, to treat with General Wellesley; but they also were unprovided with credentials, and Sindia afterwards sent a letter disavowing their mission. As General Wellesley was nevertheless convinced that they had been deputed, and that the only duplicity was on the part of Sindia, he allowed them to remain in the camp, to wait the result of their application to their master for the requisite powers, which he at length thought proper to send. These, however, did not authorise the envoys to make any cessions of territory in compensation to the British Government, which was required as the basis of the pacification, and no negotiation could proceed. Ghorepurray then solicited an armistice. This was granted on the 23d of November, as far as regarded Sindia, on condition that he should occupy a position twenty koss east of Elichpoor, and forage still further to the eastward; but it was refused to Rughoojee Bhonslay, because he had sent no envoy, nor expressed any desire for peace.

The main army of the Berar Rajah was encamped at Argaum, near Gawilghur, under the command of his brother, Venkajee Munya Bappoo; and Sindia's cavalry were at Sersowly, within about five miles of him. Colonel Stevenson had advanced as far as Hattee Anderah, on the 28th of November, when, being apprised of the position of the enemy and the approach of General Wellesley, he halted to enable both divisions of the British army to co-operate in the attack. They joined, on the 29th, at a place within

sight of the enemy's camp. The *vakeels* of Sindia had urgently dissuaded General Wellesley from attacking Venkajee, but were told, that there was no armistice with the Berar Rajah, nor had Sindia complied with the terms of the agreement. Upon the approach of the British, the enemy retired; and as the troops had performed a very long march on a very hot day, the General had no intention of pursuing them. Bodies of Mahratta horse were in a little time observed in front; and on pushing forward the piquets for taking up the ground of encampment, the army of the confederates was descried, at the distance of six miles, drawn up in line on the plain in front of Argaum. Late as it was in the day, the General resolved to attack, and marched on in column until near the enemy, when he formed his army into two lines; the infantry in the first, and the cavalry in the second. Some confusion occurred in forming the lines, when the Mahratta guns first opened upon them; but, as soon as formed, the whole advanced with steadiness and order. A body of about 500 infantry, supposed to have been Persians, who rushed with desperation on the 74th and 78th regiments, were destroyed to a man; while a battalion on the left received and repulsed a charge of Sindia's cavalry, in which their commander was wounded. Upon this, the whole army retired in disorder, pursued by the British cavalry, leaving behind them thirty-eight pieces of cannon, with their ammunition. In this action, the total loss of the British was 346 men, killed, wounded, and missing.

The British army next invested Gawilghur. This fortress stands upon a lofty point of a ridge of mountains, between the sources of the Poonah river and of the Taptee. The march of Colonel Stevenson's divi-

sion, who were equipped for this purpose, was attended with almost insuperable difficulties. From Elichpoor, the heavy ordnance and stores had to be dragged by hand, over mountains and through ravines, for nearly thirty miles, by roads which it had been previously necessary for the troops to make. On the sixth day, (December 12,) Colonel Stevenson reached his ground, and at night erected two batteries in front of the north face of the outer fort. On the same night, the troops of General Wellesley, who had gone round by a different route with all the cavalry, constructed a battery on the mountain, under the southern gate, but it was found impossible to get up the heavy guns. On the evening of the 14th, the breaches in the outer fort were practicable, and it was stormed on the ensuing morning. The inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Colonel Campbell, who immediately opened the gate. After this, the garrison made no resistance.

While these successes attended the British arms in the south, the other objects of the campaign had been accomplished by transactions of equal importance. A detachment of the Bombay army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, had effected the conquest of all Sindia's territories in Gujerat. The fortified town of Baroach was stormed and captured on the 29th of August. The town of Champaneer was taken by assault shortly after; and the strong hill-fort of Powanghur, by which it is defended, surrendered on the 17th of September.

In the north, affairs of still greater consequence had taken place. The first object to which General Lake had been commanded to direct the operations of the war, was the destruction of Sindia's force under

General Perron. On the 7th of August, the Commander-in-chief marched from Cawnpore; and on the 29th, the army came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, who were found encamped at Coel, near the fort of Alighur. After a trifling skirmish, they retired as the British advanced; the town of Coel was taken possession of, and Alighur was summoned, but M. Pedron, the governor, refused to surrender. Much dependence was placed on this fort, which was the ordinary residence of M. Perron. It is very strong, situated on a plain, surrounded with swamps, having a good glacis, with a ditch thirty-two feet deep and two hundred feet wide. It was well garrisoned, fully provided with cannon, ammunition, and stores; and the Mahrattas had reason to expect that it would sustain a long siege. The only passage into the fort was by a narrow causey across the ditch, for which the French commandant, by gross neglect, had omitted to substitute a draw-bridge. General Lake, apprised of this circumstance, determined to hazard an attack by the gateway; and one of the British officers who had come over from Sindia's service, offered to conduct the storming party. The first gate, it was found necessary to blow open; and during the delay which this occasioned, the troops were exposed to a raking fire. The second was easily forced; the third was entered with the fugitives; but the fourth and last, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a twelve-pounder. In this extremity, Major M'Leod pushed through the wicket with the grenadiers, and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British, by extraordinary bravery and good fortune, found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded,

including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2000 perished; many by jumping into the ditch, where they were drowned.

In the mean time, 5000 of the Mahratta cavalry which had retired from Coel, under the command of a Frenchman named Fleury, had successfully attacked a cantonment of the British army at Shekoabad. The detachment, being nearly destitute of ammunition, had been compelled to capitulate, on permission of retiring with their arms, before the reinforcement sent by General Lake could arrive. The enemy then crossed the Jumna, and disappeared.

M. Perron, who had for some time been losing ground in Sindia's favour,* and had in consequence made some overtures to General Lake before the commencement of the war, proceeded, after the affair at Coel, to Muttra, where he received certain accounts of his being superseded in the command by his personal enemy, Ambajee Inglia, who was intriguing to deprive him also of his *jaghier*. Under these circumstances, he addressed a letter to General Lake, on the 5th of September, announcing his withdrawment from the Mahratta service, and requesting permission to pass with his effects, his family, and the officers of his suite, through the Company's territories, to Lucknow; with which request, General Lake, under instructions from the Governor-General, yielded a ready compliance.

On the 7th of September, Gen. Lake marched from Aligbur towards Delhi, and on the 11th, encamped within six miles of that city. Scarcely were the tents

* Sindia was either jealous of Perron, or distrustful of him; and the native officers had long been intriguing to supersede him. M. Perron alleged as an additional reason for leaving his service, that "the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless."

pitched, when the enemy unexpectedly appeared in front. M. Louis Bourquin, the officer next in rank to Perron, hearing of the advance of the British towards Delhi, and that a part of the army was detached in pursuit of Fleury, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry and 5000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4500 men. Bourquin took up a strong position, on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, and his front defended by entrenchments and artillery, consisting of seventy pieces of cannon, which were concealed by high grass. General Lake, in advancing to reconnoitre, became exposed to a heavy and destructive fire. The line of British infantry were immediately ordered on, but it was a considerable time before they came up,* and General Lake, in the interim, practised a successful feint, by retiring with the cavalry. The enemy, mistaking it for a retreat, followed them, shouting as if secure of victory. The British cavalry, however, retired with the utmost steadiness and order, till joined by the infantry, when, opening from the centre, they allowed the infantry to pass to the front. The enemy now halted, and began a tremendous fire of grape, round, and canister; but the British troops moved on steadily without returning a shot, until they were within one hundred yards. They were then ordered to fire a volley and charge bayonets. Sindia's infantry could not withstand the fury of their onset, but, abandoning their guns, fled with precipitation. The British line then broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging

* In Mr. Mill's account, it is said, that an hour elapsed, during which the cavalry were exposed to a severe cannonade, and General Lake had his horse shot under him.

through the intervals, completed the victory. The enemy were pursued with slaughter to the banks of the Jumna, in which numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3000; that of the British, at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the British army took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning, encamped opposite to the city of Delhi. Three days afterwards, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Both the city and fort of Delhi had been evacuated by the enemy; and the unfortunate Shah Allum had sent a message to the British General, expressing his desire to place himself under his protection. On the 10th, General Lake paid his respects to the fallen emperor, and condescended to receive from the representative of the House of Timour, the second title in the empire, —an empire which existed only in history; "*Nemam ud Dowlah, Asdgar ul Mulk, Khan Dowran*, General Gerard Lake, *Bahadur, Futteh-jung*."*

General Lake next marched against Agra, which he summoned, but received no answer. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. The greatest confusion now prevailed within the fort. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the garrison were afraid to admit them, lest they should plunder a rich treasury, which they wished to reserve for themselves. General Lake resolved to beat up the quarters of the seven battalions in the first instance; and he gave orders for attacking both the town and

* "The Sword of the State, the Hero of the Land, the Lord of the Age, the Victorious in War."—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 414—5. Duff, vol. iii. pp. 250—252. See also pp. 358, 9 of our first volume.

the adjacent ravines in which they were posted, on the 10th of October. The attack succeeded completely, though not without a severe conflict; and three days afterwards, 2500 of those who remained, came over in a body, and were admitted into the British service. The siege of the fort was now commenced, and breaching batteries had been opened, when the garrison applied to the imprisoned officers to make terms for them. On the 18th, they were permitted to evacuate the fort with their private property; but the treasury and arsenal, with 162 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.

While this affair was going on, the detachment of Sindia's Deccan army, which he had sent to reinforce his army in the north, consisting of seven regular battalions of infantry, had joined three of Bourquin's battalions, and, together with the remains of the Delhi army, they now amounted to about 9000 men. They had a very superior equipment of artillery; were accompanied by twelve or fifteen hundred good horse; and had occupied a position about thirty miles in the rear of the British, during the siege of Agra, but without attempting to interrupt it. They were supposed to have in view a march upon Delhi, with a view to the recovery of that capital. On the 27th of October, General Lake proceeded in quest of them. As he advanced with the cavalry by rapid marches, they retired towards the hills of the Mewat. On the 1st of November, having marched twenty-five miles during the night, he came up with the enemy; but, instead of being in disorderly retreat, as was at first imagined, they were found strongly posted; their right on the village of Lasswaree, partially protected by a deep ravine, and their left on the village of Mohaulpore. In their rear was a deep rivulet, and their front was

lined with seventy-five pieces of cannon, chained together, the more effectually to resist the charge of horse. The whole was concealed by very high grass. General Lake resolved to attack them immediately; but, although his orders were executed in the most spirited manner, and with partial success, the loss was so severe, owing to the galling fire of cannon and musketry, that he was compelled to draw off his brigades, and wait the arrival of the infantry. The Mahratta troops, in the mean time, changed their position, and drew up in two lines; one in front, the other in rear of the village of Mohaulpore. On the arrival of the infantry, a proposal was received from the enemy, offering, on certain conditions, to surrender their guns. The British General, eager to stop the effusion of blood, accepted the proposal, and an hour was given to fulfil the terms, which allowed the infantry some time for refreshment. The time for parley being expired, General Lake prepared to renew the attack. His object was, to turn the flank of the enemy's position; but, as soon as the advance of the British columns for that purpose was perceived, the enemy frustrated the movement by throwing back their left wing, so as to form an acute angle in front with their former position; covering the manœuvre with a heavy cannonade, which did severe execution on the front of the British column. The British artillery returned the fire with good effect; but the enemy's cannon were far superior in number and weight of metal, and equally well served. The ground being much broken, the advance was greatly impeded by that circumstance; and the ranks of the 76th were so much thinned, that General Lake deemed it better to hasten on the attack with that regiment and a battalion of sepoys, than to wait till the remainder of the column

should be able to form. When they arrived within reach of the canister-shot, the execution became so severe as to prevent a regular advance, and the Mahratta horse were encouraged to charge. They came on, were heroically repulsed by this "handful of heroes," but rallied at a little distance, and resumed a menacing posture; when the General ordered the British cavalry to charge in turn. This service was gallantly performed by the 29th dragoons, who dashed through both lines of the enemy's infantry, wheeled round upon their cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned upon the rear of their second line. That line was by this time fully engaged with the British infantry, who, taking advantage of the gallant charge made by their cavalry, had rushed forward on the guns, taken possession of them, and driven the first line back upon the second. The whole of the British troops had now come up, and joined in the attack; but the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments fought on with brave, though unavailing obstinacy; and, excepting about 2000, who were broken, surrounded, and made prisoners, they fell with their arms in their hands.* The victory of Laswaree cost the British, 172 men killed, 632 wounded.† It completed the overthrow of the much-dreaded brigades of

* Few, if any of these men, Captain Grant Duff says, were Mahrattas, who have rarely made good infantry: they were chiefly from Oude, Rohilcund, and the Doab.

† The General conducted in person every operation of the day. Two horses were shot under him; and his son, acting as his aide-de-camp, was wounded by his side. "The son had but just persuaded the father to mount his horse, after one of his own had fallen under him, pierced by several shot, when he himself was struck by a ball: and at that instant, the father was obliged to lead on the troops, having his wounded son upon the field."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 426.

De Boigne and Perron, and placed Agra and Delhi, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul, in the power of the British Government.*

The conquest of the province of Kuttak, which separated the Company's dominions in Bengal from the Northern Circars, was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces, under Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt. The troops marched from Ganjam on the 8th of September, and took possession of Manikpatam, without resistance, on the 14th. The Brahmins of the temple of Juggernaut placed their pagoda under the protection of the British; and the town of Kuttak was surrendered on the arrival of the army, on the 10th of October, the rains not having permitted an earlier advance. In the mean time, another British detachment had landed at Balasore, on the 21st of September, and taken possession of the place. Sourung was captured on the 3d of October; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Kuttak, on the 14th, completed the reduction of the whole province.

The Bundelcund was subdued with equal celerity. In regard to this territory, a new arrangement had been made with the Peishwa in August, by which he ceded to the Company the greatest part of his rights in it, in lieu of Savanore and Benkapore, in the southern Mahratta country, and Oolpar, in the neighbourhood of Surat, which were among the cessions made by the treaty of Bassein. Himmut Bahadur, one of Sindia's ex-officers, had tendered his services to the British, to assist them in the conquest of Bundelcund; and his offer being accepted, he joined the British detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, on the 16th of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. On the

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 222–227.

10th of October, after reducing several forts, the united forces crossed the river Cane, and on the 13th, came up with the army of Shumsher Bahadur. After a feeble resistance, the enemy gave way, fled across the river Berwah, and retired from the province.

The Mahratta chieftains were now eager to escape, by negotiation, the ruin which their arms were unable to avert. On the evening of the 30th of November, the day after the battle of Argaum, a cahed arrived at the British camp, bearing a letter from Rageje Bhonslay to General Wellesley. After repeated conferences and long discussions respecting the true origin of the war and the terms of pacification, it was finally agreed, that the Berar Rajah should cede to the Company the province of Kuttak, including Ballasore; also, to the Nizam, the whole of the territory between the Hyderabad frontier and the river Wurda in the south; and, on the northern frontier, the country south of the hills on which stand the forts of Nerulla and Gawilghur. The latter districts had formed, originally, a part of the Soubah of the Deccan; but the Mahrattas had established over it a claim, at first to one-fifth, and, at length, by gradual encroachments, to four-fifths of the revenues.* All claims to chout, &c., on the Nizam, were, of course, now renounced; all differences between the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Sena Sahib Soubah (the Rajah's title), were to be arbitrated by the British Government; and no European or American of any nation at war with the English, nor any British subject, was to be entertained in the Rajah's service without the consent of the Governor-General. Such was the substance of

* Though an extensive and fertile country, it was not, however, supposed, that the Rajah annually realized from it more than thirty lacs of rupees.

the principal articles of the treaty of Deogaum. Accredited ministers from the contracting parties, were to reside at each other's court; and the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone, Persian interpreter on the staff of General Wellesley's army, was appointed Resident at Nagpoor.

The negotiations with Dowlut Row Sindia were not so promptly terminated. It was not till the 8th of December, that, after trying every means of evasion and procrastination, he submitted to the terms imposed upon him by the conquerors. The treaty was concluded on the 30th, at Surjee Anjengaum, by which the Maharajah ceded all his rights of sovereignty in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Gohud; also, the forts of Ahmedabad and Baroach in Gujerat, with their districts; all his possessions between the Ajunta Ghaut and the Godavery; together with all claims upon the British Government, Shah Allum, the Peishwa, the Nizam, or Anund Row Gaekwar. Provision was made for the independence of such Rajahs or Jagheerdars in the region of the Jumna, as had formerly been subject to Sindia, but had entered into engagements with the English during the war. Of these, it was the policy of the Governor-General to form a sort of barrier against any future aggression of the Mahratta powers. The city of Boorhaapore, and the forts of Asseerghur, Powanghur, and Gohud, with their dependencies, were restored to Sindia; who was also allowed to retain certain lands in the vicinity of Ahmednuggur, the districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-kerrah in Delhi, which had been granted to him by Shah Allum, together with certain other *jaghees* belonging to his family or immediate dependents. He

readily entered into the same agreement in regard to the subjects of other powers, as had been admitted by Ragojee Bhonslay; and Major Malcolm was appointed to act as Resident in his camp. It was left to the option of Sindia, whether to become a party to the defensive alliance, by accepting a subsidiary British force, payable from the revenues of the territories already ceded.* Of this condition, his jealousy of Holkar led him subsequently to avail himself, by a treaty concluded with the Resident in February following.

The minor princes and chiefs who, by treaties with General Lake, had become allies of the British Government, were, the Rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondee, and Macherry, the Jhát Rajah of Bhurtpoor, the Rana of Gohud, and the Mahratta officer, Ambajee Inglia. With the first five of these, the treaties of alliance guaranteed their territory against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were to defray the expense of the aid which they might require in case of invasion; and Europeans were not to be received into their service without the consent of the British Government. The Rana of Gohud had been dispossessed of his territories by Sindia; and Ambajee, who had succeeded M. Perron, was *mutsáddar*, or renter of the province. It was now determined to make a partition of the territory, in sovereignty, between him and the Rana, reserving the fort and city of Gwalior to the Company. Both parties submitted to the same conditions respecting mutual defence, as in the case of the other princes;

* Mr. Mill contends, that this subsidiary alliance was not subsidiary, because the Governor-General stipulated to pay and maintain the troops wholly at the Company's expense. The fact was, that the territory for their maintenance was taken beforehand

let the Rana was to subsidize three battalions of sepoys. The treaties with these two chiefs, however, afterwards became null and void, by the restoration of the country to Sindia.

The Mahrattas were not yet conquered. Holkar, during the progress of hostilities, had remained in Malwah, levying enormous contributions upon friend and foe. He could scarcely credit the accounts he received of the rapid victories of the English; and not till the time for co-operation had gone by, he began to carry into execution his hostile designs, by moving up towards the Jeypoor territory, for the purpose of negotiating for aid from the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor Rajah, the Rohillas, and the Seiks. He likewise despatched an envoy to Sindia, recommending him to break the treaty and renew the war; but that chieftain was, at this time, so exasperated against him, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British Resident. Further correspondence of a hostile nature was discovered; and intelligence was received of his having put to death three officers, British subjects, who wished to retire from his service, on pretence of their having corresponded with the English General. Still, it was deemed scarcely credible, that he could intend risking a war; and he was invited to send commissioners to the British camp, for the purpose of coming to an amicable understanding. On the 16th of March, 1804, two vakeels arrived at General Lake's head-quarters at Rampur, charged with demands so extravagant, that they were dismissed with a proper letter to their master. Five or six weeks before this, Holkar had addressed a letter to General Wellesley, in which he demanded the cession of certain districts claimed by his family in the Deccan, as the condition of peace, and concluded in a

strain of taunting menace.* In the beginning of April, Holkar moved, with the main body of his troops, into Ajmere, a country belonging to Sindia. His pretence was devotion; but he levied contributions, and made an unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the fort.

In the mean time, the Governor-General, apprised of Holkar's insolent demands and equivocal proceedings, issued orders to Generals Lake and Wellesley to attack his troops and possessions in every direction; and Sindia professed his readiness cordially to co-operate in the reduction of his rival.† On the 18th of April, General Lake sent forward a detachment under Colonel Monson to Jeypoor; on which, Holkar began to retire southward, and continued his flight till he had crossed the Chumbul. The fort of Tonk-Rampoorah, the chief protection of his northern possessions, was stormed and taken on the 16th of May. After this, General Lake withdrew the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, as Brigadier-General, to keep Holkar in check with five battalions of sepoys and about 2000 irregular horse. With this force, Monson, intending to co-operate with the Gujerat army under Colonel Mur-

* "Although unable to oppose the British artillery in the field, countries of many *men*" (he said) "should be overrun, and plundered, and burned; the English should not have leisure to breathe for a moment; and calamities would fall on lakhs of human beings in continued warfare by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 90.

† On this occasion, to justify the fresh war in the opinion of the home authorities, it was, unhappily, deemed necessary again to have recourse to a false plea:—"Jeswunt Rao Holkar being justly considered as an adventurer, and as the usurper of the rights of his brother, Cashee Rao Holkar, *consistently with the principles of justice*, no arrangement could be proposed," &c.—Governor-General's Letter in Mill, vol. vi. p. 403. Cant worthy of Napoleon.]

ray, entered Holkar's territory by the Mokundra pass and a detachment from his division took the strong hill-fort of Hinglais-ghur by escalade. This brilliant incident was followed by a train of disasters. Without efficient means of supply, Monson imprudently advanced towards the Chumbul until the 7th of July, when he received information that Holkar was crossing that river to attack him with his whole army. He was at the same time staggered by a report, that Colonel Murray was falling back on the Myhie river; and the reflection that he had only two day's grain for the supply of his camp, determined him on retiring to the Mokundra pass. Having resolved on this unfortunate alternative, he began his retreat, on the 8th of July, by sending off his baggage and stores at four o'clock, A.M. No enemy having appeared, the infantry followed at nine, the irregular horse being left on the ground, with orders to follow in half an hour, and to afford the earliest information of Holkar's motions. The detachment had marched about six koss, when intelligence was brought, that the irregular horse had been attacked and defeated by Holkar's cavalry, and that Lieutenant Lucas and several other officers were prisoners. The detachment continued its march, and next day, reached, unmolested, the Mokundra pass. On the 10th, a large body of the enemy's cavalry appeared; and a letter arrived from Holkar, summoning them to surrender their arms. A refusal being of course returned, he divided his force into three bodies, and made a vigorous attack on the front and flanks of the British corps. The position and steadiness of the troops, enabled them to sustain reiterated onsets, till, at evening, Holkar drew off to the distance of two koss. Monson, not regarding his position as tenable,

and fearing lest the enemy should get in his rear, continued his retreat, and in two marches, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to very heavy rains, reached Kotah. But the Rajah of that city would neither admit them within the walls, nor supply them with food. Retreat, therefore, became necessary to procure subsistence. The country was now so overflowed that the troops could hardly march; and it was found necessary to spike and abandon the guns, and destroy the ammunition. At length, on the 29th of July, the whole of the detachment, but not without loss from casualties, and after suffering great difficulties, reached Rampoorah, where General Monson was joined by a reinforcement, with supplies sent forward by General Lake. Not judging these supplies sufficient, and expecting to be joined at Kooshalghur by six battalions under one of Sindia's officers, Monson, after a long halt, continued his march to that place. He was pursued by Holkar's cavalry, and was obliged to abandon the whole of his baggage. At Kooshalghur, instead of meeting with an ally in Sindia's officer, he found that the Mahratta had treacherously turned against the British captain posted there; and two companies of sepoys, with a large proportion of the irregular horse, there deserted to Holkar. Having spiked his remaining howitzer, on the 26th, Monson moved out of Kooshalghur, and prosecuted his retreat to Agra, while the persevering enemy continued to harass them, but without making any serious impression. At last, however, in the confusion produced by a very dark night, the troops fairly broke, and fled towards Agra, where the greater part of the fugitives who had escaped the enemy, found an asylum on the 31st.

Holkar, having recruited his army with the wreck of

the forces of Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, advanced triumphantly to Muttra, at the head of 60,000 horse and 15,000 infantry, supported by 192 guns. That place was abandoned by the British troops at his approach, and parties of the Mahratta horse pushed across the Jumna. But General Lake had already taken energetic measures for repairing these disasters. The Mahrattas who had crossed the Jumna, were driven back; troops were ordered on to Agra with all expedition; and, in the course of a month, the British army again advanced on the enemy. "In a few days, the Mahratta horse began, in their usual manner, to shew themselves in small parties, gradually increasing in numbers; flying before the British cavalry when sent to pursue them, evading every attempt to bring them to action, turning as their pursuers turned, firing their matchlocks, and brandishing their spears; while others stole in upon the flanks and rear, where they at first cut off stragglers and baggage with considerable success. The cruelties committed by Holkar on all who fell into his hands, were barbarous in the extreme. General Lake, instead of making fruitless attempts from a standing camp to bring Holkar's cavalry to action, would, probably, have pushed at his infantry and guns; but he seems to have remained at Muttra for the purpose of collecting supplies. This afforded Holkar an opportunity of attempting an important enterprise, being no other than that of endeavouring to possess himself of the Emperor's person. The plan was well conceived; but it was completely frustrated by the precaution and gallantry of Lieut.-Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi, assisted by Lieut.-Colonel Burn, the commandant. The whole of the enemy's infantry and artillery attacked Delhi on the 8th, (the

cavalry being left to engage the attention of the British commander,) and continued the siege until the 14th; during which, though deserted by a party of irregulars attached to the garrison, a small body of British sepoys, ably commanded, made a successful sortie, repelled an assault, and, under incessant fatigue, defended a city ten miles in circumference."*

General Lake, on hearing of this attack, marched to the relief of the capital; but Holkar had already drawn off his infantry, and they were now five days on their march towards the territory of the Jhat Rajah of Bhurtpoor, who had seceded from his alliance with the English. Holkar's cavalry, which had continued to hover round Delhi for some days, on the 29th of October, suddenly crossed the Jumna below Panniput, for the purpose of intercepting Lieut.-Colonel Burn's detachment on his return from Delhi to Sehrunpore; but this design was frustrated by the approach of General Lake at Shamlee, on the 3rd of November. Holkar now prepared to execute his long meditated threat of wasting the Company's provinces with fire and sword. To leave him no time for the purpose, became the first object. His route lay in a southerly direction, straight down the Doab, in which he pillaged and burned the defenceless villages as he passed along, till he reached the neighbourhood of Deeg, a fort belonging to the Rajah of Bhurtpoor. Here he was found strongly posted by the detachment under Major-General Fraser, who came up with him on the 12th. His infantry were encamped behind an extensive morass and deep tank, with their left on a

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 396, 7. "To encourage the sepoys on this occasion, Col. Ochterlony served out sweet-meats plentifully, and promised them half a month's pay as soon as the enemy should be repulsed. He knew them."—*Ib.*

fortified village, and their right on the fort of Deeg, supported by ranges of batteries upwards of two miles in extent, which were deemed impregnable. On the morning of the 13th, the British troops, in two lines, moved on to the attack. The gallant 76th first carried with their bayonets the fortified village; and finding a range of guns immediately under it, charged on, through a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain-shot, supported by the 1st Bengal European regiment and the sepoys. Holkar's infantry abandoned the first range of guns, and retired to the next; but this was instantly charged by the gallant General Fraser, who fell mortally wounded in the operation. The command devolved upon Colonel Monson, under whom the victory was completed, the enemy being compelled to abandon battery after battery, until they were forced into the fort of Deeg.* The loss of the British was severe; no fewer than 643 killed and wounded, including 22 European officers. The enemy's loss was supposed to be about 2000, and 87 pieces of ordnance were taken, among which were 14 which Colonel Monson had lost during his disastrous retreat.

Four days subsequent to this dear-bought victory at Deeg, General Lake, after a most persevering pursuit, came up with Holkar's cavalry at Furrukabad, and falling upon them by surprise, put 3000 of them to the sword.† The explosion of a tumbril, as the

* "During the battle, the Mahratta horse retook the first range, and, for a short time, turned the guns on the rear of the British line; but they were retaken by twenty-eight men of the 76th regiment, headed by Capt. Norford, who lost his life in the performance of this remarkable exploit."—Duff, vol. iii. p. 395.

† From the 31st of October to November 17, Gen. Lake had marched at the rate of twenty-three miles a-day; and during the night and day preceding the attack, his cavalry went upwards of seventy miles in less than twenty-four hours.

British troops approached the Mahratta camp, gave the alarm to Holkar, who fled, with a few followers, in the direction of Deeg, to join the remains of his army. General Lake followed him; and having joined the army before Deeg, the siege of that fortress was commenced. In ten days, a breach was made in a strongly fortified outwork at one of the angles of the city, which was stormed and taken at midnight (December 23), with the loss of 227 men killed and wounded. On the ensuing day and night, the town and citadel were evacuated by the enemy, who betook themselves to Bhurtpoor.

In the mean time, Colonel Murray had advanced from Gujerat into the heart of Holkar's dominions, and, on the 24th of August, taken possession of Indore, his capital; the garrison retiring without opposition. His territory in the Deccan had also been reduced by the capture of all his forts, including Chandore and Galna, which, after a slight resistance, surrendered to a division under Colonel Wallace by the end of October. But the career of Holkar, although in a few weeks his fortunes had undergone so signal a reverse, was not yet destined to close. So long as his infantry could find protection in the city of Bhurtpoor, he was still unconquered: his cavalry, by its rapid movements, could elude all attacks, and supplies were derived from the resources of his ally. He had still, as he expressed it, "his country and his property on the saddle of his horse;" but the Jhat Rajah "must stand or fall with his fort."

Bhurtpoor is a fortified town, nearly eight miles in circumference, every where surrounded with a very high and strong mud wall and bastion, having a wide and deep ditch capable of being rendered unfordable. It was now garrisoned by the whole of the Rajah's

troops, with the remainder of Holkar's infantry. Accustomed only to success, General Lake, without properly reconnoitering the place, and with a very inefficient battering train, commenced the siege on the 4th of January, 1805, by taking possession of a grove which afforded a partial cover to his operations. Here, however, for the first time, the utmost efforts of the British were baffled by the strength and extent of the works, the depth of the ditch, and the numbers and resolution of the besieged. Between the 9th of January and the 20th of March, the British troops were repulsed in four successive assaults, in which the loss amounted to 3,203 killed and wounded, of whom 103 were European officers. The wounded were almost invariably put to death by a sally of the garrison. The Mahratta horse made their appearance daily, endeavouring to obstruct the operations of the siege, and cutting off foragers and stragglers. In addition to Holkar's cavalry, Ameer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who had found the means of collecting a predatory army, issued from Bundelcund, and made an incursion into the Company's district of Rohilcund. He was, however, overtaken by a detachment of British cavalry, and routed with considerable loss. On the return of the cavalry from this service, General Lake made two attempts to surprise Holkar, in the second of which he was successful: a thousand of the Mahrattas were put to the sword, before they had time to disperse. Their spirit being now completely broken, great numbers deserted their leader, and the more respectable chiefs came over with their followers to the British camp. So completely disheartened were these "active tormentors of Monson's detachment," that they had not courage to fight for their lives, and not one of the British lost

his life in either of these assets. A few days after, 3000 of the remains of Holkar's infantry were intercepted and defeated with severe loss. To complete Holkar's misfortunes, the Jhat Rajah, discovering the fallacy of the hopes which he had built upon his ally, and dreading the renewal of the siege, (which, for want of stores and provisions, it had been found necessary to suspend,) offered terms to the British General. With these, many concurring reasons induced a compliance, although at the sacrifice of leaving upon the minds of the natives, a lasting impression of the failure of the siege, and a dangerous example of successful resistance. The season was far advanced; the hot winds were dreaded; but, above all, an apprehended rupture with Sindia, rendered an accommodation with the Rajah expedient. As a punishment for his breach of engagement, he agreed to pay 20 *lahs* of rupees, and he was deprived, in part, of the advantages secured by the former treaty. These terms were finally settled on the 16th of April, when preparations had already been completed for the renewal of the siege. One of the Rajah's sons was to reside with the British commander as a hostage, until satisfactory proof had been given of his fidelity, when, and not before, the fortress of Deeg was to be restored to him.

Disputes with Sindia had arisen as early as February 1804, previously to the signature of the treaty of subsidiary alliance. They related to the retention of Gwalior and the Gohud territory by the English. Sindia, though compelled to submit, continued to dispute and to remonstrate; and in October, he addressed a letter to the Governor-General, setting forth five articles of grievance, in which he considered himself as ill used by the British Government. At the time of

the date of this letter, (which did not, however, reach Calcutta for four months,) Sindia had moved from Boorhanpoor, and was crossing the Nerbuddah with the professed intent of repairing to Oojein, his capital, agreeably to the requisition of the British authorities. In reality, he took the direction of Bhopal, with the intention, it is supposed, of joining Holkar. In his way, a detachment of his troops plundered Sangar, a city and district belonging to the Peishwa; while a party of his irregulars committed a still grosser outrage, by attacking, plundering, and detaining Mr. Jenkins, the acting Resident, in his camp. For this act, which does not clearly appear to have had his authority,* Sindia subsequently promised to make reparation; and without following it up by any further hostilities, he proceeded towards Narwa. Had he, as was apprehended, taken the route through Bundelcund, there was nothing at that moment to oppose his progress through the heart of the British dominions, to Calcutta itself. On the 22d of March (1805), he officially announced to the British Resident, his resolution to march to Bhurtpoor, for the purpose of mediating between the British Government and its allies. He moreover pleaded his pecuniary exigencies as the reason which prevented his returning to effect the settlement of his own country. He was told, that, if he would return to the southward, and employ himself in the seizure of the remaining possessions of Holkar in Malwah, he should be relieved by a certain portion of pecuniary

* Mr. Mill thinks it most probable, that Serjee (Shiraz) Rao Gautka, Sindia's father-in-law and minister, committed the outrage upon the British Resident, with a view to embroil him immediately with the British Government, and thus to ensure the war to which he found it so difficult to draw the feeble and irresolute mind of his prince.

aid. Sindia pretended to acquiesce, and even marched about eight miles in a retrograde direction, while he sent on a part of his cavalry and all his Pindharees towards Bhurtpoor. The treaty with the Rajah had, however, been concluded previously to their arrival. Sindia's vakeel was denied an interview; and the troops, joined by Holkar with the remains of his cavalry, returned to Sindia's camp at Weir, where, together with Ameer Khan and Bappojee Sindia, he met with a cordial reception. For this conduct, Sindia apologised to the British Resident, by pretending that Holkar had accepted his mediation, and had, at his request, abandoned all predatory designs on the British territories.

On the 21st of April, General Lake moved with the whole army towards the position of the now united chiefs, directing the Resident to take the earliest opportunity of quitting Sindia's camp. The news of his approach was sufficient to produce a precipitate retreat to Kotah; but the demand of the Resident to leave the camp, was still evaded. About the beginning of June, the confederates moved towards Ajmere, still detaining the Resident. It appears that Holkar was decidedly for continuing the war, in which opinion he was strenuously supported by Shirnee Rao, Sindia's minister. But the violence of this execrable ruffian* defeated his own purposes; and Holkar was instrumen-

* For an account of this miscreant's atrocious career, the reader may be referred to Grant Duff, v. iii. pp. 140, 153, 167, &c. "His name will be remembered, while Poona exists, with horror and execration." To raise the money for defraying his son-in-law's marriage expenses, the ex-ministers of Nana Furnawees's party, together with merchants, bankers, and all persons supposed to possess wealth, were dragged forth and scourged, or tortured, till they gave up all their property. Several died in consequence of this treatment.

tal in removing him from power, and placing Ambajee Inglia, whom he had previously pillaged and confined, at the head of Sindia's administration. In this person, Holkar expected to find a willing coadjutor; but his temporising policy, together with the rekindling rivalry of the two chieftains, the consequent separation of their camps, and above all, Sindia's conviction of their inability to contend against the British, paved the way to a pacification, which had now become the primary object of the British cabinet.

As early as Dec. 1803, the Marquis Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors, his intention to resign the government of India as soon as the negotiations with Dowlut Rao Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay should be conducted to a satisfactory conclusion. The hostilities with Holkar which ensued, induced him to defer the execution of his intentions; and even in March 1805, although he expressed his increasing solicitude, in the declining state of his health, to be relieved from the cares and toils of government, he declared his resolution not to abandon his post, till the tranquillity and order of the British empire in India should be placed on a secure basis. Before this time, however, the protracted warfare and the alarming accumulation of debt which it had entailed, had given rise at home to a popular clamour against his Lordship's administration; and not only the Directors, but even the Ministry participated in the general prejudice, or deemed it prudent to yield to it. The return of the venerable Marquis Cornwallis was solicited by the highest authorities, as if the salvation of the country depended upon his presence. "Although his health was in a very declining state, he caught," says Sir John Malcolm, "with the enthusiasm which belongs to great and good minds, at the prospect of per-

forming one more important service to his country; and he listened, as was natural, with avidity to those who, desirous of the authority of his great name to their plans, represented to him that his presence alone could save from inevitable ruin, the empire which he had before ruled with so much glory."*

Lord Wellesley had been sent to India by the British Government, for the purpose of annihilating the French influence in that country. In the accomplishment of this object, he had, in fact, been almost compelled to attempt, and, by the skill and valour of his generals, had been enabled nearly to effect, the conquest of the whole country. But the conquest of India was a forbidden enterprise. It had been discouraged by the British Legislature, and even branded as criminal. Hence, it was necessary to conceal even from his employers, the real nature and astonishing magnitude of the achievement.† He had been entrusted with a commission which it was impossible to execute without exceeding it; and he was condemned for his success. At the time of his arrival in India, there did not exist a single native government, Mussulman or Mahratta, that was not founded on usurpation, and that of comparatively recent date. Except that of Tippoo, there was not one that was strong enough to control the predatory habits of the population, or to

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 333.

† It has been remarked by a writer in the "Friend of India," that "the man who has gone to India with the design of extending there the empire of Britain, has been obliged to conceal his intentions with almost as much care as though he meditated designs against his own country; and the man who has most successfully fought his country's battles in the plains of Hindostan, has seldom been quite free from the apprehension, that his character and fortune, if not his life, might be the forfeit he would have to pay for thus daring to defend the dominions of his native country."—No. xiii., p. 232.

protect the rights of the people.* The voice of humanity almost called upon Great Britain to undertake the most blameless and beneficent usurpation that was ever achieved. But the sordid and timid spirit of a mercantile government opposed what, nevertheless, events forced upon its reluctant adoption. The English had contributed to hasten the decline and destruction of the native monarchies and viceroyalties; and in the anarchy which ensued upon the breaking up of

* Lord Cornwallis, while deprecating the interference exercised by the British Government in the internal administration of the Hyderabad Government, remarks: "His Lordship is aware that this undesirable degree of interference and ascendancy in the councils of the state of Hyderabad, is to be ascribed to the *gradual decay of the energies of Government; to the defect of efficient instruments of authority*," &c. Again: "One of the most important, and, in my opinion, not the least unfortunate consequences of the subsisting state of our alliances, has been the gradual increasing ascendancy of the British influence and authority, exercised through the medium of our Residents at the courts of Poona and Hyderabad. *The weak and wretched state of the Peishwa's internal Government* cannot be more forcibly described than in the enclosed despatch; and I have reason to believe that the authority of the Soubah of the Deccan over his dominions, is fast approaching to the same state of inefficiency and weakness."—Mill, vol. vi. pp. 520, 524. Posterity will hardly credit that the decay of such wretched governments, and their subjection to British influence and authority, could be the theme of regret to a British statesman. How could be the withdrawment of the British have restored strength to those systems of misgovernment and oppression? Sir John Malcolm contends, that when Lord Wellesley commenced his administration, the influence of the French at the Court of Tippoo was predominant; that, at the Court of Sindia, they "had more than influence, they had power: they had founded an empire of their own within the dominions of that prince;"—that, at Hyderabad, their power was considerable, though not yet predominant. Even admitting the danger to be overrated, the facts are indisputable; and Lord Wellesley's policy was avowedly directed to the overthrow of the French ascendancy. How he could have achieved this without establishing that of the British, is not very clear; and yet, the substitution of British influence for French influence, is the grave subject of Lord Cornwallis's pathetic regrets.

the old governments, self-preservation required that a new and vigorous political system should be established. The subsidiary system was not, the last; it was open to serious objections; but it was an improvement upon the double system of Clive, and the compromise secured to the British half the benefits of their conquest. The acquisition of territory was deprecated, while the acquisition of power was enjoined. The same means would have secured both, probably at far less cost, and with far more honour. All the hollow pleas for systematic encroachments, the shuffling diplomacy, the Machiavelian doctrines of the Governor-General, the pretended respect for legitimate and hereditary sovereigns who were deprived of every thing but the shadow of power, the fraudulent farce which tarnished the lustre of the British name, might have been spared, had the English Government dared to avow and own the empire which was consigned thus unsought for to its hands.*

"The great success which attended Lord Wellesley's administration," remarks Sir John Malcolm, (in language which may, perhaps, be thought to savour of partiality,) "is, on a general view, calculated to excite astonishment; nor will that feeling be diminished by a nearer contemplation of the manner in which he ruled the large empire committed to his charge. His

* "If the native governments were thus deprived of all independent power, infinitely better would it have been, to have removed them entirely. Two prodigious advantages would thus have been gained; the great expense of keeping them would have been saved; and the people in the countries under them would have been delivered from the unspeakable miseries of their administration,—miseries always increased to excess by the union of a native with the British Government."—Mill, vol. vi. p. 496. "The right of conquest," it is justly remarked, "would have applied with as much propriety to the part that was not done, as to the part that was."

great mind pervaded the whole; and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed. His authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India, as in Fort William. All sought his praise; all dreaded his censure. His confidence in those he employed, was unlimited...It was, indeed, with him a principle, to invest them with all the power they could require to effect the objects which they were instructed to attain; and though there can be no doubt as to the great and extraordinary merit of the distinguished officers who commanded the British armies during his administration, it is to that liberal confidence which gave them all the impression of the fullest power, and the most complete scope for the exercise of their judgement, that their unparalleled success is chiefly to be ascribed."*

The Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Fort William on July 30, 1805, and on the same day assumed charge of the government. He found it involved in extreme pecuniary embarrassments; "every part of the army and every branch of the public departments attached to it, suffering severe distress from an accumulation of arrears." His first object, therefore, was to reduce the expenditure; and, with a view to this, to terminate by negotiation a contest so ruinous to the Company's finances. His first acts were in condemnation and reversal of the policy of his predecessor; and he more especially avowed his disapprobation of the scheme of subsidiary alliances. So great was the eagerness which he evinced to put an end to the war with Holkar, and to accommodate the differences with Sindia, that, had not the power of those chiefs and of the Berar Rajah been already broken, it would probably

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 201, 2.

have ensured a prolongation of hostilities, conducted with all the activity and perseverance which the Mahrattas have always displayed in success. In Lord Cornwallis was willing to overlook the outrage committed by Sindia on the British Resident;* to give up Gwalior and its dependencies; and to make some provision for the Rana of Gohud from the disposable territories on the Jumna. To Holkar, he proposed to restore the whole of the territories conquered from him during the war. He greatly disapproved of the treaties of defence and guarantee entered into with the petty Rajahs of Jotulpoor, Jeypoor, Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondee. As to the first, the Rajah of Joudpoor having refused to ratify the treaty which his vakeel had made with General Lake, of course no agreement with that state existed. With regard to the second, the Rajah of Jeypoor had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement; and the Marquis Cornwallis directed him to be informed, that it was considered as dissolved. With respect to the other three, the Governor-General proposed, as an inducement to their renouncing the alliance, to make over portions of the territory conquered from Sindia, south of Delhi and west of the Jumna, which river he intended should form the south-western boundary of the Company's possessions in that quarter;† and by this means exempt the Bri-

* "Though aware," his Lordship said, "of the disadvantages of immediately relinquishing or compromising the demands so repeatedly made for the release of the British Resident, yet, as he considered it as a mere point of honour, he would certainly be disposed to do so, should it ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with that chieftain."—Malcolm, vol. i. p. 338.

† Lord Lake objected against this ill-advised scheme, that the Jumna is not, as the Marquis seemed to suppose, a barrier of any importance; above its junction with the Chumbul, it is fordable

tish Government from all obligation to guarantee or defend the territory so assigned, from the attack of Sindia or any other potentate. In conformity to these sentiments, instructions were forwarded to Lord Lake on the 19th of September. But, before their official transmission, Lord Lake, apprised of the pacific policy which the new Governor-General had determined to pursue, seized the opportunity of Ambajee's appointment to the administration, to draw proposals from Sindia. To the overtures made, Lord Lake replied, that he could listen to no proposition until the Resident was released; a preliminary to which Sindia now readily consented; and Lord Lake, in anticipation of the wishes of the Governor-General, had submitted, previously to the receipt of his instructions, a plan for the adjustment of differences with Sindia. In consequence of this favourable state of affairs, and the evils he conceived likely to result from abandoning the connexion with the petty states, and permitting the Mahrattas to regain a footing in the northern provinces, he delayed acting upon the Governor-General's instructions, and represented the reasons by which he was guided. Before this representation was received, the mortal illness of the Marquis Cornwallis had rendered him incapable of attending to public business."*

The health of Lord Cornwallis had become worse from the time that he had left the seat of government to join the army in the upper provinces. On the 29th of September, he had become too ill to proceed, and was removed from his boats to Ghazeepoor in the district of Benares, where he expired on the 5th of October. Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy

to many places nearly throughout the year, and could afford no security against predatory inroads.

Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 204—208.

of these last few acts of his life, so different from the "high and unyielding spirit of his former administration," his patriotism and unimpeachable public virtue, his dignified simplicity of character, and amiable manners, have procured for his name the veneration of all parties.

Upon the death of the Governor-General, Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had ascended with reputation through the several gradations of office to the dignity of senior member of the council, succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the rank and duties of supreme ruler of India. He lost no time in replying to the representations which the Commander-in-Chief had addressed to Lord Cornwallis; stating his resolution to adhere to the plan of his predecessor, in abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and generally with the territories westward of the Jumna.

In the mean time, Holkar had, early in September, moved from Ajmere towards the country of the Seiks. He entered the Shekawtee with about 12,000 horse, two or three thousand ill-equipped infantry, and thirty guns; and skirting the country of the Rajah of Macherry, advanced to Dadree, where he left his infantry, guns, and about 1000 horse under one of his chiefs. This chief, in conjunction with the Rajah of Neemrana (one of the districts to the south-west of Delhi ceded to the British by Sindia), proceeded to ravage the Company's territories. Holkar, with the main body of his army, marched towards Patila, giving out that he expected to be joined by the Seiks and the Doorraunees. Two divisions of the British army, the one under Major-General Jones from Rampoorah, the other under Colonel Ball in the Rewaree hills, made ineffectual attempts to intercept him; and Lord Lake,

having posted divisions to prevent his getting back, set out from Muttra in pursuit of him, about the middle of October, with five regiments of cavalry and four battalions of infantry.

These operations did not obstruct the arrangements with Sindia, which, under the immediate direction of Lord Lake, (Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm being the commissioner on the part of the Company,) were concluded by a new treaty on the 23d of November. Of the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum, every article was to remain in force, except so much as might be altered by the present arrangement. Gwalior and the greater part of Gohud were ceded to Sindia, not as due by the preceding treaty, but from considerations of friendship; and the Chumbul was to be the boundary between the two territories.* In consideration of the benefits accruing to the Company from this line of demarcation, it was agreed to allow Sindia personally, an annual pension of four laks of rupees, and to assign *jagheers* to his wife and daughter within the British territory. Sindia, on his part, resigned his districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-Kerrah, (which were afterwards bestowed upon the Rana of Gohud,) as well as all claim to tribute from the Rajah of Boondee, or any other state north of the Chumbul and east of Kotah. The British Government engaged to enter into no treaties with the Rana of Oudepoor, the Rajahs of Jondpoor and Kotah, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindia, in Malwah, Marwar, and Mewar; and not to interfere with the conquests made by Sindia from the Holkar family between the Taptee and the Chumbul.

* The two small districts of Bhadek and Scompoorah, on the right bank of the Jumna and south of the Chumbul, being necessary to the greater security of the Company's frontier, were, however, made over to them.

Totally disappointed in his hopes of obtaining aid from the Seik chiefs, and reduced to the greatest extremities, Holkar at length sent agents to Lord Lake's camp on the banks of the Beyah, to sue for peace. As the British commander had instructions to grant terms far more favourable than the enemy had any reason to expect, the negotiation was speedily terminated; and on the 24th of December, a treaty was signed at Rajpoor Ghaut, by which Holkar renounced all his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul and the Boondee-hills, all his claims on Koonch and Bundelcund, and on the British Government and its allies; he engaged never to entertain Europeans in his service; and he became bound to return to Malwah by a prescribed route. The British Government agreed not to interfere with the possessions or dependencies of Holkar south of the Chumbul, and to restore the forts and territories captured by the British forces on the southern side of the Tapsee and Godavery.

Agreeably to the system of policy he had determined upon, Sir George Barlow made alterations in both these treaties when sent to him for confirmation. By a declaratory article annexed to the treaty with Sindia, he explained away any obligation of protecting the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna; and to Holkar he restored Tonk-Rampoorah and the territory north of the Boondee-hills; thus abandoning to his fate the Rájah of Boondee, who, on his part, had maintained the alliance with honour and generosity, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the Commander-in-Chief.* Sir George even gave

* "Lord Lake represented, that the district of Boondee, though not material in point of extent, was highly important, as commanding a principal pass into the northern provinces, of the British em-

directions for dissolving the alliance with the Rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor. But Lord Lake, apprehending that even the rumour of such an intention would again set loose the powers of destruction in that part of India, represented his views of the probable consequences in so alarming colours, that Sir George, though he declared his resolution unchanged, consented to delay the execution of it; and those Rajahs, with the neighbouring chiefs, were not, at that time, deprived of the protection of the British power.*

The treaty of Deogaum, concluded in 1803 with the Rajah of Berar, continued in force; but, by an engagement dated Aug. 24, 1806, Patwa and Sambulpoor were restored to him.

Much disposed as Sir George Barlow was to pursue the course prescribed for his predecessor, he wisely abstained from applying to the Courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, the principles of non-interference which he was pushing to so impolitic an extent in other directions. By a dissolution of the defensive alliance with the Nizam, "the very foundations of our power

pire; that the Rajah, steady in his friendship, and eminent for his services to the British Government, had excited the utmost rage of Holkar, to whom he was tributary, by the great aid which he had rendered to Colonel Monson during his retreat; and that neither justice nor honour allowed him to be delivered over to the vengeance of his barbarous foe. The resolution of the Governor-General remained unchangeable."—Mill, vi. 340.

* Mill, vi. 341, 2. See also Malcolm, i. 365—374. Grant Duff, iii. 506—12. At this epoch in the annals of British India, the peace with the Mahratta states which formed the sequel to Lord Wellesley's brilliant administration, Mr. Mill's history terminates; the remaining pages of his work being devoted to a view of the financial results. The Company's revenues, which, in 1797, 8, were only 8,000,000*l.*, were raised in 1805, 6, to 15,403,000*l.*: but the charges at that time exceeded the revenue by 127,000*l.*, and, together with the interest on the increased debt, which had been trebled, to upwards of two millions per annum.

and ascendancy in the political scale in India, would," he argued, "be subverted;" and such an event "would be the signal and the instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations." The withdrawment of the subsidiary force would also require the relinquishment of the territories ceded for their maintenance. "The measures which this view of the subject induced Sir George Barlow to adopt, evinced," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "in a very strong manner, the utter impracticability of a retreat from that position among the states in India to which we had advanced. It was clear, that we could abandon neither our influence nor our power, without the ground being occupied by enemies, who, incapable of understanding the motives of our conduct, would refer to weakness what was the result of moderation, and impute to alarm what was the effect of confidence. Such mistakes and misrepresentations could have but one result; that of encouraging insult and attack, and of accelerating the evils of war and conquest."*

In July 1807, Lord Minto arrived in India as successor to the late Marquis Cornwallis; and the state in which he found the country, soon convinced him of the utter impracticability of maintaining, even for a short period, the system of neutral policy.

When Jeswunt Rao Holkar returned to his own

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 377, 8. The reasons given by Sir George Barlow for deviating from the system of non-interference, exhibit the narrow basis upon which that selfish policy rested, and warrant the supposition, that, in his other measures, he consulted less his own judgement than his instructions. "Stronger evidence than what is furnished by his recorded sentiments upon this subject, could not," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "be brought to shew the impracticability as well as impolicy of the schemes which were at this period contrived for effecting a change in our whole system relating to the political administration of our empire in India."

dominions, he intimated his intention of discharging about 20,000 of his horse; but large arrears being due to them, which Holkar could not immediately pay, he was compelled to give up his nephew, Khundee Rao, as a hostage for the satisfaction of their demands.* "The advantage of having the admitted head of the Holkar family in their custody, was not overlooked by a turbulent soldiery, already disaffected and mutinous. They immediately hoisted the standard of Khundee Rao, declared him the only legal representative, and refused obedience to Jeswunt Rao. But the over-awing power of the infantry, and the payment of their arrears, to defray which Holkar exacted a large sum from the Raja of Jeypoor, had an immediate effect in quashing the sedition. The innocent instrument of the mutineers fell a sacrifice to his enraged uncle, who secretly put him to death; and the ferocious jealousy of Jeswunt Rao, once roused, could not be allayed until he had also decreed the death of his brother, Khusee Rao, who was in like manner privately murdered. These atrocious deeds were the forerunner of a state of insanity, which was further evinced by extraordinary military preparations, carried on with an ardour and violence proportionate to the derangement of his intellects; until at last, in 1806, his extravagant con-

* The method adopted to carry their point was, by placing Holkar in *durna*. This restraint, troops in the irregular armies of India, have, from usage, a right of inflicting upon their chiefs, to compel payment of arrears. It consists in preventing them from moving from the place, or eating, till the affair is adjusted. The party inflicting this restraint, becomes equally subject to it; and the privation suffered by both parties, usually leads to a speedy compromise. The usage is, generally speaking, Sir John Malcolm says, strictly observed. "Other troops will not act against a party who are adopting this recognized mode of coercing their commander to the payment of their arrears."—Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 263.

duct led to his being put under restraint. In this state, he continued in his camp for the space of three years, until the 20th of October, 1811, when his miserable existence terminated."*

Jeswunt Rao is described as of low stature, but very strong and active make; his complexion very dark; and he had lost one eye by the bursting of a match-lock; but the expression of his countenance was not disagreeable, bespeaking something of humour as well as of manly boldness. He had been well educated for a Mahratta; could speak Persian, and wrote his mother tongue with correctness. He was also a quick and able accountant. He excelled in horsemanship, in the management of the spear, and in all manly exercises; but these were the extent of his commendable qualities. "The natural son of a freebooter," (thus Sir John Malcolm sums up his character,) "born to no expectation beyond that of commanding a body of predatory horse, and initiated in infancy into all that belonged to that condition, Jeswunt Row would have been distinguished, had his father lived, as one of the boldest and most active freebooters in a Mahratta army. This was, from the first, the fame he aspired to; and it would have been happy for himself and others, had his sphere continued limited to subordinate action. Although his natural energy sup-

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 318—320. Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. pp. 241—259. The fullest account of the Sindia and Holkar dynasties will be found in the latter work, to which the reader is referred for details of high interest, but of which our limits forbid us to take notice. The reign of Ahl'a Bhye, which immediately preceded the *garde du wakht*, or "period of trouble," extending from 1800 to 1818, forms one of the most remarkable epochs in the Mahratta history. The administration of that admirable princess, seems to have been a perfect model of wise and beneficent rule; and during more than thirty years, it secured the prosperity of her house and dominions. She died in 1795.—Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 174—195.

ported him in authority, Jeswunt Row was never more than the leader of an army of plunderers, to whom he lent the aid of his talents, his name, and his cause, and who, in return, adhered to him through the vicissitudes of his turbulent life. He directed, without controlling, their licentiousness; and they, awed by his vigour, and soothed by his ample indulgence to their worst excesses, served him with an obedience that made him terrible as a destroyer.* It may be questioned by those who seek to palliate his crimes, whether he could have enjoyed power on any other terms. But it must be admitted, that the part he acted was quite congenial to his character. He was indeed formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers. Master of the art of cajoling those who approached him, flattery, mirth, and wit were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops into good humour, when want of pay or other causes led to their being discontented or mutinous. But attempts at intimidation on their part, never failed of rousing a spirit which made the boldest tremble. The anger of Jeswunt Row was, however, soon over; and his disposition is represented, by all who served him, to have been naturally kind and generous. But his ruling passion was power on any terms; and to attain and preserve that, all means were welcomed. Nor could the most unworthy favourite (of whom he had several) suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress or to forward

* "The licentious passions of Jeswunt Row brooked no control; and the sacrifice of the honour of the females of their family, was no unusual road with courtiers to his favour." "His favourite drink was cherry and raspberry brandy, and the shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply."—Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 240—250.

the object of the moment. From the hour he commenced his career in Central India, the work of desolation began. His object, often declared, was to restore the Mahratta supremacy over India, by a revival of the ancient predatory system; but the times were different. Instead of the falling empire of the Moguls, he had to contend against the rising fortunes of the British; and in place of the national force employed by Sevajee, he had a motley band of desperate freebooters, who recognized no one common principle but the love of rapine. The failure of his campaign in Hindostan awakened this chief from his dreams of plunder and conquest. He tried to reform his army, and raved about improvements in his internal system of rule; but the end of his career approached. A life which had commenced in trouble, and which had been marked by all the extremes of poverty, of violence, of dissipation, of ambition, and of crime, was to terminate in insanity."*

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him under restraint, it was agreed, that the government should be administered by a regency, controlled by Ameer Khan, Holkar's most powerful general. Balaram Seit, Holkar's *dunn*, came ostensibly into the management of affairs; but he acted on all points under the immediate direction of Toolsah Bhye,

* Malcolm, C.I. vol. i. 234—238. The crisis of his insanity, of which the effects of excessive drinking were, probably, the primary cause, was hastened by the violent and incessant personal exertions which he made to provide himself with artillery. Night and day, he occupied himself at the furnaces and foundries, often pouring the metal into the mould with his own hands. By such efforts, he cast above 200 pieces of heavy ordnance in three or four months. His other improvements were pursued with similar vehemence and ardour. At length, he became himself sensible of the progress of his malady.

the favourite mistress of Jeswunt Row; a woman of profligate habits and most vindictive disposition, who was now considered as the legitimate head of the regency. The army, however, soon became insubordinate; and on the departure of Ameer Khan with his Patans for Rajpootana, to take advantage of the civil war between the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joudpoor, an attempt was made by an adventurer named Dherma Kower, to seize the reins of government. Having made himself master of the person of the insane prince and of Toolsah Bhye, as well as of the young prince Mullar Rao, he maintained his authority till the arrival of Ameer Khan with an army augmented by almost the whole of the Pindarries. For fifteen days, the regular infantry in the interest of Dherma, resisted all the attacks of the Patan cavalry. At length, finding himself closely pressed, Dherma had recourse to the desperate expedient of carrying off Jeswunt Rao and his son, and the regent, into the recesses of a thick jungle, with the supposed intention of murdering them. The design was frustrated by a chief of the household troops; and Dherma was himself arrested and put to death. After remaining about two months with the army, Ameer Khan returned to Rajpootana, to continue his ravages in that territory, leaving the government of Holkar's dominions in a state of inextricable anarchy. The expedients now adopted by Toolsah Bhye and her minister for the support of the court and army, were of the most desperate and ruinous description. Several of the principal officers were appointed soubahdars, and sent out with detachments of the army, with orders to collect or extort subsistence for them, and to remit what more they could levy, to the government. These commanders became answerable for the arrears due to their

troops, and they paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, besides presents to Toolsah Bhye's ministers; in return for which they received a license to plunder at discretion, without much regard to the rights of neighbouring states. The districts of Sindia and the Puar* suffered equally with those of Holkar; and the atrocious cruelties of these predatory soubahdars were not exceeded by the worst excesses of the Pindarries. One body of these marauders under Ally Khan Bungush, revolted, and after plundering in Khandeish, would have forced their way through the Nizam's territory to Holkar's districts of Amber; but the subsidiary forces of Poonah and Hyderabad were called out to oppose them; on which the rebels were dispersed, and Bungush was sent as a state prisoner to the fort of Bombay. The condition of the country was most deplorable. "Every where, the same scene of oppression presented itself. Open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns were battered till they paid contributions. Leaders who had been successful were, in their turn, attacked and plundered by those that were more powerful. Constant engagements took place between the troops of Sindia, Holkar, the Puar, and the Pindarries: while the Rajpoot princes and the predatory chiefs joined or deserted the different parties, as it suited their interest at the moment. The Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, left their usual mountain-fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains;

* The Puar family once enjoyed the highest consideration among the Mahrattas. Both Holkar and Sindia were ready to acknowledge their superior rank, at the very time that they were usurping their power and dispoiling their territories. The capital of their principality was Dhar. Another branch of the same family are chiefs of Dewas.—See Malcolm's C. I., vol. i. ch. 4.

and the villagers, driven to despair, became freebooters, to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbours. Such a state of affairs could not long continue. Hordes were soon forced from the scene of desolation to seek subsistence in distant lands. None of Holkar's territories escaped the general ruin of this period, which also involved those of the Puars of Dhar and Dewass, of the Nabob of Bhopaul, and partially those of Sindia, and of all the Rajpoot states, except Kotah, which rose amid the general wreck to increased wealth and prosperity."*

On the death of Jeswunt Rao, in 1811, Mulhar Rao, his son by a woman of a low tribe, but who had been adopted by Toolsah Bhye, was placed upon the *musnud*, and his title was universally acknowledged. This accession produced no change in the administration; but several attempts were made to overthrow the authority of Toolsah Bhye, by the factions in the interest, respectively, of Sindia and Ameer Khan. Nothing could be more wicked and shameless than the daily occurrences which took place at the court of the regent. The criminal intimacy between Toolsah Bhye and her *diwan*, Gunput Row, was matter of notoriety; and the general discontents were greatly inflamed by the barbarous murder of Balaram Seit, who had incurred the resentment of his mistress, by his remonstrances against her licentious conduct. Fresh mutinies were the result, which were made subservient to the intrigues of Ameer Khan; and the Mahratta and Patan parties came to open hostilities, which were terminated only by the advance of the British armies, in 1817, towards Central India.

Sindia's territory was nearly as much disturbed as

* Malcolm's C. I., vol. i. p. 282.

that of Holkar. His military establishment far exceeded his financial means; and to rid himself of the clamours of his troops, he was obliged to send them out to subsist upon the districts, in the manner which was adopted by Holkar; but some of them found employment in reducing several refractory zemindars and rajahs tributary to Sindia. On the death of Ambajee, in 1810, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud held by his family; and having established his camp at Gwalior, although he frequently went on pilgrimages and expeditions, he never moved his headquarters from that spot: hence, "Sindia's camp," as it is called, has become a great city.

The state of affairs at Nagpoor, under the government of Ragojee Bhoosla, partook of the weakness and confusion prevalent in the territories of the other Mahratta chiefs; with this difference, that the Rajah's troops being inferior, the country became more exposed to predatory inroads. Invited by these circumstances, Ameer Khan, in 1808, after establishing himself in Rajpootana, made a pretext of some alleged claim of the Holkar family to carry his ravages into Berar. The Rajah had not solicited the aid of the British; but the Governor-General could not contemplate with indifference the army of Ameer Khan, now swelled by the Pindarries, encamped on the banks of the Nerbuddah, and ready to overwhelm the Nagpoor country. No time was lost in assembling a considerable force on the eastern frontier of Berar, under the command of Colonel Close; and a detachment of the Bengal army under Colonel Martindell, was moved to the south-western province of Bundelcund. Lord Minto then wrote to Ameer Khan, requiring him to withdraw from the Nagpoor territory. His answer denied the right of the British Government to interfere in his

dispute with the Berar Rajah, and menaced the British territory with invasion, in the event of any hostile movement. Colonel Close now advanced into Malwah, where he occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, and other possessions of that freebooter, whose overthrow might at this time easily have been accomplished;* but the Governor-General, fearful of the financial consequences of prosecuting these advantages, retracted his first instructions to Colonel Close, and directed him to confine his exertions to the object of securing the immediate safety of the Rajah's territories. Ameer Khan was thus permitted to escape with an unbroken army, to prosecute new schemes of conquest and oppression. Aware, however, that a similar danger would recur with the return of the season, if the territory of Nagpoor was left unprotected, the Governor-General entered into a negotiation with Ragoje Bhonslay, on the principle of affording his Highness the permanent aid of a body of British troops. The Rajah was willing to come into this arrangement, on condition that he should not be charged with any part of the expense; but, before the treaty could be concluded,† Lord Minto had recalled the troops, to engage in an expedition against Java. The history of that important conquest does not belong to the present narrative; but its brilliant success, which was attributable, in great measure, to the promptness and energy with which, on his own

* "It was on this occasion, that a Madras and a Bengal force first met on the north of the Nerbuddah: Colonel Sir Barry Close having advanced to Seronj, where he met Colonel Martindell from Bundelkhund."—Prinsep, vol. i. p. 28.

† The policy of this alliance was recognised by the home authorities; and the determination of the Governor-General to interpose for the protection of the Berar Rajah, was approved as "a measure of defensive policy."

responsibility, Lord Minto decided upon the enterprise, formed an illustrious feature of his Indian administration.*

The advance of the British troops under Colonel Close, had excited great alarm among the freebooters; but his withdrawment was the signal for their reassembling, and they became more daring than ever. They overran different provinces of Berar, and burned one quarter of the Rajah's capital. A party of these plunderers, in 1812, violated the British territory, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapore, and succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty. It soon became evident, that an extensive and energetic system of measures would be necessary in order to their suppression; and although Lord Minto was reluctant to involve the Company in a fresh war, without the previous sanction of the authorities in England, he placed upon record his sentiments as to the necessity of such active measures; and he took care that the concurrent opinions of the ablest political officers should be transmitted to England. The consequence of such representations was, a gradual change in the views of those who had the supreme direction of Indian affairs, which prepared the way for the brilliant administration of his Lordship's successor.

No material alteration took place, during the administration of Lord Minto, in the relations of the British Government with the Peishwa, or in any of the minor or more dependent governments; but the

* Malcolm. P. II. vol. i. pp. 403—406; 427. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 388. Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1808, in consequence of the height to which the dissensions of the European officers at that Presidency had risen; and, by his firmness and moderation, he allayed a ferment which threatened the most serious consequences. From Madras, he proceeded in person with a large military force to the conquest of Java.

encroachments of Runjeet Singh, Rajah of Lahore, led to the decisive step of declaring the Seik chiefs between the Jumna and the Sutlej, to be under the British supremacy. Sir George Barlow, by withdrawing his protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted Runjeet Singh to extend his conquests. The assembling of a strong force on the British frontier, compelled him to desist from further aggression; and a treaty was concluded, by which he was bound never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej, than was necessary for the internal management of his districts in that quarter. A strong detachment, under the command of Sir David Ochterlony, was left in occupation of a permanent position at Loodiana, on the left bank of that river.

The alarm of hostile designs on the part of the French, was renewed in 1808, by intelligence of the arrival of an envoy from the Emperor Napoleon at the court of Tehraun. To counteract these designs, the Governor-General determined on sending Sir John Malcolm to Persia as his representative; and he proceeded to Bushier. On his arrival there, however, the ascendancy of French influence was manifested by his being refused permission to advance to Tehraun; and, considering it as unbecoming the dignity of the English nation, that its representative should enter into negotiation with a provincial governor, the General returned to Calcutta. In the mean time, the administration at home, without conferring with the Governor-General, had sent out Sir Harford Jones with credentials from the King of Great Britain. On his arrival in Persia, the royal envoy thought himself at liberty to refuse all attention to orders from India;

and he proceeded towards Tehraun, in direct opposition to the commands and wishes of the Calcutta Government. Circumstances had, in the interim, led to a change of policy at the Persian Court; and Sir Harford met with no difficulty in concluding a treaty, in March 1809, by which it was agreed to subsidize the Persian Government so long as they were at war with Russia, on condition of their aiding to repel any attempt on the part of the French. Against these proceedings on the part of the British ministry and their envoy, the Governor-General protested in the strongest manner, but without avail.*

The same alarm of a French invasion which dictated these missions to Persia, suggested one to the Court of Caubul; "and, though Shuja-ul-Mulk,† with whom an alliance was concluded, soon afterwards lost the throne, and became a fugitive, dependent on the generosity of the English, no embassy," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "ever better repaid the cost incurred, or more fully justified the wisdom of the government by whom it was sent. Before this mission, we were in comparative ignorance of the country of Afghanistan, and the actual condition of its inhabitants and rulers; a knowledge of which was quite

* Malcolm, P. H. vol. i. pp. 434—439. Mod. Trav. Persia, vol. i. p. 236, note. Sir John Malcolm strongly condemns the treaty itself as degrading and impolitic. He contends, also, that "to transfer the management of our political relations with Persia from India to England, and to employ an agent in that country, independent of the supreme government, was to embarrass the exercise of that great power which the law had vested in the Governor-General." The course persevered in by the British Government, "led many of the Persians to believe, that an actual difference of interests subsisted between the government of the King of England and that of the Company."

† The brother of Shah Zemaun, who had succeeded in seating himself on the throne in 1803.

essential as the ground of any future measure relative to the most vulnerable part of our eastern empire." *

It was during the administration of Lord Minto, that the Ghoorkalese mountaineers first attracted the notice of Government, by the increased frequency and boldness of their depredations on the provinces of Goorukpoor and Sarun. These excesses compelled the Governor-General to address the Court of Nepaul in very decided language; but he left India so soon after this occurrence, that the duty devolved upon his successor, of checking the encroachments of this proud and warlike people, and of vindicating the insulted honour of the British Government. In 1813, Lord Minto returned to England, where, in a few weeks, a sudden illness terminated the useful life of this virtuous and able nobleman. He was succeeded in the government of India by the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, by which title we shall therefore designate him, in taking a rapid outline of his brilliant administration.

Lord Hastings arrived at Calcutta, and assumed the reins of government, in October 1813. One of the first objects that forced itself upon his attention, was the pending dispute with the Nepaul Government. The reply to Lord Minto's letter, demanding the immediate evacuation of Bootwal and Sheeraj, was not received till December. It was replete with fulsome professions of respect and attachment to the British Government, but asserted the rights of the Goorkhalese sovereign to both districts. Lord Hastings was still anxious to terminate the dispute, if possible, by amicable negotiation; and even after the British

* Malcolm, P.H. vol. I p. 421. This mission was entrusted to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone; and we are indebted to it for the valuable information comprised in his "Account of Caubul."

agent had been warned by the Nepaulese commissioners to quit the frontier, the Governor-General addressed a further appeal to the Ghoorkalese prince; but this being contemptuously disregarded, a detachment was sent from Goorukpoor to occupy the disputed lands. No resistance was made, and they were placed under the management of native civil officers. No sooner, however, had the troops been withdrawn, than the Nepaulese suddenly surrounded the three police-stations in Bootwal, killed eighteen, and wounded six persons, and put to death the superior local officer of the British Government, with circumstances of particular barbarity. As the season was too far advanced for the British troops to take the field, Sir Roger Martin, the Goorukpoor magistrate, ordered his *thanas* in Sheeraj to retire on Bansee, relinquishing, for the present, all that he had occupied. One of the outposts was, however, surprised at Rourah, by the Nepaulese, on the 3rd of June, who killed four more men, and wounded two. Still, the formal declaration of war * was delayed by the Governor-General till after the rains, in order as well to allow time for persons engaged in trade with Nepaul, to withdraw their capital, as to give the Ghoorka Rajah an opportunity of disavowing the outrage that had been committed. Instead of this, he boldly avowed and supported it; and the most active military preparations were made by the Nepaulese along the whole extent of their frontier. The declaration of war was at length issued by his Lordship from Lucknow, on the 1st of November, 1814.

The frontier which was now to be the scene of war, stretched to a distance of about 600 miles. Dur-

* The proclamation itself, which recites these facts, is given by Sir John Malcolm, P.H. vol. ii. Appendix 7.

ing the preceding fifty years, the Goorkhalese, by a policy closely resembling that which had made the English masters of India, had extended their dominion over the whole of the strong country which skirts the northern frontier of Hindostan, extending as far as the river Teesta to the east, and westward to the Sutlej. Prithee Nurayun Sah, the founder of the system which raised his nation to power, was, about seventy years ago, the lord of the small state of Ghoorka, situated considerably to the north of Nepaul. Taught by the example of our early victories in Bengal, he armed and disciplined a body of troops after the English fashion, with which he fell upon the neighbouring petty states of eastern Nookote and Bailkote.* He then turned his views to the valley of Nepaul. This valley, lying within a circumference of forty miles, was then divided into the three independent lordships of Bhatgong, Katmandoo, and Patun, the chiefs of which were in a state of open warfare. Runjeet Mull, the Rajah of Bhatgong,

* The reigning family, Colonel Kirkpatrick says, affect to derive their descent from the Rajpoot princes of Oudipoor; and some pretend to date the migration of this race from the invasion of Rajpootana by Allah-ud-deen. "All that we know for certain concerning this race, is, that they have subsisted in the mountainous country bordering on the Gunduk, for a considerable period, during which they have gradually risen into power by successive encroachments on their neighbours. On their first coming from the southward, they appear to have established themselves at West Nookote, or Nookote of Abudi Rolah, which is in the Palpa quarter, and whither they advanced through the Kumaoon mountains. Hence, they stretched their dominion towards Lamjoong; adding, at some distance of time, the possession of Goorkha to their other acquisitions. Here they are said to have been fixed for six generations." Kirkpatrick, p. 208. Dr. F. Hamilton states, however, that the House of Gorkha belongs to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminical institutions. Hamilton, p. 24. The aboriginal Nepaulese are, like their neighbours in Bhotan, of the Tatar or Chinese family.

had invited the dangerous aid of Prithee Narayun Goorkhali, to assist him in his ambitious schemes against the dominions of his neighbours, Jey Purkash, Rajah of Katmandoo, and Tuja Ner Singh, Rajah of Patun. But Runjeet Mull soon discovered the treacherous views of his ally, and concluded an accommodation with the chiefs of Katmandoo and Patun, in conjunction with whom he made a fruitless effort to repel the artful Goorkhali. The Nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Cassim, attempted to interfere in 1762, 3, but sustained a signal defeat under the walls of Mukwanpoor; and an expedition sent out by the Bengal Government, under Major Kinloch, in 1767, with a view to succour the Nepaul Rajahs, was not more successful, owing to the unforeseen difficulties attending the attempt to penetrate into a country then almost entirely unknown.* After a struggle of more than ten years, the Ghoorkalese prince succeeded in subjugating the whole of Nepaul. The Rajah of Katmandoo did not long survive the loss of his dominions and liberty; the Patun Rajah is reported to have been put to death by the conqueror; and Runjeet Mull, surrendering his capital to his treacherous confederate in 1768, retired to Benares, where he died shortly afterwards, leaving a son, Abhoot Singh, who for some time laboured to engage the British Government in measures for re-instating him in his paternal dominions. Prithee Narayun died in 1771, having previously extended his conquests eastward to the Teesta. His son and successor, Singh Pertaub, in a reign of little more than three years, added to his dominions some districts lying south-west

* Prior to Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission to Katmandoo, in 1793, no Englishman had ever passed the mountains which separate the valley of Nepaul from the Bengal territory.

of Nepaul. In the reign of Rung Behaudur Sah, the next sovereign, the work of conquest rapidly proceeded. All the states lying between Kashki and Sreenuggur, including the territories of no fewer than forty-six petty princes, were either annexed to the Ghoorka kingdom, or rendered tributary.* Not content with having extended their dominion to the Gograh, the Ghoorkalese crossed that river, hoping to gain possession of even the rich valley of Cashmeer. Kumaoon soon yielded; but Gurwal resisted their efforts for twelve years, chiefly from the strength of one fort. From the confines of Gurwal to the Sutlej, all the country fell an easy prey. When once established at Sreenuggur, they crossed that river, and laid siege to the strong fort of Kangrah. But there, their good fortune deserted them. The inhabitants, assisted by the Seiks, to whom they are tributary, resisted all the efforts of the invaders, who lost more men in that long protracted siege, than in the conquest of half the country besides.†

The conquests westward of the Gograh, were achieved by a Goorkhalese general, named Umur Singh Thappa; who, having been for many years at the head of a successful army, had acquired a power which the nationality of his troops, or his own patriotism, alone prevented him from making independent. In the mean time, Rung Behander had been deposed by a strong faction, headed by the *Rance*, who placed her son on the throne; and the ex-rajah fled to the pro-

* The whole of these fortesix petty states, consisting of the *Chowbeesia Raej* (twenty-four states), and the *Baeid Raej* (twenty-two states), were formerly tributary to the Jumlah Rajah. Kirkpatrick, p. 203.

† Fraser's Journal, pp. 5, 6.

tection of the British at Benares. In the interval of his exile, the Bengal Government concluded a commercial treaty with the ruling faction, and Captain Knox was sent as resident to Katmandoo in 1802. But the same jealousy of the British that had frustrated the object of Colonel Kirkpatrick's mission ten years before, was still alive; and Captain Knox was recalled, and the connexion broken off, in 1804. Soon after this, Rung Behauder left Benares in consequence of intelligence from his adherents, and again established himself on the throne; but his vindictive proceedings led to a second conspiracy, headed by his younger brother, who was among the number that he had proscribed. The Rajah was cut down by a blow from his brother's sword, as he sat in full durbar, in 1806. A barbarous affray followed, in which the assassin himself was slain, with most of the chief men of the state, and the royal family was nearly extinguished. An infant son of the Rajah's was with difficulty secreted in the women's apartments, and was proclaimed, a few days afterwards, under the title of Jirhan Joodeheer Bheem Sah.* He was still in his minority when the war broke out with the British; and the power of the state remained in the hands of an aristocracy, headed by the Thappa family. Bheem Sein Thappa, who assumed the English title of General, had the principal conduct of affairs at the capital. He was the son of a chief named Kajee Umur Singh Thappa, Governor of Palpa on the Gooruhpoor frontier, who died in 1814; and it was his brother, Umur Singh, who had pushed his conquests west of the

* So Mr. Fraser writes it; but, in the treaty of peace as given by Mr. Pybourg, he is styled, Maharajah Kurnan Joth Bikram Sah Behauder Shumsher Jung.

Gwyrab, and who now occupied a line of posts round Ishar and Balaspoor, including the strong fortresses of Ramgurh and Malown.

In order fully to understand the nature and origin of the disputes which ultimately brought on the war, it is requisite that the reader should have a general idea of the situation of the contested territory. The whole range of hills which form the northern boundary of the Indian plains, is skirted by a magnificent forest, composed chiefly of the *Sál* tree (*Shorea robusta*), and nearly two days journey in extent.* Beyond this forest, towards Hindostan, is an open district, called the *Turace*, or *Terraine* (*Turepani*), which is valuable chiefly on account of the fine pasture which it yields in the months of April and May, when the periodical hot winds entirely destroy the herbage of the more southern regions.† The soil of the *Turace* is for the most part extremely rich; and though the number of wild elephants, rhinoceroses, and buffaloes that find shelter in the adjoining forest, make it very uncertain how far the husbandman will reap the fruits of his tillage, cultivation has, nevertheless, made rapid advances. The insalubrity of the climate, during a great portion of the year, prevents, however, the establishment of any considerable towns in the tract; and the population is for the most part migratory, retiring, at the commencement of the unhealthy season,

* The timber, though inferior to the teak of Malabar and Birmah, is useful in ship-building; and the boats which navigate the Upper Ganges, are almost exclusively made of it, as well as beams and rafters for building throughout Hindostan.

† Bullocks from Malwah, and even from the Deccan, come here to graze in these months; and the inducement or pasturage-rate levied by the border zemindars, is a very productive branch of the revenue.

either into the hills, or to a distance in the plains.* From time immemorial, the country within the hills and on the borders, has been divided among petty rajahs; and the Kole and the Terace have naturally been an object of contention. A chieftain possessing fastnesses in the hills, could always enforce contributions, by issuing thence, and carrying off booty from those who hesitated to comply. Hence, every hill rajah had a sweep of the forest and low country attached to his estate, which he was continually endeavouring to extend, either by intrigue or violence; and the border-war between different families, was transmitted from father to son, much in the same spirit as the hereditary feuds between the clans of the Scottish highlands. When the rajahs of the plains became subject to the Musulman yoke, those of the hills were suffered to retain their independence, and to pursue their old system. Such continued to be the state of the frontier, until the low countries fell under the British dominion, and the hills were gradually overrun by the Ghoorkalese, and consolidated by them into one empire. The British Government, following the example of the Mogul sovereigns, left the rajahs of the low country in undisturbed enjoyment of their territories, on the payment of a fixed land-tax. The Ghoorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill chieftain successively fell before them, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions,

* There are ruins, however, at Sumroo, and in other parts of the Terace, which indicate that this tract was not always deemed so unhealthy. The insalubrity of the forest tract, Bishop Heber says, has greatly increased within the last twenty years, which is attributed by the natives themselves to the depopulation produced by invasion; in particular that of Ameer Khan, in 1805.

took up the claims and interests of their former lords. This brought them in contact with the zemindars under the British protection, who, unable to contend against so warlike an enemy, had no alternative but to resign the object in dispute. Unless the encroachment was very gross, an injured zemindar could seldom hope to succeed in interesting the British authorities in his favour, as the Government was no loser by the usurpation, and was moreover inclined to regard the Ghoorkhalese nation as a well-disposed neighbour whom it was desirable to conciliate.

The disputes on the Saran frontier, one of the main causes of the war, arose from the clashing claims to the sovereignty of a district, on the part of two of the hill rajahs. The Rajah of Champaran, who resided at Betia, had long been at variance with his neighbour, the Rajah of Mukwanpoor; and among other grounds of contention, each laid claim to the *pergunnah* of Sumroon. The Mukwanpoor family had granted Rotechut and Puchrouttee, two *tuppas* (subdivisions) of this district, in *jagheer*, to a Mussulman named Abdullah Beg, who had obtained a confirmation of his tenure by the Nazim of Moorshedabad. The Betia Rajah at first resisted his taking possession, but ultimately gave Abdullah a deed of gift (*sunnud*) for the same lands. When, in 1763, Prithee Narayun had subdued the Mukwanpoor Rajah, he resolved to resume Abdullah's *jagheer*; and, not content with seizing his lands, after a year or two, he seized twenty-two villages more, which he claimed as included in Rotechut, though not in the *jagheerdar*'s possession. Abdullah fled to the English authorities, who took up his cause, and made his injuries one ground of the declaration of war, issued prior to the advance of Major Kinloch in 1767. That officer, having failed to pene-

trate into the hills, was instructed to occupy the whole *Turace*, on the old and convenient plea of indemnification for the military expenses incurred; and Abdullah was re-instated in his *jaghier*. When peace was made with the Nepaulese, a long investigation ensued as to the sovereignty; and Mr. Hastings finally decided, in 1788, (upon the strength of the first deed of grant to Abdullah,) that it belonged to Mukwanpoor; but the twenty-two villages remained in the possession of the Chumparun Rajah, as part of the *tuppa* of Nunnar or Noor. Thus matters stood till the end of 1810, when the Nepaulese Soubah of Botcelpat crossed the frontier with a party of armed men, and having seized and stockaded Kewya, one of the villages, began plundering and levying contributions in eight others. The Bettia people resisted this aggression, and an affray followed, in which the Ghoorkalese leader was killed. A reinforcement was then sent down from Katmandoo, which immediately seized on the whole of the twenty-two villages.

Bootwal and Shoorej had been occupied by the Ghoorkalese, under the pretence of holding them as *zemindarees* under the Company. These districts formed part of the Oude territory, ceded to the British by the Vizier in 1801. It had become a common practice, at that time, for a hill rajah to gain possession of an estate by usurpation, and then to obtain an acknowledgement of his title by the native *amel* (government-collector), by being permitted to engage for the revenue. In this manner, the Rajah of the independent hill territory of Palpa had contrived to possess himself of Bootwal, lying for the most part in the plains, for the revenue of which he accounted to the Vizier's government; but soon after it came into the Company's possession, he was driven out of his

native territories, and put to death by the Ghoorkalese; upon which his family took refuge at Goorukpoor, putting their estates in Bootwal in the hands of the Company's agents. The Nepaulese Government, however, laid claim to Bootwal, on the ground of having conquered the Palpa Rajah; and during the administration of Sir George Barlow, they occupied the whole of the territory. When its evacuation was demanded by the British Government, they offered to farm it as a *zemindaree*. They had also taken possession of Shooraj on the same frontier, together with the *talooks* of Tilpoor and Bansookpoor, which they held by the same sufferance; professing to be accountable for the revenue, which they paid, or not, according to circumstances. Emboldened by this supineness on the part of the British authorities, they, in 1810–11, crossed the small river which forms the boundary of Bootwal, and began to occupy some villages in the neighbouring *pergunnah*; they also extended their encroachments beyond Shooraj; and when, in the administration of Lord Minto, these aggressions attracted the serious attention of the Bengal Government, the Ghoorkalese Governor of Palpa, Umur Singh Thappa, answered the demands of the Governor-General, by asserting a distinct right to all the territory he had taken. An attempt was made in 1812, 13, to adjust the dispute by negotiation; but the Nepaulese commissioners shewed no disposition to concession; and in March 1814, they were suddenly recalled to Katmandoo. The strong sensation produced at that Court by Lord Hastings's letter, led to this decided measure; and, at a council held in the following month, after a debate of many hours, war was finally resolved upon. Policy led them, however, to give no intimation of their hostile intentions; and an evasive

answer was returned to the Governor-General's letter, in which no notice was taken of the specific subject of dispute.*

These aggressions on the Saran and Goorukpur frontiers, although the most important, were not the only instances. The magistrate of Tirhoot reported, that, between 1787 and 1813, upwards of 200 villages had, on various pretexts, been seized upon by these encroaching mountaineers. On the Purneah frontier, they had seized the zemindaree of Bheemnugger; but were forced to evacuate it by a British detachment sent against them in 1810. Towards Rohilcund, in Moradabad, and in the Seik country they were also pushing their usurpations or their claims.

Lord Hastings now resolved to act on the offensive against the enemy, along the whole line of their frontier, from the Sutlej to the Koosee. The army was, accordingly, formed into four divisions; one at Benares, one at Meerut, one at Dinapoor, and one at Loodeana. The first division, at Dinapoor, consisting of 6000 men under Major-general Marley, was intended to seize the pass at Mukwanpoor, and to push forward to Katmandoo, the capital. The second, or Benares division, about 3000 strong, under Major-general S. Wood, was to penetrate by Bootwal into Palpa, and then to co-operate with the first division. The third division, formed at Meerut, under Major-general Gillespie, of about 3000 men, was to march

* Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 69—76. The debate is said to have lasted from nine o'clock A. M. till eight at night. Some in the council were apprehensive of the result. "We have hitherto," they said, "but hunted deer: if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers." The advocates of war rested their arguments chiefly on the invulnerability of their hill territory, which not even Alexander had been able to subdue; and adverted to the defeat of the English in their attempts on Bhurtpoor. General Rhees was took this side, and his counsel prevailed.

first to the Dehra Doon, and having reduced the forts in that fertile valley, to move, as might be deemed expedient, either to the eastward, to recover Sreenuggur and Gurwal, or to the westward, to gain the pass of Nahn, the chief town of Sirmore, and so to sweep on towards the Sutlej. The last division, consisting of somewhat less than 3000 men, under Brigadier-general Ochterlony, was destined to advance from Loodeana against the strong and extensive cluster of posts held by Umur Singh Thappa, in the hilly country bordering on the Sutlej, and, eventually, to co-operate with the third division. Beyond the Koosee, eastward, Major Latter was furnished with 2000 men for the defence of the Poornea frontier, with directions to open a communication with the Rajah of Sikkim,* for the purpose of encouraging him to act against the Ghoorkalese in that quarter. Such were the dispositions made for the most arduous campaign in which the British had hitherto engaged; owing, not more to the physical obstacles to success, than to the character of the enemy, by whom they were encountered with an obstinacy and cool determination quite new in India.

Major-general Gillespie, to whom was entrusted the command of the third division, was the first to penetrate the enemy's frontier. On the 22nd of October, he seized the Keree (or Timlee) pass leading into the Doon; and thence advanced, without opposition, to Dehra, the principal town in the valley. About five miles from Dehra, is the fort of Kalunga or Nalapanee, built on an insulated hill between five and six

* Sikkim, bounded on the east by the Teesta, and on the west by the Michee, extends northward to the snowy range, and is tributary to Lassa. The Rajah's minister had invited the common enemy, who had acquired a footing at Nagree; and the contest was now going on.

hundred feet high. Here Bhulbuddur Singh, nephew of Umur Singh, had taken up his station, at the head of about six hundred men. A letter was sent to this chief, summoning him to surrender the fort. It was delivered to him at midnight, and he tore it, observing, that it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unreasonable hours; but he sent his *salaam* to the English *sirdar*, with the assurance that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp. Misled, in some degree, by his information respecting the strength of the place, General Gillespie had sent forward a detachment to take the fort by assault. This was soon found to be impracticable, and the General advanced with his whole army. Having taken possession of the further end of the ridge on which the fort is built, he formed a hasty battery, at 600 yards distance, for his light guns, and gave orders to prepare for storming on the next day. The enemy had in the mean time been diligently occupied in strengthing his position. The wall of the fort had been raised, though it was not then quite finished, so as to render it difficult to gain the top without ladders, even in the lowest part. Every point where the fort was approachable or weak, was covered by stockades, a species of fortification in which the Ghoorkalese are highly skilled. Guns were placed where they could do most execution; and at a wicket, left open, but cross-barred, which flanked a great part of the wall, a gun was placed to enfilade the approach with showers of grape. In the course of the night, the General disposed his division into four parties, who, upon a given signal, were to move simultaneously from the battery and surrounding valley, to escalade the walls. Unfortunately, the signal was of a nature very liable to be mistaken,—the firing of guns from

the battery in a particular manner; and having, early in the morning, fired upon the fort for some time without producing the expected effect, the impetuosity of the General's temper led him to give the signal an hour before the time previously announced. It was heard by two only of the four columns, who, having carried the stockades, pushed on to the walls under a very heavy fire of musketry. Scarcely had Lieutenant Ellis, of the pioneers, planted the first ladder, at the head of his division, than a shower of grape was opened from the wicket, which, taking them in flank, swept down, with their brave officer, the whole front line. An attempt was then made to gain the wicket, but it was ineffectual; and the troops were compelled to fall back under shelter of some huts in the rear.* The General, on seeing this, with fatal impetuosity, resolved to head a fresh assault in person. He moved on from the batteries with three fresh companies of the 53rd, but was not so readily followed as he wished. At the head of about one hundred dismounted dragoons, he had, however, reached a spot within thirty yards of the wicket, when, as he was waving his hat to cheer his men, he was shot through the heart. His aide-de-camp was killed by his side; three other officers were killed, and fifteen were wounded. The death of the General was the signal for retreat; and Colonel Mawbey, upon whom the command devolved, deemed it expedient to retire to Dehra, to await the arrival of a battering train from Delhi. This occupied till the 24th of November, when operations were re-commenced; and, by the 27th, a breach had been effected. But in vain did the British officers exert themselves

* Women were seen occupied in hurling down stones, and undauntedly exposing their persons.—Fraser, p. 17.

to induce the troops to mount to the assault. They were impressed with so superstitious a conviction of the impracticability of the breach, that they could not be brought to advance; and after an immense sacrifice of valuable lives, a retreat was sounded. This petty fortress had already cost the assailants considerably more than the entire number of its garrison.

It was now determined to shell the fort, and to cut off the supply of water, which, there was reason to believe, was obtained from without the walls. Had this plan been adopted at the commencement of the siege, the fall of the place would have been effected with facility, and would thus have saved all the blood that was spilled, besides the loss of two months of the favourable season, with the disrepute of two disastrous failures. On the night of the 30th, Bulbudder evacuated the fort with the remnant of his garrison, about seventy men, and having secretly passed the line of posts drawn round it, joined a party which had been sent from Nahn to reinforce the place. Nalapanee was found in a shocking state, full of the mangled remains of men and women.* The fort was razed, and the main body of the division advanced by the pass of Kolapanee, towards Nahn. A detachment was left strongly posted at Kalsee, at the north-western extremity of the Doon, which commands the passes of the Jumna, to cut off the communication between the western and eastern portions of the Ghoorka territory; and, on the 4th

* "The desperate courage they had opposed to means so overwhelming," Mr. Fraser says, "was horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house. Those who yet lived, piteously called for water, of which they had not tasted for days." The stench arising from the half-interred bodies was dreadful. Upwards of ninety corpses were buried by our troops, and about an equal number of wounded were sent to the hospital.

of December, the strong position of Bárat, situated on a mountain nearly 6000 feet high, to the N.E. of Kalee, was abandoned by the enemy, and occupied by Colonel Carpenter.

The command of the third division was now entrusted to Major-general Martindell, who joined the army on the 20th of December, at the pass of Mogunund, seven miles from Nahn. That town, though situated on a hill 2000 feet high, was not deemed by the enemy of sufficient strength for their main stand; and Runjour Singh, the commander, had orders to retire to a position north of the town. He now occupied the surrounding heights and the fort of Jythuk (or Jytok), situated at a point where two spurs of mountainous ridges meet; the peak, at the intersection, rising to a height of 3600 feet above the level of the plains of Hindostan. General Martindell, having ascertained the evacuation of Nahn, sent forward two battalions to occupy it on the 24th; and on the following day, moved forward with his whole force. The pioneers had already been employed in making a road for the battering guns, which, it was evident, would be necessary for reducing the fort of Jythuk; but the time likely to be occupied in this tedious operation was so great, that it was determined to make an attempt to take the place by surprise. After a cursory and inadequate examination of the position, two columns of troops were sent to occupy different arms of the ridges. The first column, destined to take possession of the southern arm, gained the crest of the ridge; but the rashness of the advanced guard in pressing forward to storm a stockade, before the main body of the detachment had had time to form, ruined the whole enterprise. They were repulsed and driven back upon the native infantry, who, being in

confusion, were panic-struck; and the retreat to Nalee became a perfect flight. In the mean time, the second column, having a detour of sixteen miles to make before they could reach the intended point on the northern ridge, had not established themselves in their position till two hours after the first had returned to camp after their defeat. Astonished at hearing nothing in the direction of the other post, they nevertheless maintained themselves against the whole Ghoorkalese force till two hours after sunset; when orders reached them from the General to make the best possible retreat. At this time, although they had had to sustain nine successive charges from the enemy, Major Richards had not lost more than 20 or 30 men; but having no hope of a reinforcement, and his ammunition being nearly exhausted, there was no alternative but to obey his instructions. "The Ghoorkalese were at this moment swarming round the hill. The night was darkening round. The men were weary with their long march and a six hours' conflict, and were exhausted by a want of water, which there had been no means of procuring for several hours. The moment that the enemy saw our troops quitting the hill, they rushed in on all sides, cutting down the loiterers. The ground was so steep and broken, that it was impossible long to preserve order. While descending a steep defile, the Ghoorkalese, knowing the ground, attacked a party in advance, and thus caught our people in a double fire: then, on all sides, they broke in, cutting down the most unprotected."* Owing, however, to the bravery and self-devotion of the covering party, who kept the whole Ghoorkalese force in check, the loss was less severe than might have been expected. After

* Fraser, p. 53.

all the stragglers had come in, it was reduced to four officers and seventy-eight men killed; five officers and 203 men wounded and missing. Several of those who were at first missing, having lost their way in the confusion and darkness, had been sheltered in the houses of the natives, and kindly treated; and a *soubahdar* and forty men, who had fallen into the hands of Runjore Singh, had been sent back on their taking an oath not to fight against the fort again. The wounded also had their option to remain and be taken care of, or to go along with their comrades. The humanity and courtesy shewn by the enemy on this and on other occasions, were worthy of a more enlightened people.* After this unfortunate business, the British army entrenched itself at Nahn, and no enterprise of any moment was for a considerable time attempted by General Martindell.

The operations of the first and grand division of the

* The garrison at Kahunga displayed the same generous spirit of courtesy. "Whatever the nature of the Ghoorkas may have been found in other quarters," says Mr. Fraser, "there was here no cruelty to wounded or to prisoners: no poisoned arrows were used: no wells or waters were poisoned; no ruthless spirit of revenge seemed to animate them. They fought us in fair conflict, like men: and in the intervals of actual combat, shewed us a liberal courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people. So far from insulting the bodies of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to be untouched till carried away: and none were stripped, as is too generally the case. The confidence they exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering: they solicited and obtained surgical aid: and on one occasion, this gave rise to a singular and interesting scene. While the batteries were playing, a man was perceived on the breach, advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased firing for awhile, and the man came into the batteries: he proved to be a Ghoorka, whose lower jaw had been shattered by a cannon shot, and who came thus frankly to solicit assistance from his enemy. He recovered: and when discharged from the hospital, signified his desire to return to his corps, to combat us again."—Fraser, p. 28.

army, under General Marley, had not been more successful. On the 23d of Nov., the General crossed the Ganges, and proceeded towards Bettiah. On the 24th, a party in advance under Major Bradshaw, surprised and carried a post of the enemy at Barburwah, on the right flank of the Bagmottee; and the whole of the *Turace*, being evacuated by the Ghoorkalee, was annexed by proclamation to the British possessions. General Marley arrived in the Puchrouta *Teppa* on the 12th of December; but, except an affair of outposts, in which two companies of British troops were almost entirely destroyed, the army remained in a state of inaction through the whole of January. The General, deeming his force insufficient to undertake offensive measures against an enemy so enterprising, and whose numerical force he greatly over-rated, abandoned all idea of penetrating into the hills in pursuance of his instructions. At length, on the 10th of Feb., unable to endure the irksomeness of his situation, he suddenly left the camp, without publishing any previous notification of his intentions to the troops.* Major-general George Wood was now ordered up from the presidency, to take the command of the Sarun army. He joined it on the 22d, and found that the enemy, intimidated by a partial check they had received from a reconnoitring party supported by cavalry, had withdrawn every position they had established in the forest and the *Turace*, leaving the passage free: not a Ghoorkali was to be seen below the hills. "The new General, however, adopted the opinion, that the season of the fever had arrived, and that it would be risking the health and efficiency of his fine army, (now augmented to 13,400 regular troops,) were

* For this conduct, it was deemed proper to strike him off the roll.

he to attempt to penetrate the forest. He accordingly contented himself with sweeping its skirt, in a long march eastward to Janikpoor, and back again; and thus the season closed, actually without his seeing a single enemy."*

The operations of the second division, under Major-general Sullivan Wood, were not more fortunate or important. The army began to move from Goorukpoor on the 13th of December, towards the Bootwul pass, which they reached on the 31st, without seeing an enemy. But, on entering the forest, unsuspicious of attack, the troops were suddenly saluted with a shower of balls from among the trees. As soon as the enemy shewed themselves, they were forced back by the British bayonet; but, "much loss having been sustained, and some confusion having taken place, and the coolies and bearers having thrown away the spare ammunition, it was resolved to retire."† After this feeble attempt, no movement of any consequence took place till the 15th of April, an interval of between three and four months. The General, deceived by false reports, could not get rid of the impression, that his force was too weak to attempt any thing against the enemy. At length, on the arrival of a battering train from Goorukpoor, he was induced to draw up his army before Bootwul, and opened a desultory fire against the place for some hours. An attempt was then made to cross the river which flows past the town; but the water was found too deep, and the enterprise was abandoned. Immediately after this abortive manœuvre, General Wood laid waste the Ghoorkalese portion of the *Turace*, and then retired to cantonments at Goorukpoor.

These disastrous and disgraceful failures, which

* Prinsep, i. 140. † Fraser, 23.

tended greatly to weaken the impression of the British power in the minds of the natives of India,* were in some measure counterbalanced by the widely different results which attended the operations of the fourth division in the north-west. "General Ochterlony, who took the field at the same time with Gillespie, and was opposed to Umur Singh in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of the character of his enemy, and of the difficulties he would have to encounter. He resolved, therefore, to proceed with the utmost caution. On the 31st of October, he reached Flasem, situated in a valley within the hills, which he entered, from the Sutlej, by a pass less difficult than most of those further east. Umur Singh was at this time at Urkee, considerably within the hills. They run here in broken ridges, stretching N.N.W.; and each ridge affords, of course, a series of positions. The outermost ridge was surmounted by the fort of Nalagurh, which, with an out-post at Taragurh, commanded the principal route into the hills. On the next range stood Ramgurh, Joorjooree, Chamba, and a second Taragurh; above this, again, towered the heights of Maloun; behind which lay Urkee on one side, and, on the other, the

* "The unexpected obstacles which arose to impede our operations against Nepaul, and the reverses which attended our first efforts in the war with that country, gave rise to intrigues and movements among the native states of India, evincing a very general disposition to combine against our power. Runjeet Singh approached the Sutlej; Ameer Khan encamped near our frontier in Hindostan; and letters and messengers passed daily between the Mahratta courts of Poonah, Nagpore, and Gwalior. The precise nature and extent of the projects entertained at this moment, were not ascertained; but no doubt remained of the agitation of plans directed against the existence of the British Government. The signs, however, which attended the operations of Sir David Ochterlony in the hills of Kumaon, completely changed the scene, and at least checked the execution of the projected measures."—Malcolm. P.H. vol. i. p. 456.

capital of Umar Singh's staunch ally, the Raja of Belaspur. Between was a comparatively fruitful valley, whence Umar Singh could draw his supplies in case of his occupying any of the above ridges. Having thrown positions into the forts of the Nalagurh and Ramgurh hills, and reckoning apparently, that General Ochterlony would be occupied some time before them, Umar Singh was in no hurry to leave his position at Urkee. The British General, resolving to put nothing to hazard, made a road with great labour, and sat himself down, with his heavy guns, before Nalagurh, on the 1st of November. He had breached the wall, when the garrison surrendered on the 5th, capitulating also for the stockade on the same ridge, called Talagurh. Umar Singh came down and took position on the Ramgurh range the same day, leaving small garrisons at Urkee and Sulathoo behind him. The position of Ramgurh was so steep on the side towards the plains, that the Major-general determined to turn it, if possible, and to operate on its rear. These ridges are all so many steps to the Heemachul (or Himalaya); such, therefore, as it approximates to that stupendous range, towers over that before it, and the steeper side is always towards the plains. Ramgurh stood nearly in the middle of the ridge, and formed Umar Singh's right."*

During the month of November, the General was busily occupied with surveying and improving the roads, and reconnoitring Umar Singh's position on every side. The news of the second failure of the third division before Nalapanee, confirmed him in the resolution to put nothing to hazard; and the promise of a reinforcement induced him to defer the attack on the enemy.

* Prinsep, vol. i pp. 104—106.

The time, however, was not lost. The General exerted himself in winning over the Pharra Rajah;* and Ebring succeeded, he obtained his assistance in making a road for artillery, from Mukran, by Khundee, to Nehur, three miles N.N.E. of Ranggurh, where he had previously established his head-quarters. On the 27th of December, the additional troops and artillery having joined, Colonel Thompson was detached with fourteen strong companies, to attack two stockades on a spur of the Ranggurh ridge, opposed to General Ochterlony's right. The success which attended this movement, placed Colonel Thompson in the rear of Umur Singh's centre, so as entirely to intercept the supplies he received by the Urkee road, and to incommode his communication with Belaspoor. Seeing this, the Ghoorkalese general shifted his grounds deserted all his stockades to the left of Ranggurh; and keeping that fort still as his right, took up a reversed position, so as to oppose a new front to the British army, which had turned his left. As the ridge on which Colonel Thompson was lodged did not afford the means of approaching the main stockades of the enemy's new position, (the intervening ground being particularly rugged,) a different plan of operations became necessary, and General Ochterlony put in execution the following masterly movement. Crossing the Gumla river from Nehur, he went along the Urkee road, till he turned the Malom ridge; and thence, sending on Colonel Thompson a-head, he made a long detour in the direction of Belaspoor. Colonel Arnold was left to watch Umur Singh, who, as was expected, no sooner perceived the object of the detour made by the British General, than he moved off with his whole force in

* Ram Surun Sen, Rajah of Hindur and Pharra.

take up the stronger position of Malaun, fearing lest the British might otherwise pre-occupy it. The stockaded position of Mungoo-ka-Dhar, which had been his head-quarters, was occupied by Colonel Arnold on the 12th of January; but small Ghoorkalese garrisons were still left in the stone redoubts of Ramgurh, Taragurh, Chamba, and Joorjooree. While Colonel Cooper commenced operations against these, Colonel Arnold, in pursuance of his instructions, proceeded towards Belaspoor. Owing to the difficulties of the route, and the delay occasioned by a week's heavy rain and snow, it was not till the beginning of February that the Brigadier reached Tulsoora, the point assigned him, and established himself at the extremity of the Malaun range. He subsequently reduced Ratungurh, a fort disjointed from the ridge, but lying directly between Malaun and Belaspoor.

In the mean time, a party of irregulars, under Capt. Ross, had, on the 18th of January, occupied the heights of Punalee, commanding the valley of Belaspoor, through which the Sutlej flows. The Rajah of Belaspoor, after an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge him from this position, fled across the river, and was at length induced by the fear of losing his country, to make his terms and submit. Some time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts. By dint of great exertion, an eighteen-pounder was dragged up to the batteries; and on the 16th, the face of the fort of Ramgurh was laid in ruins. The garrison capitulated for themselves and for Joorjooree, and were allowed to march out with the honours of war. The two commanders, however, on joining Umur Singh, were punished with the loss of their noses and ears, for having given up the forts except with their lives; and the rest of the garrisons were disgraced. Taragurh

was breached on the 10th of March, and the garrison evacuated the fort in the night.* Chamba, on the same ridge, surrendered on the 16th, after a day's battering. The whole of the strong forts in the rear being thus reduced and occupied, Colonel Cooper followed the main army, to take part in the final operations against Maloun. By the 14th of April, all was prepared for a combined movement, the plan of which the General had been for some time maturing.

The position where Umar Singh had now concentrated his forces, consisted of a line of fortified posts, upon a lofty and difficult ridge, which projects into the Sutlej, between two small rivers, the Gumba and the Gumrorah; the former being to the northward, and both flowing to the west. Between the extreme positions of the enemy, at the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, there were several intervening peaks, each of which was crowned with a stockade, excepting two, called Ryla peak and Deothul. The former was conveniently situated for operations against Soorujgurh; the latter was in the very heart of the Ghoorkalese position, and not a thousand yards from Maloun. Of these, the General resolved to gain possession. Ryla peak was occupied without resistance by three British columns, on the 15th, but Deothul was not gained till after a very severe contest; and the day was spent in desultory fighting about the position. The chief loss sustained by the British, however, was in a simultaneous attack on the enemy's cantonments near Maloun, which, though not altogether successful, answered the end of withdrawing the enemy's attention from the main attacks. During the night, every exertion was made to throw up defences about Deothul,

* Taragurh, Mr. Fraser says, was found to be the strongest place the enemy possessed.

from the well-founded conviction that the struggle for that post was yet to come. It was, indeed, a night of anxiety to both parties. Bukhtyar Thappa, Umar Singh's best officer, saw from Soorujgurh, the serious character of the operation intended; and he repaired to Malown, to represent to Umar Singh the necessity of dislodging the British from their position. The *élite* of the Ghoorkalese army were in this emergency collected; and two thousand (more than could well operate at once upon the broken ground of the ridge) were placed under command of Bukhtyar, who silently posted them in ambuscade, under the cover of the night. Just at day-break on the 16th, the British position was attacked at once, on all sides where it was accessible. The Ghoorkalese came on with such furious intrepidity, that several were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works. Umar Singh remained all the while on a height, just within musket range, with the Ghoorka colours planted beside him; while Bukhtyar was every where exciting the men to further efforts, and moved with them to every fresh attack. The Ghoorkalese particularly aimed at gaining possession of our guns; and they directed their fire with so much effect against the artillery-men, that, at one time, three officers and one man alone remained to serve them. The British commandant at Ryla peak, perceiving the desperate nature of the struggle at Deothul, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived most opportunely. After the contest had continued for two hours without intermission, the Ghoorkalese being observed to slacken their efforts, it was resolved to assume the offensive, and drive them back. Bukhtyar being killed in this charge, the enemy was every where put to flight, and the victory was decided.

The total loss of the British in the operations of the 15th and 16th, were 61 killed, (including two European officers,) and 293 wounded. The enemy left above 500 men on the ground before Deothul. In the course of the day, they sent to request the body of their brave commander, which was found, covered with wounds, close to the foot of the British defences. General Ochterlony ordered it to be wrapped in rich shawls, and delivered to Umur Singh, in order to testify the respect his bravery had excited.* "Taken altogether," it is remarked, "this approached more nearly to a general action, than any event that occurred in the campaign; and it was a proud triumph to the Indian army, to have achieved so complete a victory, on ground which gave such great advantages to the enemy, and with numbers so nearly equal; for not one half of Sir David Ochterlony's army was engaged." †

During the night, the Ghoorkalese withdrew their garrisons from all the positions on the further side of Deothul, including Soorujghur, though a place of some strength; and General Ochterlony now drew his positions round Malown. By the end of the first week in May, a battery was raised against that fort. All the Ghoorkalese *sirdars* now urged Umur Singh to come to terms with the British for himself and his son Ranjore at Jythuk; but the old chief obstinately re-

* This "noble old officer" (he is said to have been seventy years of age) was the strength and dependence of the army, by whom he was much beloved. They loudly bemoaned his loss, exclaiming, that now, indeed, the blade of their sword was broken. He had assured Umur Singh, that he would return victorious, or not at all; and he gave notice to his two wives to prepare for their course, as he had little hope of surviving. They both sacrificed themselves on his funeral pile the next day.

† Fitzcop, vol. i. pp. 163—172. Fraser, pp. 38—41.

fused to listen to them, urging that, if they did but hold out till the approaching rains, the British army would be compelled to withdraw.

The discouragement produced by the death of Bukhtyar, was greatly increased, at this time, by tidings of the fall of Almorah; the result of a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund, planned by Lord Hastings as a diversion in that quarter. The Governor-General had ascertained, in his tour through Rohilcund, that the province of Kumaon, which skirts the north of it, was left nearly destitute of defence; and the natives were known to be disaffected to the Ghoorkalese, who held them in rigorous subjection, frequently seizing and selling their wives and children, to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. As no regular troops could be spared at that juncture, owing to the demands for reinforcements in the hills, Lord Hastings resolved to avail himself of the warlike population of Rohilcund, who are Patans; and two officers who had served with Sindia, were ordered to raise and organize levies. In Feb. 1815, Lieut.-Colonel Gardner commenced his march with his Rohillas from Kasheepoor; and by the end of March, he had, by sheer dexterity, and without bloodshed, made an effectual opening into the heart of the province of Kumaon, and taken up a position in sight of Almorah, the capital. Major Hearsey,* the leader of the other party, penetrated by the Kalee, or western Gogra, to Chumpawut, without meeting any opposition; but at length, on falling in with a body of Ghoorkalese regulars sent to oppose him, he was deserted by his raw levies after the first fire, and was made prisoner; the Rohillas hastening back to the

* Major Hearsey was the companion of Mr. Moorcroft in his adventurous journey across the snowy mountains to the Lake Manasarawa, a short time before.

plains in the utmost terror. Colonel Gardner had avoided committing his men, except in skirmishes where he had a decided superiority; but his situation would now have become precarious, had not Lord Hastings determined to support him by a force of regular infantry and artillery, which circumstances now enabled him to spare. About the 20th of April, Col. Nichols, to whom this service was entrusted, effected his junction with Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner at Kutarmul; and on the 26th, after a severe contest, a position was established on the Seetolee heights, about seventy yards from the fort of Ahnorah. The governor, seeing his situation desperate, and being in extreme want of supplies, now proposed an armistice, preparatory to a negotiation for surrender. It was granted; and on the next day, a formal convention was signed, in which the surrender of the province of Kumaoon, with all its fortified places, was stipulated, and all the Ghoorkalese troops were to retire within ten days, to the east of the Kalee; articles which were faithfully executed.*

To resume the narrative of affairs at Malaun. A considerable desertion from the Ghoorkalese army had taken place, even previously to the last success; but now, the cruel precautions taken by Umur Singh could no longer control his troops. The pertinacity of his refusal to negotiate, induced nearly the whole of his officers, with their men, to come over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Singh was

* The armistice being granted, the Nepaulese wounded officers came boldly to the British camp, to solicit surgical aid. The details of these operations are given by Mr. Prinsep, (vol. i. pp. 149—197.) and by Mr. Fraser (pp. 48—49.) The territory ceded was, all the country west of the Gogra, Sardah, Surjoo, or Kalee-nuddee, (by all which names the western branch of the Gogra is designated,) so far as Gurwal.

left with only about 250 men who remained faithful to him. With these, he shut himself up in the fortress, until the batteries were in readiness to open upon its walls. Yielding at last to his fate, this proud chief, on the 15th of May, signed a capitulation for giving up his last and formidable strong-hold, and resigning to the British all the provinces from Kumaoon westward to the Sutlej. In these terms, Runjoor Singh was, of course, included; and General Ochterlony had the honour of obtaining the surrender of Jythuk, which had hitherto held out against the feeble and ill-directed exertions of General Martindell. Thus, a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated, in May, by leaving the British in possession of the whole tract of hills from the Gogra to the Sutlej; a country hitherto deemed impenetrable, except to the native inhabitants. The greater part of this conquest was achieved by native troops alone, a few artillery-men being the only European troops with General Ochterlony. Many of the Ghoorkalese were now admitted into the British service, and were formed into three battalions, called *Nusseree* battalions. In order to allow a further opening for the employment of the military classes, a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaoon, which was made a British province. The Doon was likewise retained, and annexed, ultimately, to the Saharunpoor district. The remainder of the hill-country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Singh, with the exception of Sabathoo, Ruemgurh, Nahn, and a few other places, which were made military posts for the *Nusseree* battalions; and the whole were placed under the general protection of the British Government.*

* Prinsep, i. 178, &c.—The Rajahs and Thakoors now re-esta-

The Court of Nepaul was not yet, however, sufficiently humbled to submit to the sacrifices which Lord Hastings felt himself justified in insisting upon as the conditions of peace. The *Terace*, of which the Ghoorkalese were naturally anxious to retain a part, was not the only object of contention. They were not less reluctant to allow a Resident to be permanently stationed at Kutmandoo, with the usual military establishment; deeming it, not without reason, a preliminary step to actual subjection. A suspicion of the ulterior views of the British formed, indeed, the main source of the indisposition of the Ghoorkalese Court to come to an accommodation. Besides this, many of the chiefs still entertained a presumptuous confidence in the strength of the barrier opposed by the forests and hills which skirted their eastern territories. From the Gogra to the Koosee, on a line of nearly 500 miles, the British armies had been wholly baffled; and though superior in force to those which achieved the conquests of the west, had not even ventured to cross the forest. The veteran Umur Singh and his sons, who had now arrived at the capital, were among the warmest advocates for continuing the war. That chief had strongly deprecated the encroachments on the Gorukpoor territory, which led to the rupture, and had given his advice not to proceed to hostilities with the English; but war being once kindled, he would not, he said, suffer the

Hilahel had "taken under protection," were, the Rajah of Kahlore or Belaspoor possessing on both sides of the Sutlej; the Rajah of Hindoor or Nalagur; the infant Rajah of Sirmoor; the Rajah of Bussahir or Rampoor; the Rana of Regul, which has Ookee for its capital; Keonthal, with the exception of Salarbee, was given to the Sciich Rajah of Puteeala, in reward of his services; the Rana of Jooteal; and the Rajah of Gurhwal, to whom, with the exception of the Dehra Doon, and the territory E. of the Alaknunda, that province was restored.

honour of his prince to be sullied by concession and submission." After some negotiation, the proposed treaty was finally rejected by the chiefs.

Every precaution was now taken to fortify and render impregnable the passes through the first range of hills. The grand pass, by the *Bicheea Kob*, called the *Chaureea Ghautee*, was defended by three successive fortifications, the last of which was deemed impregnable; and all the other known routes were similarly secured.

Anticipating the probable renewal of hostilities, the Governor-General had ordered Sir David Ochterlony to take the field in December 1815, at the head of nearly 20,000 effective men, including three European regiments. The army was met in the Terace by the Ghoorkalese envoy who brought the formal intimation of the intention of his master to re-commence the war. By the 10th of February, the General had passed the forest, and established himself at the foot of the *Bicheea Kob* pass. The enemy's works were found unassailable; but a route was discovered, through a deep and narrow ravine called *Bolechola*, by which their position was turned; and the Chaureea heights, to the west of the pass, were occupied without resistance. The Ghoorkalese, on discovering the success of this movement, abandoned their triple fortification, and fell back. On the 27th, the British General had reached the beautiful valley of the Raptee, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, under

* The intercepted letter in which the old warrior expressed this sentiment, was written by him in March 1815, when closely beset by General Ochterlony's army. This most characteristic and interesting document is given both by Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Fraser. One of his arguments against concession was drawn from the manner in which the British had served Tippoo.

which place he encamped in the evening, at a village called Chougurha Mundee. Here, on the next day, a skirmish of posts took place, which brought on a serious action. The whole of the Ghoorkalese force, under Shumsheer Rana, was ultimately engaged, and the defeat they sustained was signal; their loss in killed and wounded exceeding, by their own acknowledgment, 600 men. Of the British, one officer and 44 men were killed; 175 wounded. The effect of this victory on the Court of Katmandoo was decisive. The red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty, and an envoy was despatched to the British camp, to notify that it was ready for delivery. The Ghoorkalese negotiator finally presented the ratified treaty on his knees at the General's *durbar*, in the presence of all the *vakeels* in the camp. The articles were all punctually executed; but the Governor-General deemed it a politic act of conciliation, to give up such part of the *Turace* as might not be required to form a straight and even frontier. That part which skirted the Oudé dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurh, a *perguunah* of Rohilcund, was made over to the Vizier, in extinction of the second loan of a crore of rupees, obtained from him during the war.* A small stripe, also, lying between the

* When Lord Hastings left the presidency for the upper provinces in June 1814, with the Nepaul war upon his hands, the finances of the Bengal Government were at a very low ebb. Great efforts had been used to make as large cash remittances to Europe as possible; and the state of the exchange with England was so unfavourable, that the sicca rupee came to be at a remittance value of 2s. 8d. (instead of 2s. 0½d.). The first mercantile houses at Calcutta were giving 12 per cent. on government securities for money. To raise a new loan, therefore, was out of the question. In this emergency, the hoards of the Nabob Vizier supplied a timely resource. Saadut Ali died July 11, 1814; and his son, Ghazee-ud-deen Hyder, was raised to the musnud. Anxious to secure the

Mich-hee and the Teesta, was ceded to the Rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty of alliance and protection was concluded in February 1817. The Hon. E. Gardner was appointed Resident at Katmandoo. On the 20th of November, 1816, the young Rajah of Nepaul died of the small-pox, and was succeeded by his infant son, Raj Indur Bikrum Sah. This event contributed to establish more firmly the authority of the Thappa party, by giving General Bheim Sein another lease of uncontrolled dominion pending a second long minority.*

The ample employment which the Nepaulese war furnished to the Supreme Government, had rendered it necessary to maintain, in other quarters, a strictly defensive policy; although the formidable and rapidly augmenting power of the predatory tribes of Pindarries and Pazans, produced a general conviction, that a systematic and extensive combination of measures would be eventually necessary for the suppression of this growing evil. Of these daring and lawless marauders, the reader will now require a more distinct account.

The origin of the Pindarries is involved in obscurity. Their name first occurs in Indian history about the year 1680, when one of their leaders is mentioned as an auxiliary of Mahratta plunderers.† They

favour of the Governor-General, as the means of securing himself against the rival pretensions of a younger brother, he readily came forward with a loan of a *crore* of rupees, to which he afterwards added eight lahs: the interest being paid by relieving the Nabob from the payment of stipends to an equivalent amount. It was subsequently found necessary, through financial embarrassment, to borrow another *crore* of his Excellency on the same terms.—See Prinsep, vol. i. ch. vi.

* Prinsep, vol. i. ch. v.

† Ferishtah Pindarry is mentioned as being, in the latter part of the reign of Aurungzebe, an auxiliary of Mahratta plunderers.

are said to have first appeared in the neighbourhood of Bejapoor. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful allies by the Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their predatory habits. Their aid was purchased by abandoning to them tracts of country which they had usurped, and by conceding to them a privilege of plundering, exceeding even the usual license given to a Mahratta army. Under this system, they assumed a rude organization; and their chiefs acquired sufficient reputation and influence to transmit to their descendants an hereditary claim to the service of their adherents. Tribes were cemented in federal union; and common motives and principles of action led to the establishment of something like a common interest throughout this lawless community. But, unlike the Mahrattas, they were unconnected by any bond of religious or of national feeling. Including men of every country and every faith, they were free from the prejudices of caste; and they were equally divested of the pride of soldiers, the principle of patriotism, and every moral tie of social attachment. They arose, says Sir John Malcolm, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states;" and they have passed away like a contagion that has exhausted itself, leaving no trace but in the ravages they made.

The Pindarries who first settled in Central India, were introduced by the Mahrattas from the Deccan. Great numbers of them followed the army of the first Bajee Rao; and it is supposed to have been an object

The most popular conjecture as to the etymology of the term, Sir John Malcolm says, is, that they derived it from their drunken habits leading them constantly to resort to the shops where an intoxicating drink was sold, termed *pindu*.—Malcolm. C. I. v. i. p. 60.

of that great man's policy, to draw them out of the Mahratta country. It is certain, that he left his Pindarries in Malwah with his officers, Sindia and Holkar; that they always attended their armies when they invaded the Mogul provinces; and that the Pindarries of each of these leaders distinguished themselves as *Sindia Shahee* and *Holkar Shahee*, or the followers, respectively, of those chiefs.

In 1794, Sindia assigned some lands to the Pindarries near the banks of the Nerbuddah, which they soon extended, by conquests from the *Grassias*, or independent landholders, in that neighbourhood. Their principal leaders, at that time, were two brothers, named Heeroo and Burrun, of the Mohammedan tribe of *Toorace*.* Having, in 1797, encamped with about 5000 followers near Berulah, they offered their services to the state of Bhopaul, that they might, under the sanction of its prince, invade

* Ghazi-ud-deen, the grand-father of Heeroo and Burrun, was a horseman in the service of the first Bajee Row, and died while employed with a detachment at Oojein. He was the son of a person named Chekun, who, as well as his father Nooroo, had been a *founder of Rikhis* under Scindia. This Nuroo was a Mohammedan of the Toorace tribe. Ghazi-ud-deen left two sons, Gooloo Khan and Shah Baz Khan. The eldest, though only sixteen years of age, succeeded to the command of a party which was sent on all plundering excursions; and their successes pleased Mulhar Row Holkar so much, that he presented their chief with a golden flag (*toora*). It was this distinction that first gave the Pindarries consequence as a body among the Mahrattas; and it has led to an erroneous belief that this class of troops was first introduced by Mulhar Row. Gooloo Khan remained attached to this leader through life, and left his camp or *durrah* to his son, Lal Mohammed; but his power fell into other hands. Shah Baz Khan, his brother, who was a child at the death of his father, Ghazi-ud-deen, when he grew up, entered into the service of Ranojee Sindia. He was killed in an action at Tonk, in the Jeypoor country, and left two sons, Heeroo (or Heera) and Burrun.—Malcolm. C. I. v. i. pp. 432—3.

and lay waste the territories of Nagpoor, with which government that petty state was then at war. Their offers being declined, they went to Nagpoor, where Rughoojee Bhonslah readily entertained them; and the first order which they received was, to lay waste the country of Bhopaul, at that time in a most flourishing condition. This service they performed so effectually, that the principality has not to this day recovered from their horrible ravages. The avarice of the Rajah was so excited by an exaggerated report of the booty they had obtained, that he not only surrounded and plundered their camp on their return to his capital, but seized Burrun, who died in confinement; while his brother, Heeroo, fled to Dowlut Rao Sindia at Poonah, and died soon afterwards at Asseerghur. The estate of Heeroo descended to his sons, Dost Mohammed and Wasil Muhammed; and Burrun also left two sons, the two Rajans. It was not till after some time, however, that they succeeded to any part of their father's influence; the pre-eminence devolving, in the first instance, upon other sirdars, according to their reputation as leaders.

Kureem Khan, a *Hullur-shahee* Pindara, who had acquired great booty in the plunder of the Nizam's troops after the battle of Kurdla, and was distinguished by superior cunning and enterprise, was the first that rose to consequence subsequently to the death of the two brothers. Being bought over by Sindia, who gave him the title of *Nuwab* with several assignments of land, he styled himself a *Sindia-shahee* Pindara, though he was frequently found in arms against his nominal master. The Berar Rajah, and the Hindoo chiefs of Bundelcund, also suffered from his depredations; and at one time, by taking part in a civil war which he had excited in Bhopaul, he was very

near establishing his authority over the whole of that principality. The state was saved by the personal courage of Wuzeer (Vizir) Mohammed, with the assistance of Dost Mohammed, the son of Heeroo, who began about that time to rise into notice as the rival of Kureem. During the troubles consequent upon the war with the British, Kureem Khan contrived to gain possession of several districts in Malwah, belonging to Sindia's *jaghcerdars*; and his territorial revenue is said to have amounted at this time to more than fifteen laks of rupees. He also wrested some territory from the Nabob of Bhopaul, on which he built a fort as a depository for his plunder, called after him, Kureem-guch. His power at length excited the jealousy of Sindia; and, in 1806, on pretence of lending him some artillery, that chief inveigled the Pindara to an interview, and having made him prisoner, plundered his camp, and recovered the usurped districts. For five years, Kureem was detained a close prisoner in the dungeons of Gwalior. His *dewrah*, however, was not broken up, although reduced, by the defection of a great part of the *sirdars*, to between two and three thousand horse. A number of leaders now started up into consequence, of whom the most conspicuous were, Cheetoo* (or Seetoo), Dost Mohammed, Namdar Khan, and Shaikh Dullo. All these associated themselves with Ameer Khan, in 1809, during his expedition into Berar. In 1811, Kureem purchased his release from Sindia for six *laks* of rupees, and, returning to the scene of his former power, in a very short

* Cheetoo was the son of a Jaut, a native of Mewat, near Delhi. He had been called as a slave, but was afterwards adopted as *kooweer* (heir by adoption) by Dooleha Jemadar, the chief officer in the camp of Burron, and who succeeded to his authority.

time recovered the greater part of his territories, and re-united all the Pindarry leaders under his standard. Even his rival, Cheetoo, was induced to join his *durrah*; and the *Dussera* of 1811 * was celebrated by an assemblage of not less than 25,000 cavalry, of all descriptions, besides several battalions of newly raised infantry. Kureem proposed to lead this formidable force against Nagpoor, the weakness of which state was notorious; but Cheetoo, always jealous of Kureem's ascendancy, was bought over by Raghoojee Bhonsley, and seceding from the alliance, afterwards co-operated with Sindia in effecting his rival's ruin. Having been completely defeated near Munohur Thana, Kureem was obliged to flee, with a few adherents, and seek refuge in the camp of his old patron, Ameer Khan, beyond the Chumbul. But the strong representations of Sindia and Holkar obliged the Patan chief to place him under restraint, in which he remained up to the end of 1816. In 1817, the Pindarries, under their various leaders, were estimated, at the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, of whom about one half might be considered as fit for military service, the remainder being qualified only for the work of devastation and plunder; together with 1500 foot, and twenty guns. When joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they have occasionally amounted to more than twice that number.† Of the

* See page 128, note. This great festival takes place at the end of October or the beginning of November, by which time the rivers generally become fordable; and at this season, the standards of the Pindarry leaders were annually raised in the valley of the Nerbudda.

† See Blacker's Mahratta War, p. 18. In 1814, the Pindaries were estimated by Captain Sydenham, political agent in Berar, to consist of the following numbers:—

general composition of their armies, and their mode of warfare, we have the following description.

"Until the close of the rains and the fall of the rivers, their horses were carefully trained, to prepare them for long marches and hard work. They were then shod; and a leader of tried courage and conduct having been chosen as *Jukkurees*,* all that were so inclined, set forth on a *Jukkur*, as it was called in the Pindaree nomenclature. These parties, latterly, consisted sometimes of several thousands. All were mounted, though not equally well: out of a thousand, the proportion of good cavalry might be 400. The favourite weapon was a bamboo spear, from twelve to eighteen feet long; but, as fire-arms were sometimes indispensable for the attack of villages, it was a rule, that every fifteenth or twentieth man of the fighting Pindarees should be armed with a matchlock. Of the remaining 600, two-thirds were usually common footmen, indifferently mounted, and armed with every

		Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Hindu Chiefs	Cheetoo	9000	500	10
	Dost Mohammad	6000	800	5
	Koosbal Knowar and Namdar Khan	4000	9	0
		18,000	1,309	15
Hoolkur Chiefs	Kádir Bukah Tookoo Sahib Khan and Bahadur Khan	5000	500	3
		23,000	1,800	18

In this estimate, however, the name of Kureem does not appear, the remains of whose *durrah* was estimated at 2000 good horse, and 4000 of all sorts. See Prinsep, vol. i. p. 42, where the total estimate is carried as high as 30,000.

* The *Lukkeeahs*, Sir John Malcolm says, were not selected for each expedition; but their office in the *durrah* (or Pindarry camp) had an affinity to that of the *Hirawul*, or leader of the van, among Rajpoots. Sometimes there was more than one chosen. The word *lukkur* signifies literally, *worn of the sea*.

variety of weapon, and the rest, slaves, attendants, and camp-followers, mounted on *tattoos* (wild ponys), and keeping up with the *bobbar* in the best manner they could. It is not surprising, that a body so constituted, and moving without camp-equipage of any kind, should traverse the whole of India in defiance of the most active pursuit by regular troops along the same line of march. Indeed, the rapidity with which they spread their devastations to the southern extremity of the Peishwa's and of the Nizam's territories, over an extent of not less than seven degrees of latitude from the Nerbuddah, baffled every attempt to interrupt or overtake them."* "Commencing with short marches of about ten miles, they gradually extended them to thirty or forty miles a day, until they reached some peaceful region against which their expedition was intended. Terror and dismay burst at once on the helpless population; villages were seen in flames; wounded and houseless peasants fleeing in all directions; fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual firing from the walls. The plunderers dispersed in small parties, and spread themselves over the whole face of the country; but all acting on a concerted plan, they swept round in a half circle, committing every sort of violence and excess,—torturing to extort money†, ravishing, murdering,

* Prinsep, I. 33.—For some time, and till the districts in Malwah, Marwar, and Mewar, and the whole of Rajpootana were exhausted, their ravages were chiefly confined to those countries and Berar. A few, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwa. For a long time, they respected the British territory, and even refrained from molesting British subjects.

† "The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by these miscreants were, heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a

and burning in the defenceless villages, but seldom venturing on danger, unless the prospect of booty was very certain. When they approached a point on the frontier very distant from where they had entered, they united and went off in a body to their homes. While they continued their excesses, marauders of all descriptions sallied out to join them, or to profit by their presence, and whole districts became a scene of rapine and conflagration." *

The chief strength of the Pindarries lay in their being "intangible." If pursued, the horsemen made off with the most valuable part of the booty, and would perform marches of sixty or one hundred miles in two days, over rocks and hills impossible for horses unaccustomed to traverse them. They have been known to march three hundred miles in a week, and five hundred miles within a fortnight. If overtaken, they dispersed into small parties; those who were ill mounted or on foot, concealing themselves in the hills and jungles; and re-assembled at an appointed rendezvous. Their pursuers were fortunate, if they captured twenty men out of a thousand. No where did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their strong-holds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another of more desperate fortune.

The Pindarra was satisfied with the coarsest cake of wheat or *jowaree* for his meal; and sometimes his fare consisted of parched peas or other grain. His horse was

sofa or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes, and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible."

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 328–9.

as well treated as time and circumstances would allow. When not mounted, he grazed in the corn-fields, or on the grain itself, if cut down and stacked. He received an occasional stimulus of opium, with which his rider was usually provided, and was by that means enabled to endure excessive fatigue. The party halted during the heat of the day, and commonly took about half a night's rest. In general, the owner of the horse was the proprietor of the spoil; the rider retaining a fourth of his prize, if the horse was not his own property; but in a general scramble, it became impossible to know what the captors appropriated to themselves, or what proportion was transferred to the senior officers, and from them to the commander. In former times, the Pindarries delivered up a fourth of the spoil to the agents of the government they served; but latterly, they gave up nothing but elephants, palankeens, and *ofutjeers*. Sindia, however, found means to extort large sums from the Pindarry leaders in his service, to the payment of which their followers were all bound to contribute, according to their ability.*

Ameer Khan, the Patan chief, who had now attained a formidable pre-eminence, commanded forces of a very different description from those of the Pindarry leaders, although actuated by the same predatory spirit. His cavalry, instead of living avowedly on plunder alone, were paid by the month;† besides which, he had large bodies of infantry, and an artillery well manned, including the old battalions of Tukojee Holkar; the best in India, not under the actual com-

* Malcolm. C. I., vol. i. p. 431.—Memorandum, (MS.) by the late Capt. R. Edmonds, of the Madras Native Infantry, on the Staff of Colonel Walker. 1814.

† The Pindarry chiefs, however, maintained their household troops from the revenues of their jaghires.

mand of European officers. He represented, indeed, the Holkar interest, and made use of the sanction of his name, although employed in establishing a power virtually distinct. The chief difference between the Patans and the Pindarries, was, that the former were associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate: the object of the latter was universal rapine. The Patans were military mercenaries; the Pindarries, cowardly and desperate banditti. In 1817, the whole force of Ameer Khan was estimated at 12,000 horse, with several indifferent battalions of infantry, and between two and three hundred guns.*

Against both of these descriptions of marauders, the British Government found it necessary to keep up an armed force, and to be constantly on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure seemed to be, the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with Rughoojee Bhonslay; but it was found impossible to surmount his repugnance and distrust; and a long negotiation, carried on through the British Resident, ended in a decided refusal on the part of the Rajah. The best alternative that then presented itself was, to extend the chain of positions from the British frontier in Bundelcund to the Nerbuddah, by means of a connexion with the states of Saugur and Bhopaul. And the immediate adoption of this bold stroke of policy appeared to Lord Hastings the more advisable, in consequence of information which he obtained of a pending negotiation between the Bhonslay and Sindia, for a treaty offensive and defensive, one object of which

* In 1809, 10, when Ameer Khan's power was at its zenith, he commanded between 20 and 40,000 horse; but many of them were Pindarries. See Blacker, p. 17. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 393. Prinsep, vol. i. p. 51.

was the subjugation of the Bhopaul principality by their joint arms.* The territory of this state lies in the valley of the Nerbuddah, and above the hills to the north, between the meridians of 77° and 78° E. The government had been vested in a Patan family ever since the days of Aurungzebe, and its chiefs had been able to maintain their political independence against the most active efforts of the Mahrattas in the zenith of their military power.† The position of this state, immediately between the Nagpoor Rajah's dominions and those of Sindia, rendered it the particular object of jealousy to those sovereigns. Sindia had frequently attacked this state, and had even besieged its capital without success; owing partly to the incapacity of his commanders and the want of an efficient artillery, and partly to the gallantry and skill of Wuzeer Mohammed, the reigning Nabob. The preparations now made, however, by Sindia, for renewing the siege, were of so efficient a character, that the destruction of the

* "These negotiations were the prelude to the treaty of confederacy, of which the first article expressed the determination of these princes to serve and obey the Peishwa." Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 391. Another negotiation was in progress between Sindia and the ministers of Toolsee Bhye Holkar, which had also for its object, the consolidation of the Mahratta power. See Pettaji, vol. i. p. 226. Malcolm, C. I., vol. i. pp. 207, 8.

† When General Goddard, in 1778, effected his astonishing march across the whole breadth of the country, through regions till then almost unknown, (see p. 347,) the ultimate success of his enterprise was greatly attributable to his having found this independent principality well-wishing on the line of march, and friendly to the English. This claim on the gratitude of the British, was urged with success by Vikar Mahomed, when threatened with chastisement by the forces under Colonel Close in 1809. The whole history of this extraordinary adventurer, and in particular his heroic defence of Bhopaul in 1813, 14, partake of a romantic character.—*See for the history of the Nabobs of Bhopaul*, Malcolm's C. I. vol. i. ch. 2.

Patan Nabob seemed inevitable, and he earnestly solicited to be taken into alliance with the British. Sindia, when informed by the British Resident, that Bhopaul was to be considered as under the protection of the British Government, protested most vehemently against the measure, declaring the principality to be one of his dependencies, with which the British were solemnly pledged not to interfere. He even made demonstrations as if, in defiance of the troops assembled to support the negotiations, he would advance to the attack; but ultimately, his army was withdrawn. The Peishwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay assented with seeming cordiality to the proposed connexion between the British Government and Bhopaul. No agreement, however, took place either with Wuzeer Mohammed or with Govind Rao Nana, the chief of Saugur. The former, so long as he was threatened by Sindia, not only appeared to accede to the proffered terms, but gave out that he was under British protection; but, when the danger subsided, he objected to the conditions, and the negotiation was broken off.

Wuzeer Mohammed died on the 17th of March, 1816, and was succeeded by his son, Nuzeer Mohammed. On the 22d of the same month, Rughoojee Bhonslay expired. His only son and successor, Purajee, whose intellects were always weak, fell soon afterwards into a state of idiocy; and his cousin, Moodajee, usually styled Appa Sahib, was chosen regent, though not without considerable opposition. To secure an ascendancy by no means fully established, Appa Sahib applied to the British Resident, to be admitted to the defensive alliance before proposed to Rughoojee. His request was promptly acceded to; and a treaty was finally executed on the 27th of May, by which the British agreed to furnish him six bat-

talions and a regiment of cavalry, for which he was to pay annually, in money, the sum of seven lahs and a half of rupees. This event struck a serious blow at the power of the Mahratta confederacy; and the rage of the opposite faction at Nagpoor, to whom the arrival of the English troops conveyed the first intimation of the treaty, exceeded all bounds. For some time, the Regent did not feel himself safe from personal violence, and withdrew to a garden-house in the neighbourhood of the British cantonments. But, no sooner did he feel himself secure in the elevation he had reached, than, dismissing from their stations the ministers who had been instrumental in forming the subsidiary alliance, he entered into an active secret correspondence with the Court of Poonah, which was at that time the nucleus of the powerful confederacy secretly forming against the English. Apprehensive, however, that, if he threw off the support of the British Government during the lifetime of Purseje, a party might be raised to endanger his own power, he caused the young Rajah to be secretly strangled in the night; and the next morning (February 1, 1817) it was announced, and believed, that he had been found dead in his bed.*

In the mean time, the aggressions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased; and, during the season of 1815–16 (October–May), they had pushed their depredations to a great extent with unusual success. For twelve days, they remained within the Company's frontier, committing all sorts of depredations and cruelties.† It was afterwards ascertained, that the

* Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 305–308. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 265–5. Malcolm, P. H. vol. i. pp. 404, 5.

† The Dussera of 1815 had been celebrated at Chanda's cantonment of Nemawar, by a greater concourse of Pindarries than had

Pindarry leaders had, this season, come to a resolution to respect the territories of the Mahratta chiefs, and to direct their ravages chiefly, if not exclusively, against those of the Nizam and the British Government. To obviate the suspicions this circumstance was adapted to waken, the Peishwa sent a party of horse to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out to be Pindarries.* Sindia professed the

ever before been assembled at one point. On the 14th of October, a body of nearly 8000 of all descriptions was ascertained to have crossed the Nerbuddah, and to have taken a southern direction. They soon broke into two parties, and, notwithstanding a partial surprise, continued their depredations till they reached the Kristna. The territories of the Madras Presidency, on the southern bank, were saved, at this time, by the fortuitous circumstance of the river continuing unfordable so unusually late as the 20th of November. Turning eastward, the freebooters plundered the country along the northern bank, till, on reaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course southward, and returned along the line of the Godavery and Wurda to Nemawur. "The plunder obtained in this labour, was greater than that of any previous expedition; insomuch that merchants were sent for from Oojein, to purchase many of the valuables obtained, those of Nemawur not being sufficiently wealthy." So elated were they with this success, that a second expedition was planned and proclaimed very soon after; and, by the 8th of February, 10,000 Pindarries were on their way towards the S.S.E. On the 12th, they reached Guntoor, in the Northern Circars, where they plundered a considerable part of the town; and thence, hurrying off to the westward, and making a march of fifty-two miles the next day, they swept through part of the Cuddapa district, re-crossed the Kristna on the 2d of March, and retraced their steps to the Nerbuddah, by various routes, eluding all their pursuers. During the twelve days that they remained within the Company's districts, it was ascertained, that 250 villages were plundered, 182 individuals put to a cruel death, 365 severely wounded, and 3682 subjected to different kinds of torture. No fewer than 35 women drowned themselves to escape violation. The private loss of individuals was estimated at two laks and a half of pagodas, or about 100,000*l.* sterling.—Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 328—334.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 286. They were sent by Trimbukjee, in the end of 1816, or early in 1817, into the Southern Concan, where they committed great excesses.

greatest desire to suppress them, but they were openly countenanced by his commanders; and it was manifest that both Sindia and Holkar were alike unwilling and unable to restrain their dependents.

The events which had occurred at Poonah during the first three years of Lord Hastings's administration, now demand to be briefly adverted to, as they afforded the occasion of those subsequent measures which terminated in the final subversion of the Mahratta confederacy, of which the Peishwa was the acknowledged head. For the ten years subsequent to the treaty of Bassein, nothing occurred to interrupt the good understanding between the British Government and the Court of Poonah. Bajee Row, secure against foreign attack, paid great attention to the improvement of his territories and resources; and though he manifested a disposition to keep up secret communications with the Mahratta princes and chiefs who were before nominally subject to his power, (contrary to the terms of the treaty,) these were rather winked at; not being suspected of having any dangerous tendency. Some discontent was produced by his being obliged, in 1812, to renounce a groundless claim of sovereignty over the petty states of Kolapoor and Sawunt-Warree, which was referred to the arbitration of the British Government. But, the ascendancy which the infamous Trimbukjee Dainglia established over the councils of his master about the year 1815, is assigned, by Sir John Malcolm, as the date from which the Peishwa may be considered as having decidedly changed his policy, and commenced his intrigues against the British Government.

Trimbukjee was originally a menial servant. His first step to favour is said to have been the prominent part that he acted in the scenes of debauchery which

disgraced the palate of his master, to whom he recommended himself by being the ready instrument to promote the gratification of his passions. He was first brought forward as an ostensible minister in 1814. His rise was so rapid, that, in a few months, this worthless favourite had no rival. He was now appointed to conduct the intercourse with the British Resident, Mr. Elphinstone, who "observed, from the moment that Bajee Row committed his affairs to this bold and bad man, so decided a change of tone and measures, such arrogant language and undisguised ambition, that he foretold, at a very early period, its probable effects upon the alliance between the two states." * The assassination of the Guikwar's minister, Gungadhur Shastree, by this miscreant, in 1816, justified the Resident in demanding his removal. The Shastree had come to Poonah to negotiate a settlement of accounts between his master and the Peishwa, through the mediation and under the guaranteed protection of the British Government. He was murdered by Trimbukjee, in a pagoda at Punderpoor,† under circumstances which left no doubt that the deed was perpetrated with the know-

* Malcolm, P. H. vol. i. p. 469.

† Punderpoor is a town in Bejapoor, on the Bheema, 81 miles S.E. of Poonah. It is deemed a holy city, on account of a celebrated temple dedicated to an avatar of Vishnoo; and, according to the Brahmins, even the lands around it are holy ground. Almost all the principal Mahratta families have dwellings there. Bajee Row had earnestly solicited the Shastree to accompany him thither; with what design, it afterwards became evident. The sacrilegious outrage of murdering, within the precincts of a holy shrine, a Brahmin of high rank, the accredited minister of another state, was a crime of the most aggravated atrocity. The details are given in Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 230—234. The indifference manifested upon the subsequent downfall of the Peishwa, is believed to have been, in great measure, owing to its being regarded as a retributive visitation for his participation in this crime.

ledge of Bajee Row; but there was no wish to proceed any proceeding upon this suspicion. It was deemed sufficient to compel the Peishwa to imprison, and afterwards deliver up, his worthless favourite; and the conduct of the British, on this occasion, towards the murderer of a Brahmin, was regarded throughout India as even lenient.

Bajee Row was, however, only stimulated by this event, to prosecute with increased eagerness his intrigues against the British Government; and, sensible that the master-spirit was wanting, he was most urgent in his solicitations for the release of the culprit. That which was refused to his entreaties, was effected by the address of the prisoner, and the negligence of those who had the charge of him. Trimbukjee made his escape from the fort of Tannah in September 1816.* For three months, he remained in concealment: but, at length, it was discovered that he was on the Mahadeo hills, to the south of the Neera, collecting troops; and that Bajee Row was in secret correspondence with him, seeking to promote a rebellion ostensibly against his own government, and which he was perfidiously calling upon the British to take measures to repress. Large remittances of money to the parts of the country in insurrection, were traced through several hands, in a manner that left no room to doubt their having been made from Bajee Row to Trimbukjee and his adherents; and the Resident received positive information of actual interviews between his Highness and the delinquent at a village about fifteen miles from Poonah. At the same time, extensive levies of horse and foot were

* Bishop Heber tells the story of his escape very poetically, Travels, vol. i. p. 360; and Mr. Pringle, circumstantially, vol. i. p. 302. His escape gained him a degree of popularity which he had never enjoyed while in power.—See also Grant Duff, v. iii. p. 377.

going on, even at Poonah and the vicinity; and the Peishwa's agents were sent with money into Malwah and other quarters, to invite men to the Deccan to enter his service. By removing his treasures from Poonah, and giving orders to repair and garrison his forts, while he denied the existence of any insurrection or of any levies, Bajee Row left no room to doubt his hostile intentions. About the middle of March, therefore, the British Resident resolved to call down the subsidiary force, to act forthwith in the suppression of the insurrection, and eventually, if requisite, against Poonah. On the 20th of April, he deemed it necessary to increase the British force at Poonah, while awaiting the full instructions of the Governor-General. These arrived on the 15th of May, and directed that Bajee Row should be required, as the only alternative of war, to surrender Trimbukjee; to renounce the supremacy of the Mahratta empire; and to make certain cessions of territory in Malwah, Gujerat, and the Deccan, (including the fort of Ahmednuggur,) for the purpose of maintaining a force destined to replace the contingent of his Highness's troops, stipulated by the treaty of Bassein. The conduct of Bajee Row during the whole of these transactions, was marked by low cunning and the vacillation produced by the alternate ascendancy of hope and fear, pride and despair. After a severe struggle and trying every means of evasion, he affixed his name to the prescribed treaty on the 13th of June. In these proceedings, Bajee Row was evidently regarded and treated as an enemy; and as all hope of his being restored to a friendly feeling towards the British must have been at an end, the only object was, to avert the local danger, and to deprive him of a portion of that power which he was

likely to employ in counteracting the plans then in progress for the destruction of the Pindarries.*

The Governor-general had come to the resolution, as early as December 1816, to take measures for effectually suppressing the Pindarries; and the Court of Directors † had, in consequence of his Lordship's repeated representations, given their sanction to offensive operations to the extent of driving them from their haunts on the banks of the Nerbuddah and from Malwah. The views of the Marquis of Hastings, however, were more comprehensive, and embraced their complete suppression, by eradicating the predatory system from Central India. Berar was supposed to be settled by the late subsidiary alliance; and the Peishwa, crippled by the treaty of Poonah, might, it was hoped, see the necessity of refraining from hostilities, secret or avowed, if he wished to retain the territory still left to him. The plan of the Governor-General, therefore, embraced principally the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoots, the Bhopaul Nabob, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Armies were to be assembled round these countries, which were to close in, by simultaneous movements, to a common centre, so as to hem in the Pindarries and their abettors at all points; provision being made for the possible event of the enemy's passing this barrier, as well as for the defence of the British territory. His Lordship "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle, that, in

* Malcolm, P. H., vol. i. pp. 678—682. Prinsep, vol. i. pp. 429—436. In consequence of this treaty with the Peishwa, by which important advantages were secured to the Baroda prince, a supplementary treaty was concluded with that chief in November, the most important article of which transferred to the British Government the possession of Ahmedabad, the Mohammedan capital of Gujerat.

† Or rather, the Board of Control, of which Mr. Canning was now President.—Malcolm, vol. i. p. 686.

the operations against the Pindharries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression."* The orders for the simultaneous execution of this extensive plan throughout India, were issued towards the end of September 1817. The army which took the field in Bengal, consisted of about 34,000 regulars, of which nearly 5000 were cavalry. The forces of the Deccan, which were placed under the orders of Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-Chief of the army of Fort St. George, (including a reserve division at Adwanee, the Gujerat division, and the troops left for the protection of Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor,) amounted to upwards of 57,000 regulars, of which 5253 were cavalry. Besides these, there were attached to the respective grand divisions, about 23,000 irregular horse. Of the hostile forces, or those against whose possible hostility it was deemed necessary to provide, the following estimate presents the probable aggregate.†

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns.
Sindia	14,250	15,250	140
Holkar	20,000	7,040	107
Peishwa	28,000	13,800	37
Bhoosla	15,766	17,826	85
Ameer Khan	12,000	10,000	200
Nizam	25,000	20,000	—
Pindarries.....	15,000	1,500	20
	130,016	87,316	589

* Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Blacker, p. 19, to which able work we must refer for the details and authorities. The irregular force of the Nizam is included, "notwithstanding the difficulty of deciding whether he should be considered able, as well as inclined, to be hostile. His personal character was inactive and imbecile; while the discontented spirit of some of his sons, added to the restlessness of a

The four principal Bengal divisions were appointed to rendezvous at Rewarre, Agra, Secundra (near Kalpee), and Kalinjer in Bundelcund. Two divisions in reserve, intended as detachments of observation, were stationed, the one under Brigadier-General Toone, on the Upper Sonne, the other under Brigadier-General Hardyman, on the Upper Nerbuddah. The Bundelcund division, under General Marshall, was to advance with the Deccan army against the Pindarries. The Rewarre division, under Major-General Ochterlony, was intended to expedite the arrangements with the Rajpoots, and to co-operate in overawing the Patans or in attacking the Pindarries. The main body, assembled at Sekundra, which was under the personal command of the Governor-General, was to cross the Jumna by a bridge of boats, a little above Kalpee, and marching due west, to occupy a position south of Gwalior; while the Agra division, under Major-General Donkin, took up its station at Dholpoor, immediately to the northward. This judicious manœuvre, which was prepared with celerity and secrecy, and executed with complete success, placed Sindia's camp between the two divisions, leaving him no other alternative, in the

numerous armed population, rendered dubious, at the least, the turn which affairs might take at Hyderabad under the opposition of British reverses. It is certain, that, in the instructions to Sir Thomas Hislop, he was directed to provide for the support of the British predominancy at that capital. Secret overtures were also made to the Nizam on the part of the Peishwa, through agents despatched for that purpose, but who were secured by the activity of the Resident." Ib. p. 14. Some disturbances had, in fact, occurred at Hyderabad, in 1815, which produced an application from the Resident for an additional force, as a security against the evidently hostile disposition of the Patan population, who were headed and encouraged by the Nizam's two youngest sons.—See Prinsep vol. I. pp. 202—6.

event of his not submitting, than either to shut himself up in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions, and join the Pindarries.

The Marquis of Hastings embarked at Calcutta on the 9th of July, and on the 13th of September, arrived at Cawnpoor, whence he issued his general orders for the campaign. On the 20th of October, he assumed the command of the grand army at Secundra, and immediately advanced against Sindia's capital. "His Lordship had received the most undoubted proof that Sindia was pledged to the Pindarries to support them, and was aware that his taking the field would be followed by the resistance of Ameer Khan, as well as by that of other powers, whose hostility he was instigating. Sindia's negotiations were conducted with all the secrecy in his power, and he flattered himself with complete success in that respect; but the admirable dexterity with which all his schemes were detected, and even copies of his correspondence obtained, forms by no means the least happy part of his Lordship's arrangement. The possession of the most correct information, while it enabled Lord Hastings to adopt the plan most suited to the actual state of affairs, relieved him from all ties founded on anterior treaties."* Sindia was now required to concur in the object of the expedition, by placing his troops at the disposal of the British Government, a British officer superintending each of the principal divisions; he was to furnish

* Blacker, p. 53. Besides his intrigues with Bajee Rao and the Pindarries, a secret correspondence between him and the Court of Katmandoo had very recently been detected. A full-size impression of Sindia's seal, happened to drop from the turban of one of his emissaries, which attracted suspicion; and on searching him and his companion, letters from Sindia were found neatly pasted between the leaves of a Sanscrit book of the Vedas.—Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 32.

5000 horse, to be employed under the direction of British officers against the Pindarries; and as a security for the fulfilment of his engagement, he was to place the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur in our hands during the war. The approach of the British armies induced him reluctantly to set his hand to the treaty imposed upon him, on the 5th of November; but he endeavoured for some time to evade its stipulations, while watching the result of what was passing with the other Mahratta powers. Soon after he had signed the treaty, General Donkin's division proceeded to the westward; but the Marquis of Hastings continued to move about to the southward of Gwalior, to watch the motions of Sindia, on whom it was evident no dependence could be placed till some decided blow should be struck. His ostensible defection from a cause, the success of which rested chiefly on his efforts, was a fatal blow, however, not only to the Pindarries, but to that more general combination, the designs of which had been so ably anticipated. *

Ameer Khan followed the example of Sindia, and agreed to disband his army, on condition of having secured to him the integrity of the dominions of which he was in the actual tenure, under grants from Holkar. The Kerowlee chief, Rajah Manikpal, formerly a dependent of the Peishwa, signed a treaty on the same day, by which he acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and was guaranteed in his possessions; he agreed also to furnish troops to the extent of his means. Zalim Singh, the able regent of Kotah, immediately acceded to the terms proposed; he blocked up the passes in his country, and furnished a contingent to act with the British troops. In Bundel-

* See Lord Hastings's despatch.—Malcolm, P. H., vol. i. p. 484.

cond, Wittuk Rao, the chief of Sangur, refused the proffered terms; the Rajah of Simpthur and the Soubahdar of Jhansee readily accepted them; and the Nabob of Bhopaul entered most heartily into the cause.

In the mean time, the Pindarries, aware that the English meditated offensive operations against them, had been actively employed, during the rains, in recruiting their *durrahs*; but the want of cordiality among the chiefs prevented their fixing upon any consistent and combined plan of action. They were cantoned in three bodies, under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed. Sheikh Dulloo, the most adventurous of all the chiefs, declared his intention of joining Trimbukjee at Cholee Muheshwur, and seeking his fortune in another expedition to the Deccan. The rest were distracted, and inclined to wait the issue of the expected rise of the Mahrattas. A bold enterprise was, however, attempted from the *durrah* of Wasil Mohammed at Garspoor. An active *holdur* was sent out in a north-easterly direction, to plunder the British territories in Bundelcund, which penetrated, by the Heerapoor Ghaut, to the westward of General Marshall's route, as far north as Mow, near Rameepoor; when, having intelligence of the approach of a British detachment from Jalown, (where the British head-quarters were then stationed,) they retired again to the south-west.

During this diversion, the left division under General Marshall advanced to Rylee, where it arrived on the 10th of November. On the same day, General Sir Thomas Hislop reached Hurda, and took the command of the first division of the Deccan army. Brigadier-general Sir John Malcolm had arrived in the valley of the Nerbuddah some time before. Every thing

was now in readiness for the combined movement that was to drive the Pindarries out of Malwah. In expectation of this result, the Gujerat force had advanced to Dohud, to intercept their escape westward; and Lord Hastings, having concluded the treaty with Sindia, moved his own division to a position that should prevent their penetrating to the north or east; while he ordered General Donkin to advance from Dholpoor in a south-westerly direction, so as to guard the left bank of the Chumbul, and cut off any retreat on that side. It had been planned, that one of Sir Thomas Hislop's divisions should penetrate into Malwah by the route of Ashta, while another moved by the more westerly route of Oonchode. The fifth, or Nagpoor division, under Colonel Adams, was at the same time to advance upon Rasseen; while General Marshall marched from Ryle on Saugur and Rutgurh.

The execution of this plan was interrupted by intelligence which reached Sir Thomas Hislop, that the Peishwa had risen in arms. On the very day of the signature of the treaty with Sindia at Gwalior, Bajee Row had thrown off the mask, and commenced hostilities.

During the whole of October, Bajee Row had been collecting troops from all parts, under the pretence of aiding in the Pindarry war;* but his real designs

* In an interview with Sir John Malcolm (as political agent of the Governor General), at Mahedy near Satara, in July preceding, the Peishwa, while he complained of the degraded state in which he had been left by the late treaty, made warm professions of gratitude to the British; and Sir John was so completely deceived by his apparent candour and cordiality, that he returned with the full conviction that he would heartily engage in the British cause. With this view, he recommended the Peishwa to recruit his army. Mr. Elphinstone foretold a different result.—Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 522—8.

were inferred by the Resident from various indications; particularly from the discovery of several efforts to seduce the sepoys of the brigades, as well as those of Major Ford's battalions, to desert their colours. The native officers and men of the regular corps were generally proof against his solicitations, and acquainted their officers with the attempts made to tamper with them. But in Major Ford's battalions, there was a large proportion of Mahrattas; and it was natural that they should be won over. It was the Peishwa's wish, previously to the commencement of hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a conference and murder him; but this plan was opposed by Bappoo Gokla, now the leader of all his measures, who, though he concurred in the scheme of corrupting the sepoys, disdained to perpetrate so base a crime; more especially, as Mr. Elphinstone had more than once proved himself a friend. The last interview which took place between Mr. Elphinstone and the Peishwa, was on the 14th of October, at which his Highness renewed his expressions of amity and gratitude towards the British Government, and his assurances that his troops should be sent to the frontier, to co-operate against the Pindarries, immediately after the approaching *dussera*. That festival was celebrated on the 19th, with unusual military pomp; and every succeeding day, the arrival of fresh parties of troops, rendered the situation of the Resident and of the subsidiary brigade, more critical. General Smith's force was now at a distance, having advanced towards Kandeish; and the European regiment ordered from Bombay could not be expected in less than ten days. Small parties of horse now came out and encamped round the British cantonment. These, in a few days, were

augmented to large bodies, while a strong corps of infantry occupied a position on one of the flanks. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Mr. Elphinstone was unwilling to be the first to have recourse to measures of avowed hostility; and he confined himself to remonstrating against the conduct and temper of the troops who were crowding in upon the position of the brigade.* Night after night passed in anxious suspense. Still, the Peishwa hesitated; and when Gokla recommended that the attack should not be delayed, he urged, that every hour was adding to his army, and that he wished a little more time to make sure of corrupting the sepoys. On the 30th, the Bombay regiment, which the Peishwa believed to be still at a great distance, marched into the cantonment.

The Resident now determined on removing the troops from the very exposed position which they occupied, adjoining the northern environs of the city, to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; and they accordingly took up their ground here on the 1st of November.† The Peishwa's army, supposing that the British troops had withdrawn through fear, were much encouraged by this movement; the old cantonment was plundered, and the conduct of the Mahrattas became increasingly daring and insolent. The Peishwa

* Nothing can be more admirable than the fortitude, self-possession, and cool judgement which Mr. Elphinstone displayed in this trying emergency. Captain Grant Duff's narrative, which we follow, is that of an eye-witness.

† The site of the cantonment had been judiciously chosen, as regarded the defence of the city against external attack; but it was particularly open to surprise: and being on the right bank of the Moola, both the river and the city were between the brigade and the Residency. By moving the troops to Kirkee, the Residency was between them and the enemy.

now believed, from the reports of his emissaries, that the sepoys were completely seduced.* On the 4th of November, Moro Dikshut, the Peishwa's minister, who had formed a warm attachment to Major Ford, and was anxious to save him, communicated this circumstance; adding, that his master was determined to cut off the British detachment without sparing a man; that he had exerted himself to the utmost to dissuade his prince from the course he was pursuing, but that the counsels of Gokla had prevailed; and he advised him to stand neuter, when his property should be spared, and his family protected. Upon Major Ford's telling him, that he would immediately join his countrymen, the worthy Hindoo took an affectionate leave of him, promising to befriend his family, and exacting a similar engagement on behalf of his own, in case the event should prove adverse to the cause which he reluctantly espoused.†

On the next day, (*Nov.* 5,) news of the approach of a light battalion from Seroor, determined the irresolute Peishwa no longer to defer the attack; but he kept up the system of deception to the last, sending word to the Resident, that he was about to perform a religious ceremony at the temple of Parbutee; and in the afternoon, when all was in readiness, he despatched a messenger with complaints and frivolous demands. Scarcely had this last emissary quitted the Residency,

* Many of the sepoys behaved with admirable fidelity. Not one of the regular service left his colours.

† Until this communication was made, Major Ford, though in daily intercourse with the city, was perfectly confident that the Peishwa had no intention of going to war. By a singular fatality, Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded in the ensuing action, by a grape-shot from one of the guns attached to the battalion of his friend, Major Ford.

than intelligence was brought, that the Mahratta army was moving out on the west side of the city. Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen attached to his suite had barely time to mount their horses, and retire by the ford of the Moola, under cover of the Resident's honorary guard, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the place, which they plundered and burned. The Resident's party made good their retreat along the left bank of the Moola, skirmishing with some horse that followed, and under the fire of Gokla's battalion from the opposite side of the river. The fighting commenced a few minutes after Mr. Elphinstone had joined Colonel Burr's brigade by the Kirkee bridge.

It had been previously concerted, that the brigade should advance from their position, and fight the battle in the plain between Kirkee and the city; and the Mahrattas were a little damped by this forward movement in troops whom they were encouraged to believe already spiritless. The Peishwa's heart failed him. After the troops had advanced, he sent a message to Gokla, desiring him to be sure not to fire the first gun. Gokla, suspecting the nature of the messenger's errand, instantly commenced the attack, by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket-camels to the right, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. The British troops were soon nearly surrounded with horse; but the Mahratta infantry were, by this rapid advance, left considerably in the rear, except a regular battalion under a Portuguese, named De Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route. No sooner were their red coats and colours descried by the English sepoys, than they pushed forward to close, and, in their eagerness, got detached

from the rest of the line. Gokla, perceiving this, directed a spirited charge, which was observed by Colonel Burr just in time to recall his men from the pursuit of De Pinto's battalion. Fortunately, there was a deep slough, of which neither party was aware, immediately in front of the British left. The foremost of the horses rolled over; and many, before they could be pulled up, tumbled over those in front. The fire, hitherto reserved, was now given with great effect; numbers fell, the confusion became extreme, and the force of the charge was completely checked. A very small proportion came in contact with the bayonets, and the sepoys had nearly repulsed the attack before a company of Europeans could come to their support. This failure completely disconcerted the Mahrattas; they began to drive off their guns; their infantry retired from the distant position they occupied; and upon the advance of the British line, the whole field was cleared. The brigade returned to its position at Kirkee after night-fall; and the light battalion and auxiliary horse joined it next morning. The report of their arrival, and this forward movement, deterred Gokla from renewing the attack. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion, (part of whom deserted,) was 2000 rank and file, of whom about 800 were Europeans. The loss was 186 killed, and 57 wounded. The Mahratta army consisted of 18,000 horse and 8000 foot, with 14 guns, (not reckoning 5000 horse and 2000 foot, stationed with the Peishwa on the Parbuttee hill,) and their loss amounted to 500 in killed and wounded.*

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., pp. 626—627. Prinsep, vol. ii. pp. 49—62. Blacker, 63—70. Not the least remarkable circumstance of this battle was the coolness and fortitude of Colonel Burr, who had lost the use of one side from a paralytic stroke, which had impaired

In the mean while, General Smith, finding all communications intercepted, marched with his division towards Poonah, which he reached on the 13th, although much harassed, owing to his want of regular cavalry, by flying parties of Mahrattas. Preparations were made for attacking the Peishwa's army on the 17th. On the previous evening, an advanced brigade, which was ordered to cross the ford, and take up a position in readiness, was opposed by a body of the Peishwa's infantry, and did not gain its station without loss; but in the morning, when General Smith moved towards the enemy's camp, he found it abandoned. The Peishwa had retired during the night, leaving his tents standing, and was in full retreat towards Satarah. The city surrendered during the day; and on the 22d, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, General Smith commenced the pursuit of the fugitive army.

Appa Sahib, the Nagpoor Rajah, afforded the British troops similar employment. He appears to have exhibited an equal degree of vacillation, as well as of duplicity. To the last, he was profuse in his professions of friendship towards the Resident (Mr. Jenkins); and inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Bajee Row in treacherously attacking the English. On the night of the 24th of November, however, he sent to inform the Resident, that a *khelaut* had arrived for him from the Peishwa, who had also sent him a *jeree putka* (golden streamer), and conferred upon him the title of *Sena-puttee*; that he intended to go in state to his camp, to receive these honours, the next day; and he invited the Resident to be present at the ceremony. Remonstrance was, of course, unavailing.

with his mental and physical powers; but he was yet foremost in the post of honour.

The insignia were received; and the Rajah's troops immediately took up positions in the vicinity of the Residency, so menacing, that Mr. Jenkins was induced to call in the brigade from its cantonment. The whole force at Nagpoor then consisted of two battalions of native infantry, (both considerably reduced by sickness,) two companies forming the Resident's escort, three troops of Bengal cavalry, and four six-pounders, manned by Europeans. The Residency lies to the west of the city, and is separated from it by a small ridge, running north and south, having two eminences at its extremities, about 300 yards apart;* they are called the Seetabuldee hills. Upon that to the north, which is the smaller and the higher of the two, were posted 300 men, with one of the six-pounders, under Captain Sadler. The other battalion and the escort were stationed on the larger hill, with the remainder of the infantry and artillery; and the three troops of cavalry, under Captain Fitzgerald, occupied the inclosures surrounding the Residency. At sunset of the 26th of November, as the British picquets were about to be placed, they were fired at by the Rajah's Arab infantry. Immediately after, his artillery opened on the position, which was answered by the British from the hills; and a smart fire was maintained on both sides, with little intermission, till two o'clock in the morning. By this time, the British had sustained a heavy loss, particularly on the smaller hill, which the Arabs had made frequent attempts to carry. Captain Sadler was killed, and the second in command was wounded, in the defence of this important point. The

* In Captain Grant Duff's account, they are said to be only thirty yards from each other; probably a gross error. Other variations occur, but we have in this instance preferred Mr. Prinsep's as the more official statement.

rest of the night was anxiously occupied in making up fresh cartridges, and in placing along the brow of the hill, sacks of flour and wheat, and any thing else capable of affording cover to the men. At day-break, the attack was renewed with great fury, additional guns having been brought to bear upon the position during the night. About ten o'clock, an accident which happened to the screw of a gun on the smaller hill, created some confusion, rendering it for a few minutes unserviceable. The Arabs saw their opportunity, and rushing forward with loud cries, charged up the hill, sword in hand, and carried it, before the gun and the wounded could be brought off. The latter were all put to the sword. The Arabs now turned the gun against the British post on the other hill, and with it two more guns of their own, with most destructive effect. Emboldened by this success, the enemy's horse and foot closed in from every direction, and prepared for a general assault. To add to the appalling difficulties of this crisis, the Arabs had now got into the huts of the British troops to the west of the smaller hill; and the shrieks of the women and children contributed not a little to damp the courage of the sepoys. At this critical moment, seeing the impending destruction, Captain Fitzgerald made a most unexpected and daring charge upon the principal body of the enemy's horse,* drove them from two guns, by which they were supported, turned these upon the enemy, and retired dragging them back into the Residency grounds. The

* "Captain Fitzgerald had repeatedly applied for permission to charge, and was as often prevented by orders from the commanding officer. Seeing the impending destruction, he made a last attempt to obtain leave. Colonel Scott's reply was:—'Tell him to charge at his peril.' 'At my peril be it,' said the gallant Fitzgerald, and immediately gave the word to advance."—Grant Duff.

infantry posted on the hill witnessed this brilliant exploit with loud hurras; and soon after, the explosion of a tumbril among the Arabs on the smaller hill, afforded an opportunity that had been eagerly watched for, of recovering the post "with the cold iron." The tide of success had now turned. The Arabs were pursued down the hill in confusion, and a troop of cavalry, charging round the base of the hill, and taking them in flank, succeeded in dispersing them. By noon, this most trying conflict had ceased. Its fatigues and anxieties had continued without intermission for eighteen hours. The British had not 1400 men fit for duty, while the army of Appa Sahib amounted to 18,000 men, half of whom were infantry. The numerical loss was about equal on both sides: that of the British amounted, by the returns, to 367, (more than a fourth of those engaged,) including four officers killed and eleven wounded.*

Being thus disgracefully foiled in his treacherous attempt, Appa Sahib sent *vakeels* to the Resident, to express his sorrow at what had occurred, and to disavow his having authorized the attack; but Mr. Jenkins refused to treat with him until he disbanded his troops, though he agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Reinforcements now poured into Nagpoor from all quarters, and before the middle of December, General Doveton arrived with the whole second division.† The

* Primsep, vol. ii. pp. 87—92. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 425—430. Blacker, 112—118.

† The weakness and irresolution of Appa Sahib in thus rashly abandoning a cause by no means desperate at this period, was most conspicuous. Had he, instead of remaining idle at Nagpoor, retired with his army unbroken, he might have prolonged the contest indefinitely, and, by giving occupation to a large proportion of our military force, have at least prevented the concentration of means for the destruction of his confederate, the Peishwa. The

absolute submission of Appa Sahib was now demanded, with which, after some hesitation, by repairing to the Residency, he appeared to comply; but, on advancing to take possession of his guns, a cannonade was opened upon the British troops, and they were not taken without the loss of 141 men in killed and wounded. Two of the Rajah's officers maintained this resistance, one of whom afterwards went off, and joined Bajee Row at Shalapoor: the other, with the Arabs, retired to the fort of Nagpore, where they repulsed an assault, but finally surrendered, on being allowed to march out with their property and arms. The reserve division of the Bengal army, under General Hardyman, which had been ordered down to Nagpore on the first news of Appa Sahib's defection, met and routed, on the 12th, a body of the enemy assembled at Jubbulpoor, and having relieved that place, occupied the whole of the Rajah's northern territory except Dhamonee, Chouragurh, and Mundelah. These were subsequently reduced by General Marshall.

In the mean time, as Appa Sahib had personally complied with the demands of the Resident, it was thought proper to re-instate the fallen prince on the gudder (throne), with the semblance of sovereign authority. But the Resident "resolved to act upon the principle of reducing the head of the Bhonslay State to the condition of a mere pageant," by retaining for the British Government a control over every branch of the administration, in addition to the complete military occupation of the country.

The Nagpore territory is a continued tract of mountains, ravines, and jungles, forming altogether as difficult a theatre of war as can be conceived.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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